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INDEPENDENT FILM–ROAD MOVIES

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INDEPENDENT FILM

"Independence" is in many ways the Holy Grail in the film business—something most everyone who makes movies strives for but can never quite attain. To be independent in the film business denotes a freedom from something, whether the vicissitudes of the commercial market or the matrix of companies that dominate the production and distribution of motion pictures in America. Such an independence can be attained only by degree. So long as a feature is screened in commercial theaters and/or aired on pay or network TV, so long as it carries a PCA seal or MPAA rating system designation, independence is a relative term.

What then is meant by the term "independent film"? At bottom, independence is attained within either or both of the two principal and intersecting characteristics of the movies as a medium: the artistic and the commercial. Huntz Hall (1919–1999), an actor famous for his appearances in the Bowery Boy B movies of the 1940s, once mused that you can recognize an independent film with a simple test: if the whole set shakes when someone slams a door it's an independent film. Though reductive and true for only the least ambitious of independent pictures, Hall's quip hints at the larger budgetary concerns of the vast majority of independent films. What we have come to recognize as an independent aesthetic—small-ensemble casts, limited use of exterior and location shooting, and an emphasis on conversation over action and exciting special effects stems primarily from an effort to stay within tight budgets. There is a mantra shared by independent directors: "Talk is cheap; action is expensive." When budget considerations loom over a production, it is always cheaper to film two people talking in a room than a car chase or a UFO landing in Washington, D.C.

Independent films are also recognizable by how they are "platformed" in the entertainment marketplace, by the way promotion and advertising is handled, and by selective versus saturation distribution. Big films are released into thousands of theaters all at once, while with some independent titles, only a handful of prints are available for screening at any one time, and they are screened almost exclusively in small, so-called art-house theaters. At every stop along the way in the various commercial venues available for films in the United States, independent films are at once marginal and marginalized. Independence thus assumes a distance from the commercial mainstream that is systematically and industrially maintained.

Two Hollywood adages that inform independence are worth considering here. The first is a bastardization of an H. L. Menken quip: "When they say it's not about the money, it's about the money." In other words, what makes a film independent is its stake in the commercial marketplace: limited access (to big commercial venues) results in almost every instance in limited box office. An independent film is thus defined by the money it makes (not a lot) and the audience it reaches (a select, small group). The second adage is even more to the point: "You take the money, you lose control." It is generally believed that independence has something to do with a refusal to make concessions. To that end, the Independent Spirit Awards, founded by FINDIE (the Friends of Independents) in 1984, annually celebrate the "maverick tradition" of independent film in America. But such a maverick tradition, evinced in some producers' and directors' refusal to kowtow to industry pressures, is founded on the relative commercial inconsequence of the films in question. A degree

of independence is possible only when films make so little money they simply are not worth the studios' time or effort to own or control. The strange fact of American filmmaking, especially in the modern era, is that a director—even an unknown and inexperienced director—can expect to enjoy far more creative autonomy working on a $1.5–3 million so-called independent film than on a $15–30 million studio picture. The minute significant studio investment is in play, the minute significant box-office is at stake, a filmmaker's independence is subject to second-guessing by executives whose primary task is to protect the company's bottom line.

While the relation between independent and mainstream or commercial cinema has been an important question in every nation that has had an established film industry—Japan, India, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom, for example—what follows surveys the history of American independent cinema beginning with the very first alternatives to Edison's early films and the cartel he subsequently founded. Of interest as well are the niche films that proliferated in the early years of studio Hollywood, the Poverty Row B-genre pictures of the 1930s–1950s, exploitation cinema from the 1920s through the 1960s, the so-called new American cinema avant-garde in New York in the 1960s and 1970s, and the various independent cinemas that emerged as Hollywood conglomerized and monopolized the entertainment market after 1980.

INDEPENDENCE IN EARLY AND SILENT AMERICAN CINEMA

So far as most American film histories and the US Patent Office are concerned, movies in the United States began with Thomas Edison (1847–1931). First there were the patents on the Edison Kinetograph (the photographic apparatus that produced the pictures) and the Kinetoscope (the "peep show" viewing machine that exhibited them) in 1891. And then there was the first public demonstration of the Edison motion picture apparatus at the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences in May 1893, the place and date of what most agree was the first publicly exhibited movie. The speed at which things moved from this first showcase (which included the screening of Edison's crude moving picture *Blacksmith Scene,* showing three men, all Edison employees, hammering on an anvil for approximately twenty seconds) to the production of entertaining and occasionally edifying short movies was astonishingly fast. Edison had his Black Maria Studio in New Jersey fully outfitted by the time the Brooklyn Institute showcase was held. His first full slate of movies was available for screening by January of the following year.

In the spring of 1894, Edison renamed his company the Edison Manufacturing Company. The new name highlighted the business of making and selling Kinetoscope equipment that seemed so promising in 1894, and also clarified Edison's vision about the medium and his role in it. Movies were produced not by artists but by experts in the technology of motion picture production. They were made much as other products of industry were made on assembly lines, by nameless, faceless workers toiling on behalf of the company whose name was featured prominently on the product.

American cinema was initially just Edison, but domestic competition in the new medium emerged fairly soon thereafter. Viewing independent cinema as an alternative to a commercial mainstream, it is with these first companies that took on Edison that independent American cinema began. Edison's first real competitor was the American Mutoscope Company, later renamed the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company (routinely referred to simply as Biograph). Biograph was a particularly irksome competitor for two reasons: (1) one of the principals in research and development at the company was William K. L. Dickson (1860–1935), an inventor who resigned from his position at Edison in 1895 after doing most of the work on the Kinetograph and the Kinetoscope; and (2) the company worked in 70mm, a superior format that provided four times the image surface of the Edison and international industry standard of 35mm. With its first slate of films, Biograph courted the carnival crowd. While Edison stuck mostly to documentary short subjects, the Biograph company founders Harry Marvin, Herman Casler, Elias Koopman, and Dickson viewed cinema as first and foremost an attraction. Their first films featured boxing bouts and demonstrations of fire-fighting equipment, but soon thereafter their "bread and butter" became crude gag films (that is, short films that played out a single comic skit).

Once the movies caught on—and it did not take long—several other film companies emerged. In December 1908, when it became clear that such a free market (of independent film producers and distributors) might quickly cost Edison his prominent role in the industry, the inventor created the Motion Picture Patents Company (MPPC) trust. The trust linked the interests of Edison and nine of his competitors: Biograph, Vitagraph, Essanay, Kalem, Selig Polyscope, Lubin, Star Film, Pathé Freres, and Klein Optical. The MPPC effectively exploited key industry patents on motion picture technology to fix prices, restrict the distribution and exhibition of foreign-made pictures, regulate domestic production, and control film licensing and distribution. The trust was supported by an exclusive contract with the Eastman Kodak Company, the principal and at the time the only dependable provider

of raw film stock. By the end of 1908, the ten film companies comprising the MPPC owned and controlled the technology and maintained exclusive access to the raw material necessary to make movies. In 1910, the General Film Company, the key middle-man in the film production/distribution equation, joined forces with the MPPC trust, making an already strong cartel even stronger. With the help of General Film (which purchased studio films and then leased them to theaters) exhibitors could more quickly and more systematically change their programs. To meet the increase in demand for product, the studios ramped up production. Everyone made more money.

But despite such intra- and inter-industry collusion, the MPPC trust's domination of film production, distribution, and exhibition was short-lived. The first big problem for the MPPC arose in February 1911, when Kodak, miffed that it did not have a profit interest in the trust, exploited a clause in the original agreement and began to sell film stock to local independents. These independents had organized into a cartel of their own: the Motion Picture Distributing and Sales Corporation (or Sales Company). The Sales Company "independents," led by Carl Laemmle (1867–1939), William Fox (1879–1952), and Adolph Zukor (1873–1976), were well organized and fiercely competitive.

After the Kodak defection, non-MPPC production units boasted record revenues; by the end of 1911 they accounted for approximately 30 percent of the film market, a reasonably large piece of the pie in the absence of fair and free trade in the film market. To attract such a considerable market share, the independents introduced an alternative product: the multi-reel picture. As early as 1911, the independents were moving toward producing feature-length films. The MPPC trust maintained throughout its existence a strict single-reel, 16-minute standard.

In a landmark case, *The Motion Picture Patents Company v. IMP* (Laemmle's Independent Motion Picture Company), decided in August 1912, a US Circuit Court gave the independents access to formerly licensed and restricted equipment. The victory in court put the independents on a level playing field with the MPPC. By 1914, the MPPC was out of business and the so-called independents took over. Laemmle founded Universal, Fox founded Twentieth Century Fox, and Zukor founded Paramount. In the years to follow, what independent cinema would be independent of, and from, would be the very companies that first insisted upon independence from Edison and his cartel in 1911.

INDEPENDENCE IN CLASSICAL HOLLYWOOD

When the so-called independents successfully bucked the MPPC and became the ruling cartel in the film business, independent cinema became the province of small outfits making movies for small and specific target audiences. For example, as early as 1915, Noble Johnson's (1881–1978) Lincoln Film Company produced films made by and for African American audiences. These so-called "race films," like those directed by the entrepreneurial auteur Oscar Micheaux (1884–1951) (who went door to door to raise money to shoot his movies), played in select urban venues and on the "chitlin circuit" (venues in the Southeast where daily life featured a strict racial segregation). Another alternative independent cinema, Yiddish films, emerged to serve the many Eastern European immigrants in the urban northeast. Featuring dialogue in Yiddish, a language that combines elements of German and Hebrew and was spoken by many first-generation Jewish immigrants, these films had their own stars and exhibition venues. Over forty Yiddish language "talkies" were made between 1930 and 1950.

After the advent of sound, the studios standardized the film program. Going to the movies in the 1930s routinely involved seeing an A (big budget) and a B (low budget) feature, along with a newsreel, perhaps another live-action short (often a comedy) and/or a cartoon. The studios made their own B movies, which were distributed primarily to fill out a bill headlined by the studio's A attraction.

As demand for films to fill out double bills increased, smaller film companies emerged, giving rise to "Poverty Row." Most of the Poverty Row companies were headquartered in Gower Gulch, a small area in Hollywood that was home to the soon-to-be-major studio Columbia, as well as a handful of well-organized and financed smaller studios such as Republic, Monogram, Grand National, Mascot, Tiffany, and some more transient production outfits like Peerless, Reliable, Syndicate, Big-Four, and Superior. The Poverty Row companies filled out film bills with inexpensive formulaic genre pictures. Though far less ambitious than the bigger studios, they made films faster than their better financed counterparts. Speed proved a distinct advantage when responding to fads, such as the singing cowboy rage in the mid-1930s. Republic was quick to exploit the fad with films featuring Gene Autry (1907–1998), such as *Tumbling Tumbleweeds* (1935), and Grand National banked on their singing cowpoke Tex Ritter (1905–1974) in *Sing, Cowboy, Sing* (1937). The B western was extremely popular in the 1930s, as were cowboy stars such as Johnny Mack (1904–1974), Harry Carey (1878–1947), Hoot Gibson (1892–1962), Tom Mix (1880–1940), and the soon-to-be A-list movie star, John Wayne (1907–1979).

B action-adventure films were made to take advantage of the popularity of a previous studio film or current radio show. For example, Republic made an adventure

SAMUEL Z. ARKOFF

b. Fort Dodge, Iowa, 12 June 1918, d. 16 September 2001

In 1979, the Museum of Modern Art in New York held a retrospective tribute to the producer Samuel Z. Arkoff and his company American International Pictures (AIP). At the time, Arkoff seemed an unlikely choice for such an honor. For well over twenty years in the film business he had clung to a single guiding principle: "Thou shalt not put too much money into any one picture." The sorts of films he produced at AIP were as far from the high art world of the museum as one could imagine.

A quick look at Arkoff's oeuvre at AIP between 1954 and 1979 presents daunting evidence of his success as a purveyor of a particular sort of teen-oriented exploitation cinema. He made over 500 films, including *The Fast and the Furious* (1954), *The Day the World Ended* (Roger Corman, 1956), *Hot Rod Girl* (1956), *Shake, Rattle and Rock* (1956), *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* (1957), *The Cool and the Crazy* (1958), *The Pit and the Pendulum* (1961), *The Raven* (1963), *Beach Party* 1963), *Dementia 13* (1963), *Summer Holiday* (1963), *The T.A.M.I. Show* 1965), *The Wild Angels* (1966), *What's Up, Tiger Lily?* (1966), *The Trip* (1967), *Wild in the Streets* (1968), *Three in the Attic* (1968), *Bloody Mama* (1970), *The Abominable Dr. Phibes* (1971), *Boxcar Bertha* (1972), *Blacula* (1972), *Dillinger* (1973), *The Little Girl Who Lives Down the Lane* (1976), and following the sale of AIP to Filmways, *Love at First Bite* (1979), *The Amityville Horror* (1979), and *Dressed to Kill* (1980).

With his long-time partner James Nicholson, Arkoff, a lawyer by training but a huckster by instinct, clung to a simple template, the so-called "A.R.K.O.F.F. formula": *A*ction (excitement and drama), *R*evolution (controversial or revolutionary ideas), *K*illing (or at least a degree of violence), *O*ratory (memorable speeches and dialogue), *F*antasy (popular dreams and wishes acted out), and *F*ornication (sex appeal, to both men and women). Though best known today for the Beach Party films (1963–1965) and his adaptations of Edgar Allan Poe stories (all directed by Roger Corman between 1960–1965), Arkoff should be remembered more for the opportunities he provided over the years to talented writers, directors and actors struggling to make it in Hollywood, including Francis Coppola, Martin Scorsese, Peter Yates, Woody Allen, Robert Towne, Peter Fonda, Bruce Dern, and Jack Nicholson. AIP films inevitably bore the Arkoff stamp, no matter who wrote, directed, or starred in the feature. Though he never directed a film, Samuel Z. Arkoff was one of the most prolific and influential independent filmmakers of the twentieth century.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Fast and the Furious (1954), *The Day the World Ended* (1956), *The Pit and the Pendulum* (1961), *The Raven* (1963), *Beach Party* (1963), *The Wild Angels* (1966), *The Trip* (1967), *Wild in the Streets* (1968), *Three in the Attic* (1968)

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Jon Lewis

film set in India titled *Storm Over Bengal* (1938), after *Lives of a Bengal Lancer* (1935) and *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (1936) were successful for the major studios. Grand National produced a series of films featuring "The Shadow," a character on a popular radio suspense show. A tendency to reflect (writ small) the work being produced at the major studios dominated independent B-movie production at the time, suggesting a dependence on (rather than independence from) the studios for raw material. This commitment to simple genre entertainment mirrored the less ambitious aspects of studio filmmaking. Thus the notion that B-movie studios provided an alternative to studio fare seems, at least in the studio era, inaccurate.

Samuel Z. Arkoff. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

While the B-movie studios made films to fill out programs headlined by studio A pictures in exchange for a quick, modest payoff, exploitation filmmakers like Kroger Babb (1906–1980), a savvy carnival huckster, made films that openly defied the strictures of the MPPDA production code. Kroger is best known today for his sex-hygiene film *Mom and Dad* (1945), which dealt with material (venereal disease and teen pregnancy) that mainstream films could not, and did so with frankness and explicitness. Because of its prurient content, *Mom and Dad* could not be shown as part of a larger, legitimate film program. Instead Babb traveled with his film, renting out theaters for a weekend (an arrangement called "four-walling"), and staging his own film shows. Babb advertised his shows with lurid posters (which would have been forbidden by the mainstream industry's Production Code) promising just what the studios could not deliver: "Everything shown. Everything explained." To give the show a semblance of respectability, for many of the screenings of *Mom and Dad* Babb hired an actor to play the part of the noted sexologist Dr. Elliot Forbes, who, after the screening, answered questions from the crowd. Like any good huckster, Babb made a lot of money by never overestimating the intelligence and taste of his audience.

Throughout its existence, exploitation cinema depended upon an apparent defiance of commercial Hollywood, a defiance signaled by its promise of material prohibited in more mainstream fare. One popular exploitation genre in the 1950s was the nudist colony film. Films such as *Garden of Eden* (1955), *Naked As Nature Intended* (1961), and *World without Shame* (1962) showed ample on-screen nudity, which was forbidden by the Production Code. Claiming documentary status of a sort, nudist colony films successfully challenged previous limitations on First Amendment protection for cinema. In the precedent-setting 1957 case *Excelsior Pictures v. New York Board of Regents* attending a New York ban on screenings of *Garden of Eden*, a state appeals court found that nudity per se on screen was not obscene. Such a ruling freed exploitation cinema to go even further. In 1959, the independent filmmaker Russ Meyer (1922–2004) produced *The Immoral Mr. Teas*, a film about a man who gets conked on the head and acquires a gift of sorts, the ability to see through women's clothing.

Meyer's film—made very much with the Excelsior decision in mind—spawned a brief new wave of independent exploitation pictures. These more visually explicit films included a variety of colorfully termed new genres: nudie cuties (suggestive, often light comedies with nudity but no touching, such as *Mr. Peter's Pets* [1962], *Tonight for Sure* [1962], and *Adam Lost His Apple* [1965]); roughies (depicting anti-social behavior as well as nudity, as in *The Defilers* [1965] and *The Degenerates* 1967); kinkies (with revealing titles such as *Olga's House of Shame* [1964], *The Twisted Sex* [1966], and *Love Camp 7* [1969]); and ghoulies (merging kink with gruesome humor, as in *Satan's Bed* [1965] and *Mantis in Lace* [1968]). The common element among all these independent exploiters was on-screen nudity.

Striking a less salacious note, another group of independent filmmakers in the 1950s and 1960s took aim at the burgeoning youth culture and found a ready and willing audience. Chief among the purveyors of this slightly tamer exploitation cinema were Samuel Z. Arkoff (1918–2001) and Roger Corman (b. 1926), who together and then separately released films under the American International Pictures (AIP) and New World banners. Notable among Arkoff's oeuvre as a producer and distributor of low budget exploiters are two film

Peter Fonda (standing, center) in* The Wild Angels *(Roger Corman, 1966), produced by Samuel Z. Arkoff. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

franchises, the Beach Party films (*Beach Party* [1963], *Muscle Beach Party* [1964], *Bikini Beach* [1964], *Beach Blanket Bingo* [1964], and *How to Stuff a Wild Bikini* [1965], all directed by William Asher [b. 1921]); and a series of adaptations of Edgar Allan Poe stories starring the veteran horror film actor Vincent Price (1911–1993) (*House of Usher* [1960], *Pit and the Pendulum* [1961], *Tales of Terror* [1962], *The Raven* [1963], and *The Tomb of Ligeria* [1965], all directed by Corman). While the vast majority of Arkoff's films, bearing titles such as *The Beast with a Million Eyes* (1956) and *Dr. Goldfoot and the Bikini Machine* (1965), were produced quickly and cheaply and paid off modestly at the box office, a few of his later titles—*The Wild Angels* 1966), a motorcycle film starring Peter Fonda that foreshadowed and foregrounded *Easy Rider* (1969), and the sex-farce *Three in the Attic* (1966)—were top-twenty films for their year of release.

With producer credit on well over 300 films in over forty years in the business working for Arkoff at AIP and then at his own company, New World Pictures, Roger Corman became the most important and most successful purveyor of low-brow independent cinema in American motion picture history. Key titles in Corman's oeuvre (in addition to those mentioned above) include his own *A Bucket of Blood* (1959), *Little Shop of Horrors* (1960), and *The Trip* (1967), as well as *Dementia 13* (1963), Francis Coppola's first film as a director.

Another important exploitation filmmaker is George Romero (b. 1940) whose series of zombie films—*Night of the Living Dead* (1968), *Dawn of the Dead* (1978), *Day of the Dead* (1985), and *Land of the Dead* (2005)—have acquired for the director a cult status of sorts. The bloodletting in Romero's films is so extreme that many in his intended audience—young horror film fans, mostly—find them funny. Despite an almost campy appeal,

terrible acting, and low-end production values, many serious critics and reviewers seem drawn to his films as well. They have found the films profoundly political, even "important," contending, for example, that *Night of the Living Dead* offers a commentary on race relations, with its black American hero who is hunted in the end by a white sheriff and his vigilante posse, or that *Land of the Dead* should be seen as a metaphor to post-9/11 hysteria. Romero is unusual among American auteurs in that he has displayed a commitment to his adopted hometown of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where he shoots and sets most of his films. Romero is one of America's few regional auteurs.

While exploitation filmmakers like Arkoff, Corman, and Romero offered an alternative, independent cinema that pushed the boundaries of good taste and resisted the strictures of content regulation, in the 1960s a group of New York filmmakers emerged offering their own independent alternative to commercial Hollywood filmmaking. The filmmakers in this so-called "New American Cinema" borrowed from avant-garde theater and visual art and from documentary cinema to produce an alternative to the escapist cinema produced on the West Coast. Filmmakers such as Robert Frank (b. 1924) and Alfred Leslie (b. 1927) (*Pull My Daisy*, 1958), Michael Roemer (b. 1928) (*Nothing But a Man*, 1964), Shirley Clarke (1919–1997) (*The Cool World*, 1964), and most famously John Cassavetes (1929–1989) (*Shadows*, 1959; *Faces*, 1968) made avowedly personal films with a seeming disregard for box-office appeal. Employing realist aesthetics and improvisational acting, these films provided an antidote of sorts to the fantasy world perpetuated by the mainstream studios.

Of these New York–based filmmakers, only Cassavetes enjoyed any significant crossover success. For almost three decades, Cassavetes financed his independent films in part from money he made as an actor in mainstream pictures such as *Rosemary's Baby* (1968) and he brought an actor's sensibility to his work. In an effort to create the impression of realism, Cassavetes asked his actors to think, talk, and behave in character. Such an emphasis on improvisation made his films seem slow and talky to the uninitiated, but they nonetheless felt "real" and packed a profound emotional punch. In addition to *Faces* and *Shadows*, notable among his films as a director are *A Woman under the Influence* (1964), *The Killing of a Chinese Bookie* (1976), and *Gloria* (1980), all films about otherwise unexceptional people brought to the end of their rope by the pressures of everyday life.

Historians routinely locate the roots of Cassavetes's rebellion against commercial Hollywood in the avant-garde cinema of the 1930s and 1940s (filmmakers like Ralph Steiner [1899–1986], Paul Strand [1890–1976], and Maya Deren [1917–1961]), but a more proximate source lay in the various, mostly thwarted efforts at independence by movie stars and directors to gain more control over their films and by extension their careers during the so-called classical or studio era. For example, James Cagney (1899–1986), one of Warners' biggest stars, bristled at continued typecasting and broke with the studio. In 1942 he established (with his brother, the producer William Cagney) Cagney Productions, an independent production outfit. Though the move gained Cagney a modicum of freedom and independence, the cost of releasing a film made a distribution deal with a studio a necessity and thus made real independence impossible. The director Fritz Lang (1890–1976) similarly broke with the studios to establish independence, but like Cagney, Lang could not get his films into the marketplace without studio help. Cassavetes seemed to learn from the frustrations of Cagney and Lang and scaled his productions down so significantly that he maintained a degree of autonomy on the far margins of the studio system.

INDEPENDENCE IN THE NEW HOLLYWOOD

During the 1970s, a period historians have since termed the "auteur renaissance," an independent spirit emerged within mainstream, commercial cinema. Directors like Francis Ford Coppola (b. 1939), Martin Scorsese (b. 1942), Robert Altman (b. 1925), Stanley Kubrick (1928–1999), Peter Bogdanovich (b. 1939), Terrence Malick (b. 1943), Brian De Palma (b. 1940), Steven Spielberg (b. 1946), and George Lucas (b. 1944) enjoyed an independence within the system that was unique in American film history. Auteur films like Altman's *M*A*S*H* (1970), Coppola's *The Godfather* (1972), and Spielberg's *Jaws* (1975) made a lot of money for the studios, all of which were struggling after an almost generation-long box-office slump. But the studios' indulgence of the auteur theory was by design temporary; it held executives' interest only as long as was necessary. Once the studios got back on their feet at the end of the decade, they abandoned the auteurs in favor of more formulaic films produced by directors who required and/or demanded less autonomy and independence.

Most of the 1970s auteur directors struggled in the 1980s: Coppola, Scorsese, and De Palma made fewer films and their work had far less impact after 1980; Altman adapted stage plays for art-house release; and Kubrick, Bogdanovich, and Malick went into semi-retirement. The only two directors to continue their ascent were Spielberg and Lucas, and consequently their particular brand of entertainment cinema became the industry template.

Maggie Cousineau-Arndt and David Strathairn in John Sayles's* Return of the Secaucus Seven *(1980). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

It was counter to this Spielberg-Lucas template that a renaissance of sorts in independent cinema took shape in the 1980s. This indie scene became the site for a new American cinema, one that again mirrored on a smaller scale what had taken place in bigger films, for bigger stakes, just a decade earlier. Consider, for example, the top studio films of 1984: *Ghost Busters*, *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*, *Gremlins*, *Beverly Hills Cop*, and *Star Trek III: The Search for Spock*, all of which depended on special effects and/or star-power and were platformed as event films in wide distribution strategies that only a major studio could afford to mount.

The studios' collective embrace of the so-called event film enabled an independent film market to emerge, or perhaps it just made necessary. At a time when the studios were committed to a kind of bottom-line thinking that emphasized cost–benefit analysis (typical of production units under conglomerate ownership in any business), independence became once again a matter of cash and content. Independent films produced and released in 1984 included Jim Jarmusch's (b. 1953) stagey, offbeat comedy *Stranger Than Paradise* (shot in overlong single takes and in black and white); Wayne Wang's (b. 1949) small ethnic picture *Dim Sum: A Little Bit of Heart*, a character study of Chinese Americans; Gregory Nava's (b. 1949) unflinching chronicle of Mexican "illegals," *El Norte*; John Sayles's (b. 1950) futurist parable *Brother From Another Planet*, which tells the story of a drug-addicted alien loose in New York City; Alan Rudolph's stylish neo-noir *Choose Me*; veteran independent filmmaker John Cassavetes's melodrama *Love Streams*; and Robert Altman's adaptation of a one-man stage play about Richard Nixon's last days in the White House, *Secret Honor*.

Independent films the following year included *Blood Simple*, the stark, deadpan neo-noir by the Coen brothers (Joel, b. 1954, and Ethan, b. 1957) that was the talk of the 1985 New York Film Festival; Susan Seidelman's (b. 1952) punk-inspired romantic comedy *Desperately Seeking Susan*; Horton Foote's (b. 1916) regional comedy adapted from his stage play *The Trip to Bountiful*; and Martin Scorsese's *After Hours*, a film that tracks a single eventful night in the life of one very unlucky New Yorker. That a filmmaker of Scorsese's reputation had to turn to the indie scene to make a movie speaks volumes on the state of the industry at the time.

While independence afforded these filmmakers a degree of creative freedom, it also relegated their films to a modest art house release. Very few independent films have crossed over into commercial theaters in any big way. Among the few that have are *Pulp Fiction* by Quentin Tarantino (b. 1963), distributed by Miramax in 1994, which grossed over $100 million, as did the surprise 1999 teen horror picture *The Blair Witch Project* for Artisan. A few film festival winners like Steven Soderbergh's (b. 1963) *sex, lies and videotape* (1989) or David Lynch's (b. 1946) *Mulholland Drive* (2001) have crossed over to modest mainstream commercial successes, but these are rare exceptions. For every crossover success such as *Napoleon Dynamite* (2004), a droll comedy produced for $400,000 that earned over $40 million, there are hundreds of independent films that reach only small audiences and are hurried into DVD and video release. These films seldom turn much of a profit.

Niche films (that is, films produced by and for a very specific and small target market) comprise essential indie product lines, but almost never enjoy crossover success. For example, lesbian-themed films such as *Go Fish* (1994), *The Incredibly True Adventure of Two Girls in Love* (1995), *High Art* (1998), and *Better than Chocolate* (1999), which are thematically similar but very different in tone and content, all earned about the same amount ($2 million). Such relatively dependable but modest payoffs await any reasonable effort at meeting the needs of the lesbian audience, which might be acceptable for a small outfit like TriMark, distributor of *Better than Chocolate*; but for the big studios in the 1990s such action was distinctly small time.

Niche films are consistent, modest moneymakers because niche audiences are starved for films about people like themselves. Many of these films are written and directed by women and people of color—who, in Hollywood studios, are seriously underrepresented behind the camera and in the front office. The ranks of 1980s and 1990s indie filmmaking is a who's who of "minority" and distaff filmmakers: Charles Burnett (*The Glass Shield*, 1995), Lisa Cholodenko, Martha Coolidge (*Valley Girl*, 1983), Sofia Coppola (*The Virgin Suicides*, 2001, and *Lost in Translation*, 2003), Rusty Cundieff (*Fear of a Black Hat*, 1994), Vondie Curtis-Hall (*Gridlock'd*, 1997), Julie Dash (*Daughters of the Dust*, 1991), Tamra Davis (*Guncrazy*, 1992), Cheryl Dunye (*The Watermelon Woman*, 1996), Carl Franklin (*One False Move*, 1992), Leslie Harris (*Just Another Girl on the IRT*, 1992), Nicole Holofcener (*Walking and Talking*, 1996, and *Lovely and Amazing*, 2001), Reginald Hudlin (*House Party*, 1990), Leon Ichaso (*Crossover Dreams*, 1985), Tamara Jenkins (*Slums of Beverly Hills*, 1998), Spike Lee, Kasi Lemmons (*Eve's Bayou*, 1997), Jennie Livingston (*Paris is Burning*, 1991), Maria Maggenti, Gregory Nava, Kimberly Pierce (*Boys Don't Cry*, 2000), Matty Rich (*Straight Out of Brooklyn*, 1991), Nancy Savoca (*True Love*, 1989, and *Dogfight*, 1991), Penelope Spheeris (*The Decline of Western Civilization*, 1981), Susan Seidelman (*Smithereens*, 1982), Jill Sprecher (*The Clockwatchers*, 1997, and *Thirteen Conversations About One Thing*, 2001), Julie Taymor (*Frida*, 2002), Robert Townsend, Rose Troche, Luis Valdez (*Zoot Suit*, 1981), Wayne Wang, and Anne Wheeler. Add to the list above openly gay male directors or directors who specialize in gay-themed films, such as Gregg Araki (*The Doom Generation*, 1995) and Todd Haynes (*Poison*, 1991), and it becomes clear how much and how completely independent cinema, which is showcased almost exclusively at art houses and/or in limited theatrical runs, is at once marginal (to the commercial cinematic enterprise) and marginalized.

Most of even the best-known indie titles—including those that fall into more traditional commercial genres—make far less of an impact at the box office than one might suspect. *The Addiction* (1995), *Bodies Rest and Motion* (1993), *Box of Moon Light* (1997), *The Clockwatchers* (1998), *Fear of a Black Hat* (1993), *Federal Hill* (1994), *Female Perversions* (1997), *Heathers* (1989), *The House of Yes* (1997), *Just Another Girl on the IRT* (1993), *Killing Zoe* (1994), *Matewan* (1987), *Men With Guns* (1998), *Naked in New York* (1994), *Party Girl* (1995), *Simple Men* (1992), and *The Underneath* (1994) are among the most highly regarded, well-known, and popular films, but they all made $1 million or less at the box office—1/100 as much as the average blockbuster.

INDEPENDENCE IN CONTEMPORARY HOLLYWOOD

Auteurism and independence converged in the early 1980s as Hollywood conglomerized and the new Hollywood studios devoted their attention to blockbuster filmmaking. The audacity and creativity that had fueled the Hollywood renaissance of the 1970s got pushed out

JOHN SAYLES
b. Schenectady, New York, 28 September 1950

John Sayles is one of the most important [of] contemporary independent filmmakers. Because his loyal fan base shares his politics, Sayles has consistently been able to provide an alternative to the big bang of the often politically conservative Hollywood blockbuster. Making movies that depend on meaningful conversation and tackle significant moral issues, Sayles has produced films of ideas at a time when they seem sadly lacking in mainstream cinema.

Like his fellow cineastes Francis Coppola and Martin Scorsese, John Sayles got his first big break from exploitation impresario Roger Corman, for whom he wrote a screenplay for the tongue-in-cheek gore-fest *Piranha* (1978). A year later, Sayles earned legitimate success, winning a Los Angeles Film Critics Award for his more personal screenplay, *The Return of the Secaucas Seven* (1980), his debut as a writer-director. *The Return of the Secaucas Seven*, the story of a handful of twentysomethings trying to make sense of contemporary America, established something of a template for Sayles with its emphasis on dialogue and multiple intersecting narratives.

With the money earned for his screenplays for the Corman-produced sci-fi quickie *Battle Beyond the Stars* (1980) and the excellent werewolf film *The Howling* (1981), Sayles wrote and directed *Lianna* (1983), a film about a young woman struggling with her sexual preference. At a time when Hollywood dealt with lesbianism as either kinky or aberrant, Sayles handled the issue with an admirable matter-of-fact realism.

Sayles took on another hot-button issue, labor relations, with his subsequent film *Matewan* (1987), a historical reconstruction of an ill-fated West Virginia coalminers' strike in the 1920s. And in his next film *Eight Men Out* (1988), about the infamous "Black Sox Scandal" of the 1919 World Series, Sayles delivered a similarly heartfelt pro-union message—noteworthy because at the time the anti-union sentiments of Reaganomics held sway in America. While the story pivots on a moral transgression, Sayles focused instead on the exploitation of the players by team owner Charles Comiskey. Though what the players do is wrong, Sayles renders the story in terms that make one crime an inevitable response to another.

Sayles cemented his reputation as a political filmmaker by focusing his attention on race issues. *The Brother from Another Planet* (1984) told the story of a black alien who lands in the inner city and gets hooked on drugs. The ironically titled *City of Hope* (1991) focused on the thorny issue of affirmative action in a small metropolis. *Lone Star* (1996), for which Sayles received an Academy Award® nomination for Best Screenplay, examined Mexican-American relations in a border town and *Sunshine State* (2002) took a long look at the human cost of gentrification at an old Florida beachfront town abutting the one beach where African Americans could swim during segregation.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Return of the Secaucus Seven (1980), *Brother from Another Planet* (1984), *Matewan* (1987), *Eight Men Out* (1988), *Lone Star* (1996), *Sunshine State* (2002)

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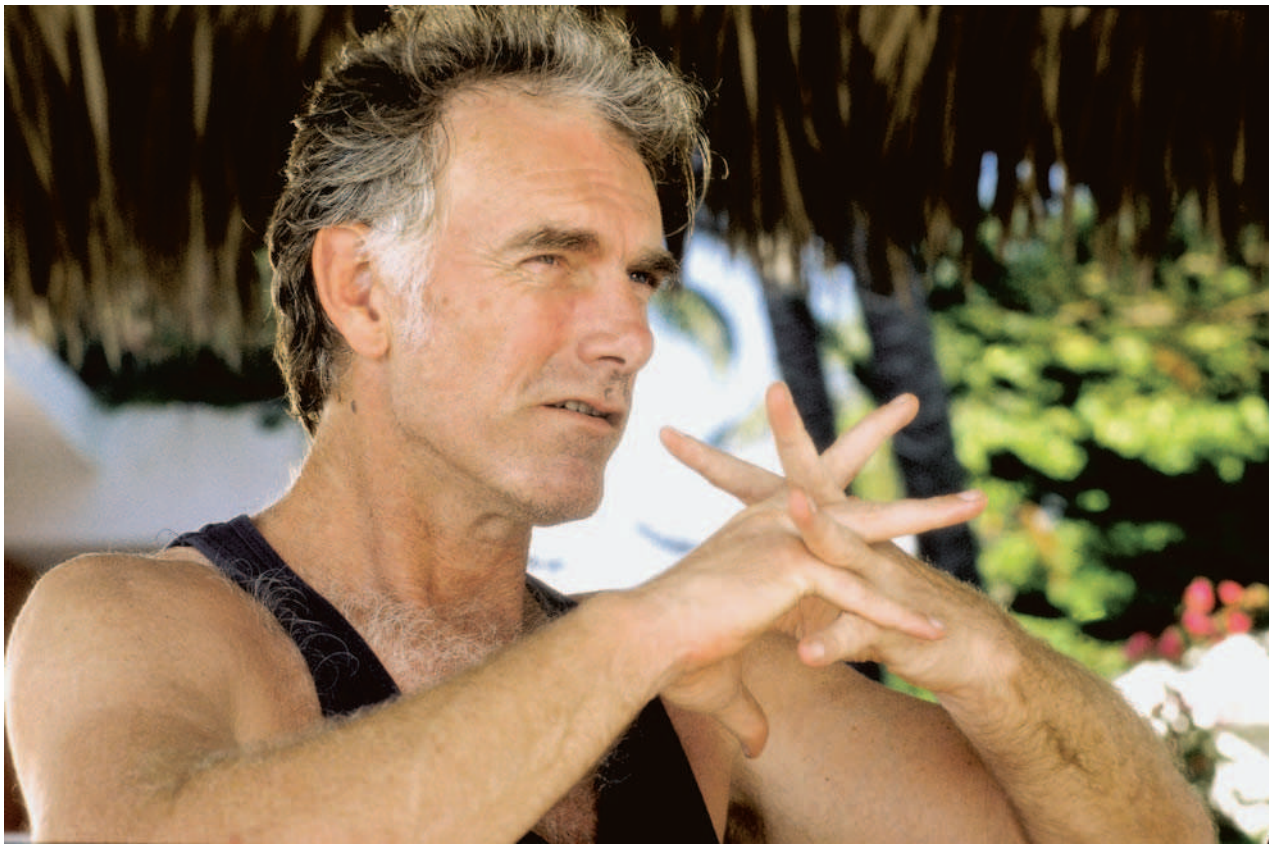
Jon Lewis

of or at least found a new home on the margins of the studio mainstream. This remained an accurate description of the Hollywood/indie divide throughout the subsequent twenty-five years even as the independent landscape slowly changed.

In the 1990s, in an effort to cash in on the "alternative market," several of the big studios added boutique, so-called indie-labels to their vast entertainment industry holdings. For example, Sony spun-off Sony Classics and Fox added Fox Searchlight. Disney expanded its holdings



John Sayles on the set of* Casa de los Babys *(2003). © IFC FILMS/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

by boldly acquiring Miramax, and in doing so diversified the former family-friendly company into the world of edgy independent fare. These corporate moves rendered "independent" a profoundly misleading term. The studio-owned and operated boutique houses had vast capital resources and even though, like their more independent indie predecessors, they acquired for distribution modest-budgeted, independently produced films often picked up at so-called independent film venues like the Sundance and Toronto Film Festivals, by century's end they had all but cornered the art-house market.

The notion of independence has always been conditional (one is always independent of or from someone or something) and partial (the marketplace has always required certain concessions to the commercial mainstream). But however these contemporary "independent" films were made and marketed they continued to offer a degree of creative freedom and market access to directors working outside the commercial mainstream.

A quick look at the important independent films in the contemporary era reveals a wide range of auteur pictures, genre movies, and niche-audience projects. Prominent among the auteur projects were two films by Quentin Tarantino—his two-part postmodern revenge fantasy *Kill Bill, Vol. 1* (2003) and *Kill Bill, Vol. 2* (2004). Though Tarantino was by 2003 something of a household name and certainly a Hollywood A-list director, his continued association with Miramax and his self-promotion as a renegade Hollywood player was consistent with the concept if not the fact of independence. Much the same can be said for Steven Soderbergh, who continued to alternate projects between the studio mainstream (the popular biopic *Erin Brockovich*) and the more marginal (the political tour de force *Traffic*, 1999).

Other directors similarly interested in forging a place for themselves outside the commercial mainstream and in doing so establishing a unique and uncompromised auteur signature followed Tarantino and Soderbergh's lead. Here again the fact of independence was less significant than the indie reputation one gained by associating oneself with even a boutique indie label. Key players here include the playwright/filmmaker Neil LaBute (the surreal comedy *Nurse Betty*, 1999), Darren Aronofsky (the wildly stylized study of drug addiction, *Requiem for*

a Dream, 1999), Christopher Nolan (the thriller *Memento*, 2000, about a man with no short-term memory caught in the middle of a murder mystery), and Todd Solondz (the sexually explicit college-set drama *Storytelling*, 2001). While opportunities for women directors remained scant in mainstream Hollywood, a number of young female auteurs got the opportunity to direct low budget indie features. Some delved into contemporary questions regarding gender identity (Kimberly Peirce's *Boys Don't Cry*, 1999), while others explored growing up female (Catherine Hardwicke's *Thirteen* and Sofia Coppola's *The Virgin Suicides*, 1999).

A number of indie titles were marketed to large niche audiences, most significantly the youth audience. The most popular indie film of all time was the teen-horror picture *The Blair Witch Project* (1999), a film that to great effect aped the look and style of a typical student film. Several more polished alternative teen horror films followed, many of them played with equal amounts of thrills and satire: Wes Craven's popular *Scream* series–*Scream* (1996), *Scream 2* (1997), and *Scream 3* (2000) and the *Scary Movie* franchise–*Scary Movie* (2000), *Scary Movie 2* (2001), and *Scary Movie 3* (2003)–were all distributed by Miramax's teen-label Dimension Films. While bawdy teen comedies like *American Pie* (1999) and its sequels (*American Pie 2*, 2001, and *American Wedding*, 2003) continued to be a staple among the major studio release slates, a series of darker, more troubling teenpics appeared on the indie circuit, films like Richard Kelly's exploration of adolescent madness *Donnie Darko* (2001), the disconcerting coming of age film *Igby Goes Down* (2002), the nerd satire *Napoleon Dynamite* (2004), the anti-establishment road trip picture *Harold and Kumar Go to White Castle* (2004), and the generation-next coming of age movie *Garden State* (2004).

Making a film on the indie circuit also offered opportunities to mainstream performers, especially movie stars, to acquire something akin to "indie cred." At the very least, it allowed glamorous movie stars a chance to showcase their talent playing "against type." For example, the beautiful African American actress Halle Berry won an Academy Award® for her performance in Marc Foster's *Monster's Ball* (2001). With an unflattering haircut, little makeup, and dingy clothes, Berry played a waitress who has an affair with a racist jailer after her husband is executed. Two years later, the South African model turned star actress Charlize Theron followed Berry's lead winning an Oscar® for her portrayal of the serial killer Aileen Wuornos in Patty Jenkins's *Monster*.

Diversifying into the small indie market has had its advantages for the major film companies. Though many of their boutique titles have not made them much money, they have added much-needed prestige to industry release slates otherwise dominated by empty action pictures. When boutique releases win prizes at festivals like Sundance, Cannes, Venice, Berlin, and Toronto or awards at the Golden Globes or Oscars®, they boost the studio's reputation. Control over the indie-sector also gives the major studios something very close to complete control over the entire American cinema landscape, a degree of control that in the 21st century renders the term "independent" not only conditional but perhaps even obsolete.

SEE ALSO *Art Cinema; Exhibition; Exploitation Films; Producer; Studio System; Yiddish Cinema*

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Jon Lewis

INDIA

The fact that India annually produces more films than any other nation is frequently acknowledged but easily misunderstood. "Indian cinema" identifies a diverse range of popular and art cinemas regularly produced in at least half a dozen languages for large but distinct audiences within and outside India. For much of the West, Indian cinema was long identified almost exclusively with the work of the Bengali director Satyajit Ray (1921–1992), whose realist films consciously differed from the majority of those made in India. Increased international awareness of the popular Hindi-language film industry in Bombay (now officially Mumbai), known with both affection and condescension as Bollywood, can lead to the inference that all Indian cinema adheres to a song-filled melodramatic formula. Yet reducing Indian cinema to either Ray's art films or a generic *masala* (spicy mix) model misrepresents Indian cinema, as international film critics have begun to point out. Moreover, the complex history of cinema in India—with roots in ancient culture, material origins under British colonialism, and local dominance following independence—also challenges easy generalizations about what is among the world's most heterogeneous as well as prolific national cinemas.

EARLY INDIAN CINEMA

The deepest cultural roots of Indian cinema may be ancient: the Sanskrit epics the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* remain familiar sources for film narratives and allusions, and classical *rasa* (juice, or flavor) aesthetics is sometimes cited to explain the mixture of diverse elements found in popular Indian films. The central visual interaction of Hindu worship, *darshan* (viewing), has also been identified as a cultural source for the regular formal reliance on frontal framing and direct address in popular cinema. Theatrical forms such as the Westernized Parsi (or Parsee) theater and the Marathi Sangeet Natak (musical theater) immediately preceded the arrival of cinema and provided more direct sources for some of the techniques (such as the regular incorporation of song and dance) that distinguish Indian cinema, and these also supplied many of the new medium's first performers and financiers. The mass-produced lithographs of Raja Ravi Varma (1848–1906), often depicting Hindu gods and goddesses in naturalistic forms and settings, were also influential transitional works encouraging the adaptation of Indian visual traditions into the realistic media of early photography and film.

Cinema itself first appeared in India when the Lumière Cinématographe was exhibited in Bombay at Watson's Hotel on 7 July 1896. Screenings in Calcutta and Madras soon followed, and by 1898 the Indian photographers Hiralal Sen (1866–1917) (founder of the Royal Bioscope Company in Calcutta) and H. S. Bhatavdekar (b. 1868) began producing short films and recording popular theater performances. Although he was not the first Indian to shoot or exhibit films, the "father of Indian cinema" is justifiably identified as Dhundiraj Govind (Dadasaheb) Phalke (1870–1944), whose *Raja Harishchandra* (1913), drawn from a story in the *Mahabharata*, initiated feature-length narrative films of distinctively Indian character. According to legend, viewing a film depicting the life of Christ inspired Phalke to put Hindu gods on screen, a motive that aligned him with the *swadeshi* (indigenous) movement demanding independence from Britain through boycott of foreign

goods. Following Phalke's lead, well over a thousand silent films were produced in India, but the fact that few have survived frustrates accurate accounts of the first decades of cinema produced in India.

In 1906 J. F. Madan's Elphinstone Bioscope Company in Calcutta began regular film production, and by 1917 Baburao Painter established the Maharashtra Film Company in Kolhapur. For the following two decades, an expanding studio system would ensure steady film production throughout India: by the early 1930s, major studios such as New Theatres (Calcutta), Prabhat (Pune), and the Bombay-based Kohinoor Film Company, Imperial Film Company, Wadia Movietone, Ranjit Movietone, and Bombay Talkies offered audiences commercially differentiated genres and distinctive stars. Himansu Rai's Bombay Talkies, organized as a corporation, relied on European financing, technology, and talent (notably the German director Franz Osten [1876–1956]); in 1940 Rai's widow and the studio's biggest female star, Devika Rani (1907–1994), took over the company. India's first sound film, *Alam Ara* (1931), directed by Ardeshir M. Irani (1886–1969) for Imperial, firmly established the importance of song and dance sequences in popular Indian cinema as well as the future identification of Indian films along regional lines determined by language. By the following year, V. Shantaram (1901–1990) began to direct innovative films in both Marathi and Hindi for Prabhat (often starring the legendary actress Durga Khote [1905–1991]), demonstrating Indian cinema's quick adjustment to new sound technologies as well as different linguistic markets. However, as Bombay became the center of Indian film production, a variety of spoken Hindi—or Hindustani—would soon establish itself as Indian cinema's dominant screen language.

INDIAN CINEMA AFTER INDEPENDENCE

Amid the deprivations of World War II (including shortages of raw film stock), increased colonial censorship, a devastating famine in Bengal, and the traumatic partition of India and Pakistan upon independence in 1947, the studio system in India came to an end. But the optimism of the era embodied by the first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru (who served from 1947 to 1964), also led to a revitalized Hindi cinema under the impact of new independent production companies established by key directors like Mehboob Khan (1907–1964) and Bimal Roy (1909–1966). In addition, actor-directors like Raj Kapoor (1924–1988) and Guru Dutt (1925–1964) became brand names in the industry: Kapoor created R. K. Films; Sippy and Rajshree Films became the banner for several generations of the Sippy and Barjatya families, respectively; and brothers B. R. (b. 1914) and Yash Chopra (b. 1932) created their own B. R. Chopra and Yashraj production companies. Previously unknown artists dislocated by Partition arrived from the newly created state of Pakistan and rose to stardom as actors, directors, or producers, becoming urban legends. The rich body of films produced in the 1950s, the decade following independence, frequently balanced entertainment and social commentary, the latter often supplied by an infusion of talent affiliated with the leftist Progressive Writers Association and the Indian Peoples' Theatre Association, a talent pool that marshaled cinema for covert political messages before independence and continued to project Nehru's optimism about nation-building for about a decade after independence. Driven by stars and songs, the popular cinema firmly established itself in the daily lives and cultural imaginations of millions of Indians as well as audiences in the Soviet Union, China, and elsewhere. This "golden age" of Hindi cinema was ending just as Satyajit Ray's first films were receiving international attention, and the 1960s would draw sharp distinctions between formulaic commercial cinema and what would be called the New Indian Cinema, the latter signaling both a shift in form and content as well as a reliance on state-sponsored financing never available to mainstream cinema.

The 1970s was a period of rising worker, peasant, and student unrest. In this changing political climate, films became more strident in addressing endemic corruption and the state's inability to stem it, and upheld the victimized working-class hero as challenging the status quo. These films, including *Deewar* (*The Wall*, 1975) and the massive hit *Sholay* (*Flames*, 1975), became the insignia of superstar Amitabh Bachchan (b. 1942), who embodied the "angry young man" during Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's "Emergency" clampdown on civil liberties (from 1975 to 1977) and into the mid-1980s. They departed significantly from 1950s films in their lack of optimism and from 1960s films in the radically truncated attention to the hero's romantic love interest. However, from the late 1980s on, the eclipse of Bachchan's centrality coincided with the revival of romance that returned to the screen as a culture war between the youthful (often Westernized) couple in love and their tradition-bound parents. In record-breaking hits like *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (*The Brave Hearted Will Take the Bride*, 1995) and *Hum Aapke Hain Kaun* (*Who Am I To You?*, 1994), balancing the rights of rugged individualism and duty toward family and community took center stage.

These films arrived against the backdrop of the Indian state's abandoning forty years of Nehruvian socialism for a market-driven "liberalized" economy at the end of the Cold War. Alongside these romance films about the changing family and the private sphere were

RAJ KAPOOR

b. Ranbirraj Kapoor, Peshawar, India (now Pakistan), 14 December 1924, d. 2 June 1988

Raj Kapoor is the quintessential Bombay industry filmmaker of the Nehru era. His career spans the first four decades following independence, from 1947 to 1988, coinciding with Nehruvian socialism. In 1991 socialism was abandoned in favor of "liberalization," opening India's economy to the West. In the 1950s Kapoor translated his own admiration and his generation's enthusiasm for Prime Minister Nehru's vision into extremely popular Hindi films, which he infused with his unique mix of populist politics and sentimentality.

Raj Kapoor's father, Prithviraj Kapoor, was an established film actor by the 1940s, and Raj's career developed rapidly. After minor roles and his debut as a leading man in *Neel Kamal* (Blue Lotus, 1947), he acted in and directed *Aag* (*Fire*, 1948), followed by successes as actor in and director of *Barsaat* (*Rain*, also known as *The Monsoons*, 1949), and as actor in *Andaz* (*A Matter of Style*, 1949), the latter two films pairing him unforgettably with the actress Nargis. In 1951 he launched his own studio, R. K. Films, which his son, Randhir, took over in 1988 (his granddaughters, Karisma and Kareena Kapoor, also joined the film industry in the late 1980s and 1990s, respectively).

Kapoor chose dramatic dichotomies to play up the conflicts that Hindi films emphasize: between city and country, modernity and tradition, West and East, rich and poor. His protagonists, inevitably underprivileged, are drawn inexorably to the city, only to discover the pervasive corruption and danger lurking beneath its glossy surface. This exposition reinforces the protagonist's moral fortitude to surmount his travails and, together with his love interest, surge toward a joyous future while at the same time apparently valorizing "Indian" values. Conscious of international cinema, Kapoor paid homage to Charlie Chaplin by adapting the figure of the tramp, and the narratives unfold from his point of view in the greatest R. K. Films of the 1950s, *Awaara* (*The Vagabond*, 1951) and *Shri 420* (*Mr. 420*, 1955), both of which he starred in and directed. Kapoor became an unofficial ambassador of Indian cinema; he was warmly received in the Soviet Union when he visited in the 1950s, and his popularity spread in the Middle East, China, and Africa, where songs from his films were translated into local languages.

In the postwar era stars were powerful figures, and their offscreen lives mediated the public discourse on morality. Raj Kapoor's extended affair with co-star Nargis was a scandal he circumvented by staying in his marriage and representing himself in the public eye as a "family man," a family that is now virtually a film industry empire built over four generations. Deftly combining "art and commerce"—his functional definition of popular cinema—Kapoor was a phenomenal success in the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1970s and 1980s his output dwindled dramatically. Barring the hit teen romance *Bobby* (1973), in which he did not appear, his often ambitious and thinly autobiographical films from these decades lost touch with the popular mood and failed at the box office, oddly paralleling the troubles besetting the Nehruvian project.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Barsaat (*Rain*, 1949), *Awara* (*The Vagabond*, 1951), *Shri 420* (*Mr. 420*, 1955), *Bobby* (1973), *Satyam Shivam Sundaram: Love Sublime* (1978)

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Corey K. Creekmur
Jyotika Virdi

slick portrayals of the urban (and occasionally the rural) underworld in proliferating gangster films such as *Satya* (1998) and *Company* (2002), which mapped a decaying public sphere and audaciously represented onscreen the actual infiltration of the offscreen film world by underworld "black money" financing and extortion. Although cinema remains extremely popular in India, the increased availability of a films (via video, digital technology, and cable television) outside of India has illuminated the importance of a film's international circulation among

the nonresident Indian (NRI) or diasporic audience in Africa, Australia, Britain, Canada, the Caribbean, and the US. At the same time, hints of a growing non-Indian audience for Indian cinema are evident, in some measure through the emergence of a body of serious criticism on Indian cinema being published internationally.

Critical writing on Hindi cinema has come to focus on how it both reflects and fuels the project of constructing a nation and national identity. Popular cinema, often mistaken for being formulaic and repetitive, mobilizes the nation to maintain the dynamic work of self-reinvention. Hindi film narratives are typically about a protagonist, his family, and a set of stock characters: the hero; his love interest, the heroine; a comic figure, often the hero's sidekick; and the villain, a foil in the narrative, the obstacle the hero overcomes to attain his goal.

The villain's representation is particularly fascinating for the way it changes over the decades: from urban tycoons and village money-lenders in the 1950s and 1960s to ''smugglers'' violating India's tariff policies in the 1970s, unyielding patriarchs in 1980s romance films, and politicians or terrorists in the 1990s. Villains anchor national discourse, becoming emblematic of threats the nation faces and anxieties the films rearticulate in public discourse. Films from the 1950s tend to cast the rich as powerful and corrupt; the 1970s and 1990s versions of these films display a stylistic sophistication in their exposition of the links between financial and political power held by mobsters and politicians. If the 1950s hero was a benign figure, resolute in his ideals to work with ''the system,'' the 1970s hero openly rebelled against its unfairness or made it work for him. In the 1990s gangster films, the hero's pathology, descent into crime, and fatal end are often the central point of the narrative. A variation on the gangster films tracing the underworld's fascinating topography are the 1990s films tracking the rise and fall of youth, victims of religious fundamentalism turning to terrorism, and action films in which the hero represents state power (law enforcement or the armed forces) putting down such terrorists. Villains and heroes are antagonistic forces: one represents the threat to the nation, the other its containment, thereby keeping the nation center-stage.

In addition to heroes and villains other figures trace the national imaginary. The woman in her role as a mother often stands in for the nation, a figure to be rescued and protected. The mother as an object of pity, exhorting her sons to save her, is rooted in an older moment of nineteenth-century cultural renaissance when Indian art and literature was imbued with anticolonial nationalist fervor. The nation is personified as the mother (*Bharat Mata* or Mother India) in numerous plays, novels, poems, posters, and paintings. Popular Hindi cinema seizes upon this figure and the mother–son bond has powerful cultural resonance, recurring in seminal films, from Mehboob Khan's remake of *Aurat/Woman* (1940) as *Mother India* (1957) to Yash Chopra's *Deewar/Wall* (1975). In the heroine/love interest role, the woman is cast as the repository of the ''East,'' signifying anti-individualism, family and community values, and tradition, as distinct from the ''West'' and its woman.

TRENDS AND GENRES

The early desire to put Indian stories on screen led pioneers like Phalke to mine the rich tradition of Hindu religious and folk narratives to produce ''mythologicals,'' films that dramatized the popular stories of gods and goddesses. (Eventually rare in Hindi cinema, the mythological would reemerge most prominently via massively popular television serials in the 1980s.) By the 1930s, mythologicals competed with ''devotionals'' like New Theatre's *Meerabai* (1933) and Prabhat's *Sant Tukaram* (1936), which recounted the inspiring stories of Hindu poet-saints. However, such distinctive religious genres were balanced by the regular production of dramas, comedies, and popular stunt films that translated Western serials and the films of Douglas Fairbanks into Indian locations and idioms. The Anglo-Indian star Fearless Nadia (1908–1996) dominated the stunt genre in films for Wadia Movietone like *Hunterwali* (1935) and *Miss Frontier Mail* (1936). ''Historicals,'' set in the near or distant past, became an especially effective form to both affirm cultural traditions and introduce vast spectacles: historicals set in the Mughal period (1526–1858) like *Shiraz* (1928) or *Humayun* (1945), entranced audiences with their luxurious sets and ornate costumes.

However, following independence, most popular Hindi films would be broadly identified as ''socials,'' set in the present and confronting the meaning of modern Indian identity and society. The roots of 1950s socials can be traced to successful 1930s films in which romantic love faces caste boundaries, as in Rai's *Achhut Kanya* (*Untouchable Girl*, 1936), or class divisions, as in *Devdas* (1935), a film remade prominently in 1956 and again in 2002. By the 1950s, socials, poignant narratives about the crippling effects of cultural barriers in a society rebuilding itself, would parallel contemporaneous Hollywood melodramas dealing with the aftermath of war or the politics of race. Hindi films from this period regularly examined caste, feudalism, the dispossession of peasants, the trauma of urban migration, and alienating urban culture, all within a popular format driven by a star system and the promise of song sequences. These include Guru Dutt's *Pyaasa* (*Thirsty One*, 1957) and *Kaagaz Ke Phool* (*Paper Flowers*, 1959), Raj Kapoor's *Awara* (*Vagabond*, 1951) and *Shri 420* (*Mr. 420*, 1955),

and Bimal Roy's *Do Bigha Zameen* (*Two Acres of Land*, 1953) and *Sujata* (1959), to mention a few.

At the same time, socials maintained their function as entertainment, featuring songs, comic bits, and massively popular stars along with social messages. For instance, the production company Navketan specialized in urban thrillers, such as *Taxi Driver* (1955) and *C.I.D.* (1956), starring co-founder Dev Anand (b. 1923). A notable subgenre of "Muslim socials" explored the significance of India's most prominent minority identity, often relying on the romantic and poetic traditions of Urdu literature to elevate such narratives with stunning song and dance sequences in films like *Mughal-e-Azam* (*The Grand Emperor*, K. Asif, 1960) or *Mere Mehboob* (*My Love*, Rawail, 1963). However, despite this history of distinct genres, the popular Indian film eventually adhered to a formula, the *masala* film, which combined comedy, drama, romance, and action, along with a requisite number of song sequences, in a mix of "flavors" that critics have traced to ancient Sanskrit dramaturgy and aesthetics. For Western viewers, such films can seem fragmented and incoherent because of their shifts in tone and style; but for Indian viewers expecting a range of carefully coordinated attractions, the combination yields a satisfying whole, unlike Western films narrowly confined to a single mood. Typically running three hours and divided by an often cliff-hanging interval (intermission), the mainstream *masala* film allows for both repetitious formula and creative variation.

NATIONAL CINEMA AND REGIONAL CINEMAS

Hindi, a language common to northern India but that varies by region, has had a complex relationship with cinema and national politics. Declared a national language after independence, Hindi has met powerful resistance in southern states. Yet the popularity of Hindi cinema has allowed it to cut across regional and linguistic divisions, giving Bombay cinema a national or "all-India" status distinct from regional language cinemas that usually remain limited to audiences within the states in which they are produced. Emerging as a language of trade in colonial and multilingual Bombay, Hindi was popularized through cinema as Hindustani, a hybrid of Persian-based Urdu and northern Indian dialects, arguably more native to cinema than any distinct region. After independence strains of Urdu associated with Muslim influence were slowly diluted and replaced by Sanskrit vocabulary, identified with the majority's Hindu culture. Hindi film songs especially drew heavily on Urdu, which lends itself to poetry and drama; although this reliance has been reduced in the postindependence period at the cost of some poetic flair, many of the key terms in cinema, especially for discussing the varieties of love, retain Urdu influences. At the same time, some Hindi films have successfully employed the regional Bhojpuri dialect (popularly associated with rustics), and the street slang of contemporary Mumbai has also cropped up in film, commonly mixed with English words and phrases; these trends continue to undermine the easy identification of "Hindi" cinema strictly in terms of its language.

Although Hindi cinema emerged as India's most prominent and broadly popular form, its dominant status as a national commodity has often been challenged by or threatens to obscure the steady production of films in India's regional cinemas, often in annual numbers rivaling or exceeding Bombay's figures. (The claim that India leads the world in film production depends on collapsing these differences into a total national figure.) Although the arrival of sound in Indian cinema eventually isolated the production and distribution of films by linguistic regions, early sound studios often produced films in multiple languages before dubbing became a common practice. Films produced in the major South Indian languages of Tamil and Telegu have generated some crossover artists, exemplified by Mani Ratnam (b. 1956), maker of the controversial *Roja* (1992) and *Bombay* (1995), and the prolific composer A.R. Rahman (b. 1966), both active in the Bombay industry. Ratnam is also among the leading filmmakers who bridged the divergent popular and art cinema by melding their aesthetics in superbly crafted films.

In addition to the Bengali art cinema associated internationally with Satyajit Ray, Ritwik Ghatak (1925–1976), and Mrinal Sen (b. 1923), the regular production of popular Bengali cinema has challenged Hindi cinema in a major urban market like Calcutta. Films produced in the southwestern state of Kerala in the Malayalam language also reflect that state's distinct leftist political history, with the work of directors G. Aravindan (1935–1991) and Adoor Gopalakrishnan (b. 1941) receiving international acclaim. Although relatively small in number, films produced in languages such as Kannada (from Karnataka), Marathi (from Maharastra, which includes Mumbai), Assamese (from Assam), or Oryia (from Orissa) round out an unusually diverse linguistic map, rendering the typical association of a national cinema with a single national language entirely untenable for India. In a few cases, prominent figures such as the actor-director-writer Kamal Hassan (b. 1954) have traversed regional cinemas and worked in Hindi cinema, whereas others find immense success only within a particular context. Moreover, art cinemas produced within any region often share stylistic and thematic affiliations that override the linguistic distinctions that otherwise distinguish popular films by region.

SATYAJIT RAY

b. Calcutta, India, 2 May 1921, d. 23 April 1992

The American premiere of Satyajit Ray's first film, *Pather Panchali* (*Song of the Little Road*), at New York City's Museum of Modern Art in 1955 elevated the director into the pantheon of the world's great humanist filmmakers, and he remains India's most internationally known director. Although the West viewed Ray's first films as essentially Indian, within India Ray's films clearly demonstrated his inheritance of the modernist values of the cosmopolitan Bengali renaissance. Ray was nurtured within a notably artistic family with close connections to the Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore (whose work Ray would later frequently adapt to film), and as a young man Ray's taste in movies was fully international.

As a co-founder in 1947 of the Calcutta Film Society, he was a keen student of Soviet and European cinema, especially the Italian neorealist films that directly inspired his first film and their sequels, *Aparajito* (*The Unvanquished*, 1956) and *Apur Sansar* (*The World of Apu*, 1959). Together eventually known as the Apu Trilogy, the three films trace the development of the eponymous central figure from childhood to maturity and fatherhood as he moves from his remote village in Bengal to the holy city of Benares and finally to modern Calcutta, replicating the urbanization of many modern Indians. The Apu Trilogy featured music composed and performed by Ravi Shankar, who would become internationally famous soon thereafter. In the final film of the trilogy, Ray introduced the actors Soumitra Chatterjee and Sharmila Tagore, who would become regular members of Ray's troupe of collaborators, with Chatterjee eventually appearing in fifteen of Ray's films.

The remarkable achievement of the Apu trilogy has sometimes obscured Ray's other works, many of which, including *Jalsaghar* (*The Music Room*, 1958) and *Devi* (*The Goddess*, 1960), function more as psychological explorations than realist dramas. Another group, including *Charulata* (*The Lonely Wife*, 1964), *Shatranj Ke Khilari* (*The Chess Players*, 1977), and *Ghare-Baire* (*The Home and the World*, 1984), explore the social complexities of the recent colonial past with meticulous attention to detail. The full range of Ray's achievement, which his international reputation elides, includes documentaries as well as a series of remarkable and immensely popular children's films featuring the comic duo Goopy and Bagha, characters created by Ray's grandfather decades earlier. Ray was also a writer, publisher, and painter.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Pather Panchali (*Song of the Little Road*, 1955), *Aparajito* (*The Unvanquished*, 1956), *Jalsaghar* (*The Music Room*, 1958), *Apur Sansar* (*The World of Apu*, 1959), *Devi* (*The Goddess*, 1960), *Charulata* (*The Lonely Wife*, 1964), *Goopy Gyne Bagha Byne* (*The Adventures of Goopy and Bagha*, 1968), *Ashani Sanket* (*Distant Thunder*, 1973), *Shatranj Ke Khilari* (*The Chess Players*, 1977), *Ghare-Baire* (*The Home and the World*, 1984)

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FILM MUSIC

Along with extremely popular stars, commercial Indian cinema attracts its massive audience through prominently featured songs, and elaborate song-sequences, in virtually all popular films. Although early sound films relied on singing actors, like the stars K. L. Saigal (1904–1947), Noorjehan (1926–2000), and Suraiya (1929–2004), the eventual development of "playback" recording technology isolated the voice and body, creating an offscreen star system of "playback singers" who provide the singing voices of onscreen stars. Among these, the sisters Lata Mangeshkar (b. 1929) and Asha Bhosle (b. 1933) have virtually defined the female singing voice in Hindi cinema for decades; male playback singers like Mukesh, Mohammed Rafi (1924–1980), and Kishore Kumar (1929–1987) were often closely associated with the

Satyajit Ray. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

leading men for whom they regularly voiced songs. Prominent and prolific music directors such as Naushad, S. D. Burman (1906–1975), and the team of Laxmikant–Pyrelal (Laxmikant [1935–1998] and Pyrelal [b. 1940]), as well as lyricists (often prominent poets), are also familiar to fans and frequently more famous than the actors they support.

Although film songs have been criticized for their impure borrowing of styles (especially in the hands of pop maestros like R. D. Burman, famous for his rock and jazz inflections), they often rely on traditional Indian instruments and song forms (such as the Urdu *ghazal* and Hindu *bhajan*), even as instances of prominently featured electric guitars and disco beats have increased. For a while All India Radio banned film songs in favor of classical music, leading millions to tune in Radio Ceylon, which featured film songs until the national service reconsidered its stance. Dance in Indian cinema also draws on classical traditions as well as the latest Western fads in roughly equal measure. Film songs regularly extend their significance well beyond specific films, and the latest hits as well as evergreen favorites can be heard throughout India as the music of everyday life as well as special occasions. Hit film songs also provide a storehouse of references and allusions for later films, which often evoke familiar lyrics in their titles.

Among the principal attractions of Hindi cinema is the song sequence, commonly referred to as "picturization," which crosses the boundaries between genres. Almost all popular Indian films feature a number of picturized songs, but it is misleading to identify such films as "musicals." Songs rather than films are often grouped by style and narrative function: love songs dominate, but devotional, comic, and patriotic songs all have their place in Indian cinema. A number of the most famous dance sequences in Indian cinema are celebrated for their sheer scale or intricate choreography of dance and camerawork. Some directors have expressed resentment at the unofficial requirement to include song sequences in every film, but others are famous for their ability to creatively picturize songs. Guru Dutt is now legendary for his intricate and highly cinematic song and dance sequences, whereas Yash Chopra initiated a popular trend of picturizing songs in exotic, often European, locations despite the Indian settings of his narratives. Other directors, such as Subash Ghai (b. 1943), are known for wildly comic songs (often allowing the otherwise serious Amitabh Bachchan to cut loose), whereas Mani Ratnam has dared to place his dancing stars among the riot-scarred locations of contemporary political violence.

STARS

Like Hollywood, Indian cinema recognized the commercial value and appeal of stars early on, even though early debates questioned whether respectable women should appear in films. Early stars often had backgrounds in theater, but the first major female stars of Indian cinema before Devika Rani (1907–1994) (the leading lady at Bombay Talkies and eventual head of the studio) were often Anglo-Indian, including Patience Cooper, Sulochana (Ruby Meyers; 1907–1983), and the stunt queen Fearless Nadia (Mary Evans). The melancholic singer K. L. Saigal was the first great male star of the sound era, to be displaced by the more talented actor Ashok Kumar (1911–2001), whose film career lasted for decades. Two of the greatest directors of 1950s Hindi cinema, Raj Kapoor and Guru Dutt, were also stars who conveniently represented opposites poles of light and dark moods. The golden age's female stars, including Nargis (1929–1981), Madhubala (1933–1969), and Waheeda Rehman (b. 1936), often balanced on the tightrope between traditional Indian femininity and Hollywood glamour, while the romantic and often tragic Dilip Kumar emerged in the same period as perhaps Hindi cinema's most enduring leading man. Typically, male stars in India enjoy long careers, whereas many female stars drop out of films when they marry, perhaps to return later to play "mother" roles.

Even the artistically ambitious New Indian Cinema was not immune to a star system, which included actors

such as Shabana Azmi (b. 1950), Smita Patil (1955–1986), and Naseeruddin Shah (b. 1950) (all rising to prominence in the films of Shyam Benegal [b. 1934]). But the overwhelming significance of the Indian film star became most apparent in the mid-1970s, when Bachchan's status as an "angry young man" demonstrated the importance that a single charismatic actor could have for an entire industry. Bachchan's massive popularity defined an era and a new kind of hero through a series of blockbuster films. Following Bachchan's decade-long reign, younger male stars, including Shah Rukh Khan (b. 1965), Aamir Khan (b. 1965), and Hritik Roshan (b. 1974), often represent a globalized and commercial youth culture, while recent female stars such as Madhuri Dixit (b. 1967) and Aishwarya Rai (b. 1973) continue to represent the tension between traditional Indian values and feisty, often erotic, independence.

The popularity of film stars has also led to prominent political careers, especially in Tamil Nadu, where the Tamil film superstars Shivaji Ganesan (1927–2001), Jayalalitha, and M. G. Ramachandran (1917–1987) (known as MGR) balanced film and political careers for decades, frequently blurring their on- and offscreen roles. In Andhra Pradesh, the Telegu cinema superstar N. T. Rama Rao (NTR; 1923–1996) enjoyed a similar career. Some Hindi film stars, including Bachchan, have also dabbled in politics, often controversially, but with less long-term success than that of their South Indian counterparts.

THE STATE AND CINEMA

Although some film stars succeeded in politics, popular Hindi cinema has had an uneasy relationship with the Indian state. The resistance to state-imposed Hindi in education, public administration, radio, and television starkly contrasts with the commercial Hindi cinema's pan-Indian popularity and national status. This is even more significant in the case of Hindi film song lyrics, which are embraced across both linguistic and class boundaries, including the privileged, English-speaking upper echelons, who otherwise typically disdain popular cinema.

State-controlled radio's bid to exclude Hindi film music failed, but historically the state's efforts to regulate the industry through taxation and censorship, though contentious, have been more successful. The Motion Picture Association of India (IMPA), the official body representing industry interests, has consistently but unsuccessfully negotiated for lower taxes. A few low-budget artistic films and occasionally a popular feature film deemed "educational" might receive exemption from the stiff entertainment tax, but a certification by the Censor Board is mandatory for all general theater film releases and appears onscreen. The state assumes moral regulatory authority, insisting on cutting what it deems inappropriate representations of sexuality and violence as well as overtly political content. Hindi cinema has devised awkward strategies to circumvent censorship related to sexuality, creating its own unusual conventions, reminiscent of Hollywood films produced under the Production Code. A ban on screen kissing initially derived from the British censorship code was subsequently accepted by the industry in a curious mode of self-regulation that contrasts with the erotically charged "wet sari" scenes common in song sequences. Standing in for the kiss or intimate love scenes, lyrics, gestures, and body movements creatively suggest the erotics of romance and desire. The Indian state's role as an arbiter of morality and taste is most clearly seen in the patronage it offered cinema through the Film Finance Corporation (FFC), a financial and distribution platform established in 1960 (reconstituted as the National Film Development Corporation, an amalgamation of the FFC and the Indian Motion Picture Export Corporation in 1980), and the Film and Television Institute of India, a training school set up in 1961. Together these contributed to the emergence of art cinema in India suited almost exclusively to the taste and sensibility of the Indian literati.

ART CINEMA

In the 1950s Satyajit Ray's films placed regional Bengali cinema (received as Indian cinema) on the international map, and although other Bengali filmmakers, such as Ritwik Ghatak and Mrinal Sen, shared some of the national attention, Ray's international status gave him undisputed standing as the master of this cinema. The three films of Ray's Apu trilogy—*Pather Panchali* (*Song of the Little Road*, 1955), *Aparajito* (*The Unvanquished*, 1957), and *Apur Sansar* (*The World of Apu*, 1959)—derive their strength from Ray's ability to create indelible moments from a naturalistic, understated style and simple narrative. Each film forces Apu to confront painful losses, which are offset by moments of quiet joy. Critics praised the films for their universal humanism, whereas the former Bombay star Nargis, serving as a member of Parliament, famously denounced Ray for "exporting images of India's poverty for foreign audiences." In 1970 an official art cinema developed in India, helped in no small part by state subsidies and promotion at international film festivals. A handful of directors emerged, filling the space occupied almost exclusively by Ray in the two preceding decades. A pan-Indian and growing middle class expanded Ray's audience beyond Bengal, and in 1977 he made *Shatranj Ke Khiladi* (*The Chess Players*) for a national audience.

Pinaki Sen Gupta (right) as young Apu in Satyajit Ray's* Aparajito *(*The Unvanquished*, 1957). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Subsequently, other art film directors who emerged in the 1970s created a distinct niche in Indian cinema termed "New," "Parallel," or "Art" cinema. Subsequently, other art film directors emerged in the 1970s—Govind Nihalani, Ketan Mehta, Saeed Mirza, M.S. Sathyu, and the most notable among them, Shyam Benegal. Benegal's trilogy *Ankur* (*Seedling*, 1974), *Nishant* (*Night's End*, 1975) and *Manthan* (*The Churning*, 1976) marked the beginning of the twenty-odd feature films he went on to direct. Art cinema's financing, distribution, aesthetics, and audience were in sharp variance with popular cinema. Eschewing popular cinema's musical and melodramatic formulas, the new cinema embraced realism in terse dramatic narratives that were often exposés of corruption among powerful rural landlords, urban industrialists, politicians, or law enforcement authorities. Although its output was a small fraction of that of popular cinema, art cinema received disproportionate attention in part because of its influential consumers, the Indian literati and middle class, but also because its novelty generated genuine enthusiasm in film critics. Critical commentary on cinema emerged along with this cinema, marking the beginnings of Indian cinema literature. Unfortunately, this literature polarized the relationship between popular and art cinema and favored the latter. During the 1990s state subsidies for art cinema diminished considerably, and the search for commercial success led some directors to pay closer attention to popular cinema, at times even adopting its aesthetic strategies.

By the 1990s art cinema had become repetitive and somewhat stagnant and began to morph under the influence of new entrants—diasporic filmmakers, some of whom were second- and third-generation Indians located in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. These films' central theme is the cultural dislocation created by migration to the metropolitan centers in the postcolonial era of accelerated globalization. If Ray was the precursor to a broader art cinema that took off in

the 1970s, the antecedent to the generation of diasporic filmmakers is Merchant-Ivory Productions—the combined effort of the producer Ismail Merchant (1936–2005), from India, the director James Ivory (b. 1928), from the United States, and the writer Ruth Prawer Jhabvala (b. 1927), of Polish-German descent, who together have made films about Indo-British encounters during and after the mid-1960s using a more or less fixed ensemble of Indian and British actors. Diasporic cinema since the late 1980s has focused instead on the experiences of middle- and working-class immigrants in their host countries, in particular the ways in which they negotiate cultural distance from the homeland. The audience is both the Indian diaspora and the middle class, a section of which dwells in both domains. Although the quality of these films varies, some auteurs stand out: Srinivas Krishna (b. 1913) and Deepa Mehta (b. 1950) in Canada, Gurinder Chadha (b. 1966) and Hanif Qureshi (b. 1954) in the United Kingdom, and Mira Nair (b. 1957) in the United States. Some auteurs have forged international collaboration around financial investment, distribution, and even talent. In searching for their own distinctive aesthetic, some have tried to appropriate or pay homage to popular cinema by adopting its most significant insignia, the song and dance sequence, whereas others have chosen realism, comedy, or lampoon as their preferred style.

In the twenty-first century, some in Hollywood have been carefully following the lead taken by diasporic filmmakers in collaborating with the mainstream Bombay film industry. Hindi cinema and Hollywood, long functioning in parallel global markets, have begun to take stock of the mutual benefits collaboration might bring. Hollywood is driven by its interest in novelty, lower production costs, and cheaper talent, the same forces behind globalization. For the Bombay industry's new generation of filmmakers, who since the 1990s have energetically experimented with commercial cinema, this presents an opportunity to tie in new sources of international capital, especially after the spectacular losses the industry suffered in 2002, and the lure of a crossover market beyond its domestic and diasporic audience. However, some Indian filmmakers are keen to win this market on their own terms, which to them means preserving the charm, romance, and aesthetic of popular Hindi cinema.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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INTERNET

Although the origins of the Internet can be traced to the 1960s with the founding of the Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET) by the US Department of Defense, the medium's significance for the film industry began with the proliferation of the World Wide Web in the mid-1990s. Before the development of the Web, Internet use was limited to text-based communication by a relatively small number of people over slow modem connections. Since the late 1990s, however, high-speed access through Digital Subscriber Lines (DSL) and cable modems into US homes has opened up possibilities for promoting and distributing digitized films and videos over the Internet to a mass audience.

MOVIE PROMOTION ON THE INTERNET

In the summer of 1995, media and advertising executives announced that the Internet had become the "new frontier" in film promotion. Marketing *Batman Forever* (1995), Warner Bros. was the first to promote a major feature film using a Website as the campaign's centerpiece. The Web address (or URL) was included on posters, print and television advertisements, and radio spots, and the *Batman Forever* logo appeared with the URL without elaboration at bus and train stations. The film's Website offered a hypertextual narrative that linked to plot twists and hidden pages for users to discover by correctly answering a series of concealed questions posed by the Riddler, one of the film's main characters. The *Batman Forever* Website also cross-promoted ancillary products from its sister companies, including the soundtrack recording and music videos.

In June 1995 Universal Pictures partnered with leading Internet service providers American Online and CompuServe to present the first live interactive multisystem simulcast to promote a film on the Web with *Apollo 13* star Tom Hanks and director Ron Howard before the premiere. The Website later included special Internet video greetings from some of the film's stars and digital still pictures from the film's Los Angeles premiere. Another notable early example of Internet promotion was the Website for *Mars Attacks!* (1996), by Warner Bros., which included an original fifteen-minute Internet "radio play" about a truck driver who evades Martians while attempting to deliver the only print of *Mars Attacks!* in time for the premiere. In late 1996, the *Star Trek: First Contact* Website received over 30 million hits during its first week of release, at that point the largest traffic ever for a film Website, and by the end of 1996, movie trailers, digitized stills, actor and filmmaker profiles, and computer screensavers were available online for almost every major film released. Web addresses were also commonly included in theatrical trailers, TV commercials, print advertisements, and posters. In 1997 studios were spending approximately $10,000 to produce an independent film's Website and at least $250,000 for blockbuster studio films, which accounted for an extremely small portion of the overall promotional budget.

In 1999 studios began to coordinate Website tie-ins with pay-per-view orders, allowing viewers to "play along" at home through synchronized Web content. Viewers who purchased the December 1999 pay-per-view release of New Line Cinema's *Austin Powers: The Spy Who Shagged Me* were offered an interactive television experience synchronized over the Web. For the

DVD release of *The Matrix* (1999), Warner Bros. scheduled a synchronized screening and Internet chat session with the film's directors. In 1999 Apple Computer launched its very popular movie trailer Web page to promote its QuickTime video software, receiving over 30 million downloads for the Web-based trailers for *Star Wars: The Phantom Menace* (1999) alone.

Throughout 1999, the major studios also established online retail stores in partnership with their studios' other Web operations. Increasingly since the 1980s, the film studios have become part of larger transnational media conglomerates that often have holdings in other industry sectors. The Web is thus inordinately well suited to this structure of convergence and integration, providing a retail and cross-promotional portal to sister and parent company products, services, and subsidiary media outlets.

THE BLAIR WITCH PROJECT PARADIGM AND ONLINE FAN DISCOURSE

The Blair Witch Project (1999) was one of the most profitable films in history when measured by its return on the initial investment. Made for approximately $50,000 and grossing over $100 million in US theatrical box-office alone, this financial victory of a low-budget independent film over the major studio blockbusters instigated a paradigm panic among Hollywood executives due in large part to the important role of the Internet in the film's commercial success. When the mainstream film industry had already begun to create content specific to the Web, Internet promotion was still considered to be supplementary to established media outlets, and the theatrical film was still the main component of the brand or franchise. For *The Blair Witch Project*, however, the Web became the central medium or the primary text for the film's narrative and its reception, as well as its marketing or "franchising" beginning more than a year before the film's major theatrical distribution. In this sense, the Web functioned in the 1990s for *The Blair Witch Project* in the same way that newspapers and magazines did in relation to the earliest commercial cinema in the 1890s by playing a primary role in the film's narrative and its meaning for the audience.

Directors Daniel Myrick and Eduardo Sánchez originally launched *The Blair Witch Project* Website in June 1998 on their production company's Website, Haxan.com. When the independent distributor, Artisan Entertainment, bought *The Blair Witch Project* for $1.1 million from directors Myrick and Sánchez at the Sundance Film Festival in January 1999, the company envisioned exploiting the medium of the Web to compensate for its relative lack of funds for promotion. On April Fool's Day, Artisan relaunched *The Blair Witch Project* Website with additional material, including footage presented as outtakes from "discovered" film reels, police reports, the "back story" on missing film students, and a history or mythology of the Blair Witch legend. The next day Artisan sent 2,000 *The Blair Witch Project* screensavers to journalists and premiered its trailers on the "Ain't It Cool News" Website instead of on television or in theaters.

Although the low-budget or "no budget" quality of *The Blair Witch Project* became an integral part of the film's marketing strategy, shortly after acquiring the distribution rights to *The Blair Witch Project* Artisan spent $1.5 million on Web promotion as part of its $20 million campaign (a significantly greater percentage of the promotional budget than mainstream studio films). Resonating with the film's "mockumentary" style, at the heart of the Web campaign was the blurring of the boundaries between actual and fictional documents through additional "evidence" on the Web and the omission of any explicit admission or demarcation of the promotional material as fiction or as promotional advertising. In addition to the official *Blair Witch Project* Website, unofficial Websites and fan pages elaborated the film's mythology and offered original narratives. Hundreds of *Blair Witch Project* video parodies were distributed through the Web, and several of the film's detractors launched an anti–*Blair Witch Project* Web ring that included a Web page created by a group of citizens from Burkittsville, Maryland, "to explain to the world that Burkittsville was being harmed by a fictional movie set in [their] town." Debates about the film's authenticity filled Web boards, Usenet newsgroups, and online chat rooms.

In an attempt to differentiate its promotion, the May 2001 Internet campaign for the film *Artificial Intelligence: A.I.* adopted *The Blair Witch Project*'s strategy of passing off fictional Web material as the real thing, when the marketers integrated several Websites with hundreds of pages and days' worth of material that mimicked the aesthetic of real sites, such as the Website for the fictional Bangalore World University. These Websites contributed to a larger pretend Evan Chan murder mystery that complemented the film and took place in the future after the film's narrative. These fictional Websites were updated daily and, like the Web campaign for *The Blair Witch Project*, none revealed that they were part of a marketing campaign for *A.I.* Similarly, in August 2001 director Kevin Smith constructed a fake Website bashing his own film *Jay and Silent Bob Strike Back*, replete with fictional testimonials and video from crew members. Many fans mistook it for the real thing and posted emails to the site's creator. For the most part, these attempts to recreate the same kind of marketing success and financial return of *The Blair Witch Project* have been unsuccessful, and it remains an

Heather Donahue in* The Blair Witch Project *(Daniel Myrick and Eduardo Sanchez, 1999), the first film to be promoted largely through the Internet. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

important and exceptional case in film history. Largely abandoning attempts to manufacture authentic word-of-mouth (or word-of-text) interest for their films, it is now common for the major studios to hire agencies and pay employees and fans (or "street teams") to promote films and to spread positive word of mouth online in chat rooms, movie review sites, and discussion boards.

The failure or success of a Web campaign depends in large part upon the target audience and the film's genre. Indeed, many of the examples included here are from genres that appeal to boys and young men, a demographic that comprises a large portion of overall Internet users. To offer another example from the fantasy genre, in 2001 the *Wall Street Journal* maintained that the Website for *The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Rings* was the most elaborate and visited to date, offering audio and video clips in ten languages, an interactive map of Middle Earth, chat rooms, screensavers, interviews with members of the cast and crew, and links to some of the thousands of existing fan sites. In 2004, the narrative for the *Matrix* trilogy was extended beyond the final filmic installment, *Matrix Revolutions*, in the form of *The Matrix Online*, a video game that also uses the Internet to allow thousands of *Matrix* fans to role-play within and to develop the film's fictional world.

While the *Matrix* is a deliberate example of franchising a brand across different media, films also live on beyond their official narratives through creative fan communities, such as the thousands of pages of online fiction that continue the storyline of *Titanic* (see http://www.titanicstories.com) and hundreds of other films (see http://fanfiction.net), or the active online culture surrounding the *Star Wars* and *Star Trek* films that includes online writings, artwork, games, and fan films or videos. When Lucasfilm threatened legal action against a teenage college student for creating one of the earliest and most

visited *Star Wars* fan Websites, other fans deluged Lucasfilm with angry emails, prompting Lucasfilm to apologize to its fans for the "miscommunication" in a letter posted on the Web. Lucasfilm has since created an official partnership with the Website AtomFilms.com to distribute the many *Star Wars* videos and films produced by fans.

MOVIE DISTRIBUTION AND THE INTERNET

The Internet quickly became a significant retail outlet for the distribution or sale of DVD releases, and by 2001 all of the major film companies had partnered with the Internet Movie Database, or IMDb (www.imdb.com), and leading online retailer Amazon.com to promote new theatrical films, personalize movie showtimes, and sell DVDs. In October 1990, IMDb started as the Usenet newsgroup bulletin board rec.arts.movies to which volunteers would post information about films and discuss movies with other fans. With the advent of the Web, the bulletin board was transformed into one of the most visited sites on the Internet, averaging over 30 million visitors each month and containing over 6 million individual film credits, including information on over 400,000 films, 1 million actors and actresses, and 100,000 directors. The IMDb has also built a strong sense of community among its almost 9 million registered users, who can post to the public discussion forum available for each film and rate a film between 1 and 10. All of this information lends itself to the customized links available for celebrity news and gossip, images of stars, box-office and sales statistics, and Amazon.com for DVD purchases.

In addition to providing easy access to detailed information about films and convenient ways for consumers to purchase DVDs, the Internet also provides a distribution method for alternative or independent fictional films and documentaries. The technical and economic advantages of digitization and online distribution have benefited academics and researchers through the availability of digitized film archives like the Library of Congress Paper Print Collection and the Internet Archive's Movie Archive, which includes the Prelinger Archives. The Internet also serves as a significant medium of distribution for multimedia art, Flash movies, film parodies, home movies or videos, and animated political cartoons. In addition, the distribution and sale of pornographic films and videos online totaled over $1 billion in 2005 and comprised a large portion of total Internet file-sharing volume.

Due to technical limitations of bandwidth and connection speeds as well as legal obstacles surrounding the Internet rights to distribute Hollywood films, the independent "short" has become one of the most common categories of film distributed online, including a large selection of animated shorts. One of the most popular sites for viewing online films is AtomFilms.com, which launched "AtomFilms Studio" in January 2006 to fund independent producers looking to create short films specifically for Internet broadband distribution. In 2005, in addition to streaming content, AtomFilms.com's major competitor, IFILM.com, expanded its distribution methods to deliver video-on-demand (VOD) to cellular smartphones and personal digital assistants (PDAs).

In 2001 BMW premiered its eight-part online promotional series of big-budget, short action films titled *The Hire*, made by such established international film directors as David Fincher, John Frankenheimer, Ang Lee, Guy Ritchie, Kar Wai Wong, Alejandro González Iñárritu, and John Woo, and such stars as Clive Owen, Stellan Skarsgård, Madonna, Forest Whitaker, and Gary Oldman. On its Website, BMW boasted that the films had been viewed over 100 million times before they were removed from the site in 2005, despite the fact that the films were released on DVD in 2003.

Although technical and infrastructural obstacles related to bandwidth and video quality and size may be overcome, Internet copyright issues, Internet distribution rights, and Internet release time "windows"—which traditionally go from theaters, video/DVD, pay-per-view, premium cable, network television, and basic cable—have also complicated online distribution. For instance, the major rights holders (that is, Hollywood studios and entertainment conglomerates) have prevented companies like Netflix from shifting their distribution and rental methods to on-demand streaming and downloading over the Web, although the online DVD-by-mail rental service is still one of the more profitable Web ventures, ending 2005 with about 4.2 million subscribers and sales approaching $1 billion.

Responding to increased consumer demand, and in response to the fact that only 15 percent of worldwide Hollywood film revenues come from box-office profits, and that two-thirds of the income for the six major studios now comes from the home theater divisions, the majors have begun to pursue their own online distribution options by offering feature-length films already available on DVD for legal downloading, including MovieLink (http://www.movielink.com), a joint venture of MGM, Paramount, Sony, Universal, and Warner Bros.; and CinemaNow (http://www.cinemanow.com), financed in part by Lions Gate and Cisco Systems. In December 2005, Apple Computer also began to distribute animated short films from Pixar (co-owned by Apple CEO Steve Jobs), Disney-ABC television programs, and music videos through its popular iTunes music download service. While no feature-length films are included in

Apple's library, the January 2006 purchase of Pixar by Disney may facilitate the distribution of Disney's feature films through Apple's service.

By the end of the summer of 2005, industry analysts and mainstream news outlets were announcing the "death of the movie theater" as industry figures and independent film companies began to question and challenge traditional film release windows. Director and producer Steven Soderbergh (*sex, lies, and videotape* [1989], *Traffic* [2000], *Erin Brockovich* [2000], *Oceans Eleven* [2001]) entered into an agreement with 2929 Entertainment, HDNet Films, and Landmark Theatres to produce and direct six films to be released simultaneously to theaters, DVD home video, and on HDNet high-definition cable and satellite channels. For the 26, January 2006, "stacked release" of the first film from that venture, *Bubble*, 2929 Entertainment agreed to share 1 percent of the home video DVD profits with theater owners who exhibited the film. Another new distribution model of simultaneous releases was announced in July 2005 by ClickStarInc.com, a Web venture between Intel Corp. and Revelations Entertainment, co-founded by actor Morgan Freeman. ClickStar will offer legal downloading of original feature films before they are released on DVD and while they are still in first-run theaters. Freeman's considerable star power, which he is lending to several of the ClickStar films, may give a film enough exposure through its Web release to be distributed through other media, like cable television.

It remains to be seen whether or not the major studios will welcome these new methods of exhibition and release windows for distribution. History suggests that the mainstream entertainment corporations will resist this model since it would change the established profit-making system. Even if video-on-demand over the Web becomes widely adopted, like the rapid adoption of television by consumers in the 1950s and 1960s, predictions about the impending death of the movie theater may be exaggerated or misguided. The film and entertainment industries have a long history of appropriating newly established models of production, distribution, and exhibition, as well as purchasing independent companies that pose a significant threat, as the acquisition of many formerly independent studios by the Hollywood majors attests. In addition, the same companies that own the major film production, distribution, and exhibition outlets are horizontally and vertically integrated companies that already have oligopolies in many of the other media sectors that will distribute these films in the future, including television, cable, and the Internet.

SEE ALSO *Distribution; Fans and Fandom; Independent Film; Publicity and Promotion; Technology; Video Games*

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James Castonguay

IRAN

Most of the directors and films from Iran that are familiar in the West come from postrevolutionary Iran; little is known about the cinema of Iran before the revolution. Yet Iranian cinema is in fact prolific and accomplished. Even though many filmmakers moved out of Iran after the revolution, they still base their films on the people, the culture, and the landscape of Iran.

EARLY YEARS

Mazaffaro Din Shah introduced the moving image to Iran in 1900. Over the first few decades of the new century there were a number of theaters established in the major cities of Iran, but going to the cinema was considered a pastime only for the upper class. One reason was that many of the films being made during this time were commissioned by the shah to document the events of the royal family. With no other films being made, theaters needed something to show, so many foreign films were imported and subtitled in Farsi. The first Iranian feature film was a silent film, *Abi va Rabi* (*Abi and Rabi*, Avanes Ohanian, 1930), and the first Iranian sound film, *Dokhtare Lor* (*The Lost Girl*, Ardeshir Irani, 1932), was made in Mumbai. Its release and box-office success encouraged the production of other films.

In the 1940s film studios were set up in Iran. The Pars Film Studio was owned by Esma'il Kushan, who later directed many other sound films made in Iran, *The Tempest of Life* (1948) and *Prisoner of the Emir* (1949) among them. During World War II strict censorship was imposed on art (including film), and most films of the period derived from traditional Iranian folklore and epic literature, although the few Western films that had infiltrated Iran were also shown. The 1950s saw the studios flourish, but with an emphasis on profit, filmmakers were making cheap films with low production values. It was also at this time that film became more acceptable in Iranian society. In a notable change from the 1940s, films now depicted a society that had been heavily influenced by Western culture and had lost traditional Iranian values. Iran began to produce comedies, melodramas, and action-hero films such as *Velgard* (*Vagabond*, Mehdi Rais Firuz, 1952).

In the 1960s the state finally took control of the entire film industry, and Iranian-made films did not attract the audiences that Western films did. In 1969 two films ushered in what is now known as the Iranian New Wave: *Qaisar* by Mas'ud Kimai (b. 1941) and *Gav* (*The Cow*) by Dariush Mehrju'i (b. 1939). New Wave cinema was popular and influenced many films and filmmaking up until the Iranian revolution in 1978, but most Iranian films were made primarily for domestic audiences.

POSTREVOLUTION

The revolution (1978–1979) had a profound impact on Iranian arts. Films came to be viewed as products of the West and consequently were banned, and many theatres were burned down. Slowly, in the early 1980s, film production began again, but there was heavy censorship imposed on both production and exhibition. Many filmmakers left the country in exile but continued to produce films for the Iranian diaspora. In Iran, censorship guidelines followed strict Islamic doctrines, which demanded the banning of women onscreen as well as behind the

ABBAS KIAROSTAMI
b. Tehran, Iran, 22 June 1940

Abbas Kiarostami is perhaps the most famous of Iranian directors, as well as a poet and photographer. After studying painting at Tehran University, he began designing posters and illustrating children's books, founding the filmmaking section of the Institute for the Intellectual Development of Children and Young Adults (also known as Kanoon), where he made educational films for children and directed commercials while formulating his own aesthetic approach to cinema.

Kiarostami's first feature film was *Nan va Koutcheh* (*The Bread and Alley*, 1970). Although he did make some award-winning films before the Iranian revolution in 1978 to 1979, it was only afterward that Kiarostami's work began to be noticed in the West, winning plaudits from both critics and established directors such as Martin Scorsese and Jean-Luc Godard. In 1997 *Ta'm e guilass* (*A Taste of Cherry*) shared the coveted Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival.

Nearly all of Kiarostami's films are inspired by his immediate experiences, and he always uses nonprofessional actors. The distinction between documentary and fiction is often blurred in his work, and Kiarostami himself resists their neat separation. In the first film of his acclaimed Koker trilogy, *Khane-ye doust kodjastt* (*Where Is the Friend's Home?*, 1987), Kiarostami focuses on a young boy who attempts to return a friend's school notebook before the teacher discovers it missing. The second film, *Zendegi va digar hich* (*Life, and Nothing More*, 1991), depicts the director of the first film and his son returning to the town where the first film was made to look for the actors from the earlier movie, but never finding them. *Zire darakhatan zeyton* (*Through the Olive Trees*, 1994), the final film of the trilogy, is about a film crew making an important scene from *Life, and Nothing More*. All three films are based on real-life events but are fictional and made without a script and with a small crew.

Kiarostami's films break away from conventional narrative, and are completely self-referential, often eschewing a strict chronological structure. *Bad ma ra khahad bord* (*The Wind Will Carry Us*, 1999) is about a filmmaker who thrusts himself into a small town, with the aim of filming a folk ritual that is to take place upon an old woman's imminent death, but it is more about mortality and the director's relation to the material he hopes to film. Employing simple imagery of daily life with an emphasis on the Iranian landscape, Kiarostami is a master of using visual imagery to convey abstract philosophical ideas and his characters' inner struggles of the soul.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Nan va Koutcheh (*The Bread and Alley*, 1970), *Khane-ye doust kodjastt* (*Where Is the Friend's Home?*, 1987), *Zendegi va digar hich* (*Life, and Nothing More*, 1991), *Zire darakhatan zeyton* (*Through the Olive Trees*, 1994), *Ta'm e guilass* (*A Taste of Cherry*, 1997), *Ten* (*10*, 2002)

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Mita Lad

camera. Love, which had been an integral theme in Iranian cinema before the revolution (a clear influence of Persian poetry), could no longer be depicted in movies after the introduction in 1983 of Islamic guidelines for filmmakers. Later, when restrictions were slightly loosened and women were allowed back onto the screen in 1987, there was still heavy censorship; for example, actors of opposite sexes were not allowed to touch each other unless they were related in real life. Around this time women filmmakers began to emerge, including Rakhshan Bani-Etemad (b. 1954) (*Kharej az mahdudeh* [*Off Limits*], 1987) and Puran Derakhshandeh (b. 1951) (*Paraneh kuchak khoshbakhti* [Little Bird of Happiness], 1988). In 1987 the Farabi Cinema Foundation was established to ensure that films being produced were of a high quality and not motivated merely by profit.

The end of the Iran-Iraq war in 1988 and the death of Ayatollah Khomeini in 1989 brought change to Iran, and the election of Mohammad Khatami in 1997 gave filmmakers slightly more freedom—Khatami was a

Abbas Kiarostami. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

supporter of the Iranian New Wave and the work of many local directors. Iranian films were seen by more people around the world and won prestigious prizes at film festivals. Jafar Panahi's (b. 1960) *Badkonake Sefid* (*The White Balloon*, 1995) won the Camera d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival, and in 1997 Abbas Kiarostami's (b. 1940) *Ta'm e guilass* (*A Taste of Cherry*) won the festival's Palme d'Or. Many women came out of the shadows and began to establish themselves once again in the industry. Some key figures include Tahmineh Milani and Derakhshandeh.

Most films of this time were funded by the government, though once made, they often were banned from screening in Iran. In terms of style and subject matter, many directors took their lead from European cinemas and movements, particularly Italian neorealism. This is evident in such films as *Kelid* (*The Key*, Ebrahim Forouzesh, 1987) and *The White Balloon*. Social commentary, brought into the arena during the New Wave, continued after the revolution, and many of the films that were not banned revolved around stories of the revolution disguised as adventure stories, such as *Nun va Goldoon* (*A Moment of Innocence*, 1996). These films, based on local people suffering from circumstances not of their own making, tread a fine line between documentary and fiction. Due to budget constraints, a majority of these films were shot on location.

Many filmmakers had opposed the shah during Iran's revolution, believing that if his government were overturned they would be given free reign to produce the films they wanted, and not necessarily purely for profit, but the new, clerical government took away equipment, film stock, and resources from filmmakers in order to control filmic representations of Iranian society. Every film's synopsis, screenplay, cast, and crew, and the completed film, all have to be approved by the censorship board if the film is to be made and exhibited in Iran. Although the Islamic government began a process of Islamization of the arts in 1979, filmmakers and other artists have managed to free themselves from the constraints of official ideology. One way in which artists managed to do this was by moving out of Iran and making diasporic films. Others based their films around children and adventure stories with heavy undertones of heroism and liberal principles. There was a shortage of film theatres in the country due to the burning of cinemas during the revolution, while many that still existed were in very bad condition. With the government in debt and with the United States–led boycott of Iran, the rebuilding and refurbishment of film theatres was low on the government's list of priorities. However, over time, theatres were rebuilt and refurbished. There are many film theatres in the large towns and cities in Iran, but not many in rural areas.

Among the most important directors of the New Wave, Mohsen Makhmalbaf (b. 1957) came to the fore in the 1980s with films such as *Dastforoush* (*The Peddler*, 1987) and *Arousi-ye Khouban* (*Marriage of the Blessed*, 1989). Many of his films were banned from exhibition in Iran: *Gabbeh* (1996), for example, was banned for being rebellious, but his films have been released internationally and very well received. Makhmalbaf has established a production company that allows him to coproduce films with France, and it was under this production house that he produced the directorial debut of his daughter, Samira Makhmalbaf (b. 1980), *Sib* (*The Apple*, 1998). Makhmalbaf's *Safar e Ghandehar* (*Kandahar*, 2001), one of his most popular films, tells the story of Nafas, an Afghan journalist who is exiled to Canada and returns to Afghanistan to find her sister, who is fed up with the Taliban regime. Like many of Makhmalbaf's films, *Kandahar* is a combination of documentary and fiction, using a hand-held camera and other techniques associated with documentaries to give it a greater emotional power. Abbas Kiarostami (*A Taste of Cherry*, 1997) is one of the best-known Iranian directors internationally, although he is not as popular in Iran. Like many other Iranian directors, Kiarostami blends

fact and fiction, using both nonprofessional and professional actors in his films. Along with Makhmalbaf, Kiarostami was one of the founders of the New Wave movement before the revolution. Kiarostami not only directs but also writes his screenplays and edits some of his films. With their combination of painting, poetry, and philosophy, they have been compared to the great works of such directors as Akira Kurosawa and Satyajit Ray.

SEE ALSO *Arab Cinema; National Cinema*

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IRELAND

The indigenous film industry in Ireland tentatively emerged in the 1970s, but it was not consolidated until two decades later, when government funding arrangements were implemented to support production on a long-term basis. Irish filmmakers produce up to ten feature films per year, as well as dozens of shorts. In this regard, Irish filmmaking resembles that of most other medium- and small-scale European industries in which production is the result of a complex structure of national and transnational (especially wider European) funding initiatives. Like so many other European industries, state support for film production in Ireland is designed to promote an indigenous film industry and to develop a more pluralist film culture in a country in which cinema screens are dominated overwhelmingly by Hollywood films.

The fact that filmmaking in Ireland is a fairly recent phenomenon should not, however, disguise the fact that Ireland and the Irish have maintained a major presence in American and British cinema since its inception. This presence has been manifested in terms of personnel (especially actors and directors), but most specifically in terms of theme, setting, and plot. The relatively high profile of Irish themes and stereotypes in American and British cinema has ensured that the representation of Ireland and the Irish has been a major concern for film studies in Ireland. Two traditions in particular have been identified. On one hand, Ireland has tended to be represented in romantic rural terms with great emphasis placed on its beautiful landscapes and seascapes. This has been the most enduring cinematic tradition and one that has recurred with remarkable consistency over time. John Ford's 1952 romantic comedy *The Quiet Man* is the screen's most famous and most enduring example of this tendency. The romanticization of Ireland and the Irish landscape is ingrained in the cinematic cultures of both Britain and America and frequently emerges in both nations' film industries, for example, in the British production *Waking Ned Devine* (1999) or the American *The Match Maker* (1997). Even Robert Flaherty's historically important documentary *Man of Aran* (1934), received initially as a realist documentary on the hardships of Irish rural life, later appeared to viewers as overly heroic and romanticized.

Ireland's long and fractious political relationship to Britain has provided the other recurring cinematic view of Ireland—a land of urban violence and sectarian hatreds where a proclivity to violence seems to form part of the Irish character and to have locked the Irish into an endless and meaningless cycle of murder and revenge. Ford again provided one of the early and most enduring examples of this tendency in his expressionist view of a strife-torn Dublin in *The Informer* (1935). The most celebrated British version of this stricken Ireland is Carol Reed's equally expressionistic Belfast in *Odd Man Out* (1947). In the 1970s and 1980s, when political violence in Northern Ireland escalated, this image appeared with more regularity, sometimes merely as a plot device in otherwise conventional thrillers, such as *Patriot Games* (Phillip Noyce, 1992) or *The Devil's Own* (Alan J. Pakula, 1997).

That indigenous filmmaking developed slowly meant that these two dominant traditions went largely unchallenged in cinematic terms and therefore tended to circulate as markers of a general Irish identity. However, in the twenty-first century these traditional and recurring

images of the Irish have marked a point of departure for indigenous filmmakers attempting to forge a recognizably contemporary Irish cinematic identity.

CINEMA AND THE IRISH DIASPORA

The extraordinarily high levels of emigration from Ireland to the United States during the Irish famine years of the late 1840s meant that the Irish and Irish-Americans made up a significant percentage of early American cinema audiences, especially in the eastern cities, where they tended to congregate. During the early silent era film producers pandered to these audiences with sentimental tales and romantic adventures set in Irish-American communities or in Ireland. These early two- and three-reel films attracted a range of Irish and Irish-American actors, who perfected the stereotypes that defined the cinematic image of the Irish for decades. Although many of these films are now lost, their titles remain to evoke the world of Irish ethnic comedies—Biograph's "Hooligan" one-reelers from 1903, longer comedies and dramas like those made by the Kalem Film Company between 1908 and 1912, and hundreds of films that featured the words "Ireland" or "Irish" in their titles from the 1910s. A randomly chosen selection of such titles includes *The Irish Boy* (1910) and *The Lad from Old Ireland* (1910), *All for Old Ireland* (1915), *A Wild Irish Rose* (1915), *The Irishman's Flea* (1920), *Luck of the Irish* (1920) or the "Cohens and the Kellys" cycle (1920s), the last of which was aimed simultaneously at two ethnic audiences. These films were peopled by amiable drunks and aggressive brawlers, corrupt politicos and honest but dumb cops, Catholic priests and angelic nuns, long-suffering mothers, feisty colleens, and vulnerable, naïve maidens. Although established in the very earliest days of silent cinema, these stereotypical characters continued to populate American genre cinema throughout the twentieth century. They were played by a range of character actors and stars who were either native-born Irish, such as Colleen Moore (1900–1988), Maureen O'Hara (b. 1920), Barry Fitzgerald (1888–1961), Peter O'Toole (b. 1932), Richard Harris (1930–2002), Liam Neeson (b. 1952), Pierce Brosnan (b. 1953), and Colin Farrell (b. 1976), or had an Irish ancestry upon which to draw when necessary: James Cagney (1899–1986), Victor McLaglen (1883–1959), Spencer Tracy (1900–1967), Anthony Quinn (1915–2001), and Errol Flynn (1909–1959).

The Irish diaspora also provided some influential pioneers of American film. In the formative years of Hollywood, for example, Irish-born director Rex Ingram (1892–1950) was a particularly noted stylist who made Rudolph Valentino a star with *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1921). Herbert Brenon (1880–1958) was one of the most critically acclaimed of silent film directors, although his career foundered with the advent of sound. The most famous and most enduring of the early pioneers was a second-generation Irish-American, John Ford (1894–1973). Ford was one of the great genre directors of Hollywood who lived his Irishness openly in life as well as on the screen. He peopled his westerns and other non-Irish films with many of the stereotypical characters that early cinema had established. More than anyone, he helped to prolong a romantic Irish-American sense of identity, of which the ultimate expression is *The Quiet Man*, in which he manages the not inconsiderable achievement of both celebrating and gently undermining the outrageous stereotypes of Ireland and the Irish.

The considerable presence of the Irish in early audiences resulted in another historically important development for American cinema. In 1910, the Kalem Film Company became the first American company to shoot on location outside of the United States when it made *The Lad from Old Ireland* in Killarney. The film was produced and directed by Irish-Canadian Sidney Olcott (1873–1949), who recognized the commercial value of showing authentic Irish locations to a nostalgic and homesick audience in the United States. He brought Kalem back to Ireland for two more summer visits in 1911 and 1912, making a range of one- and two-reel films based on old Irish melodramas or depicting historical moments in Ireland's long nationalist struggle against Britain. These fictional films made in Ireland established the use of Ireland as a theme and a location for filmmaking by American and British producers, while little effort was made to develop indigenous production.

INDIGENOUS CINEMA AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

There was one brief period of indigenous filmmaking during the silent period when the Film Company of Ireland made two well-regarded features, *Knocknagow* (1918) and *Willie Reilly and His Colleen Bawn* (1920). Subsequently, except for some semi-amateur films or B-movie quota quickies in the 1930s and government-sponsored informational films in the 1950s, little cinema of any significance was made in Ireland until the mid-1970s. The reasons were mainly economic. Until the 1970s Ireland was a relatively poor country with little capital available for investment in film production. However, there were political and cultural factors as well. The independent Ireland established in 1922 was built on a nationalism that was conservative in politics, Catholic in religion, and almost xenophobic. Because the political and religious establishment regarded the

Jaye Davidson and Stephen Rea in Neil Jordan's* The Crying Game *(1992). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

cinema with suspicion and distaste, it subjected it to the most rigid censorship in Europe until the more liberal 1970s. There also existed a cultural bias against the cinema, which is hardly surprising in a country that celebrates a strong literary and theatrical tradition.

During the early period of Irish independence—from the 1920s to the 1970s—most of the cinematic representations of the country came from the outside. Although some attempts had been made in this period to attract both political and economic interest in filmmaking. The most notable of these were the semi-amateur production *The Dawn* (Thomas Cooper, 1938) and *Guests of the Nation* (Denis Johnston), based on Frank O'Connor's short story of the same title. Both the story and film later inspired Neil Jordan's (b. 1950) highly influential *The Crying Game* (1992). In Northern Ireland in the 1930s actor Richard Hayward attempted to start the film production industry, but there was little economic or political interest, and after a number of small-scale comedies (*The Luck of the Irish* [1936] and *The Early Bird* [1936], indigenous feature filmmaking in Ireland ceased to exist for the next four decades.

During these years, Ireland continued to attract both Hollywood and British productions, and the Irish government established a studio at Bray in County Wicklow to facilitate such inward investment and to encourage further location shooting. The presence of such "outsider" productions inevitably gave rise to aspirations within Ireland itself for a more indigenous form of filmmaking. In the 1960s and 1970s, an increasingly vocal lobby emerged. It was supported in large measure by two influential directors who remained in Ireland after shooting some of their films there: John Huston, an American, and John Boorman, an Englishman. The Irish government finally began to provide very modest state funding for filmmaking in the 1970s and early 1980s. It is hardly surprising that the generation of Irish filmmakers that emerged would respond to both the dominance of cinematic stereotypes from abroad as well as the legacies of the nationalist traditions internally. In other words, the films they produced constituted a radical reassessment of Irish identity. This first wave of indigenous filmmakers included a group of Dublin-born directors—Robert Quinn (b. 1942), Joe Comerford

(b. 1949), Pat Murphy, Cathal Black (b. 1952), and Thaddeus O'Sullivan (b. 1947)—who evinced an avant-garde sensibility and whose films were aesthetically as well as politically challenging. Jordan and Jim Sheridan (b. 1949) were more commercial in their approach and quickly established themselves as directors of international standing. Sheridan's *My Left Foot* (1989) won two acting Academy Awards® for Daniel Day-Lewis and Brenda Fricker, and Jordan won a Best Original Screenplay Award for *The Crying Game*, which long remained the most successful Irish film in the United States.

By 1993, the Irish economy was booming and Ireland had become an affluent society, enjoying the fruits of sustained economic growth. The Irish Film Board, set up originally in 1980, was relaunched with improved funding by a government impressed by the international success of Jordan and Sheridan and committed to the cultural development of Irish cinema. A number of tax incentive schemes were implemented to further stimulate indigenous production, as well as to attract large-scale location shooting to Ireland. The result has been the most sustained period of indigenous filmmaking ever in Ireland with over 100 feature films produced since 1993. Ireland also continued to attract international productions to its famed locations. Sometimes these were for Irish-themed films, like Ron Howard's lavish *Far and Away* (1992) or John Sayles's more modest *The Secret of Roan Inish* (1994), but often the policy attracted big-budget productions that merely took advantage of the tax concessions and the scenery. For example, Steven Spielberg shot his celebrated Normandy beach scenes for *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) on the beaches of Wicklow, and in 1995 Mel Gibson took advantage of tax incentives to move the production of *Braveheart* from Scotland to Ireland.

The younger directors who emerged in the 1990s proved to be much more commercial in their approach than their predecessors of the 1970s and 1980s and as a result often have produced more light-hearted and youth-oriented films. Nonetheless, the nature of Irishness and a number of other themes stand out. For example, a substantial body of films about urban Ireland exists compared with a cinema once dominated by rural imagery. Such films as the contemporary sex comedy *About Adam* (Gerard Stembridge, 2000), the subversive crime comedy *Intermission* (John Crowley, 2003), and the controversial lesbian/gay view of contemporary Dublin *Goldfish Memory* (Elizabeth Gill, 2003) re-imagine urban Ireland very differently from traditional notions and challenge in both an entertaining and intellectual manner the very notion of "cinematic Ireland." Because the Catholic Church in Ireland was rocked by scandals beginning in the 1990s, a number of films have explored the nature of Ireland's Catholic past, especially the dominance of the Catholic Church in mid-twentieth-century Ireland: *Hush-A-Bye-Baby* (Margo Harkin, 1990), *A Love Divided* (Sydney Macartney, 1999), and *The Magdalene Sisters* (Peter Mullan, 2002). A particular brand of Irish coming-of-age film that, read metaphorically is a comment on Irish society emerging from a period of uncertainty, also emerged: *The Last of the High Kings* (David Keating, 1996) and *The Disappearance of Finbar* (Sue Clayton, 1996). Finally, both established and emerging Irish filmmakers have attempted to revisit the vexed question of violence in Northern Ireland and to explore the legacy of Ireland's militant nationalism in such films as Jordan's *Michael Collins* (1996), Sheridan's *In the Name of the Father* (1993) and *The Boxer* (1997), and David Caffrey's *Divorcing Jack* (1998).

Most of these themes, and many more besides, are treated in the most complex film to emerge in the 1990s. Jordan's *The Butcher Boy* (1997), a film rich in visual imagination that disturbs the audience, subverting the traditional Irish mythologies. At the same time, the complexity and artistic achievement of the film confirm that Irish cinema has emerged from obscurity and assumed a cultural role as significant as the nation's more lauded literary and theatrical traditions.

SEE ALSO *Great Britain; National Cinema*

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Martin McLoone

ISRAEL

Filmmaking in Israel can be traced to the early twentieth century with the documentation of the land by solitary pioneers, such as Murray Rosenberg's *The First Film of Palestine* (1911) and Ya'acov Ben-Dov's *The Awakening Land of Israel* (1923). Commissioned by Zionist organizations, these films were screened in front of Jewish communities worldwide. They showed an embellished image of the land, emphasizing its redemption by the Zionist movement by beginning with images of ruined Jewish historical sites in a desolated land and culminating in lively images of new towns in the Jewish *yishuv* (settlement).

The more prolific filmmaking of the 1930s focused upon Jews who had shed their Diaspora "nonproductive" way of life in favor of communal life and agricultural labor, reflecting the predominance of Zionist socialism. The major filmmakers of this period, such as Baruch Agadati (1894–1976) and Nathan Axelrod, were Russian-Jewish immigrants strongly influenced by Russia's October Revolution (1917). Agadati's *This Is the Land* (1933) is dynamically structured along the lines of the montage sequences of Dziga Vertov and Sergei Eisenstein, contrasting an arid past to a present filled with a vast multitude of Jews, of industrial plants working at full steam, culminating in a call to leave the cities in favor of collective agricultural work on the kibbutz. Axelrod's travelogue *Oded the Wanderer* (1933) emphasizes the social and material progress that the Zionist socialist project has brought to the region. This theme also dominates Aleksander Ford's (1908–1980) *Sabra* (1933), which deals with a drought that sparks an escalating conflict over water between a socialist Jewish commune and an Arab tribe headed by a despotic sheikh. The conflict is resolved when water gushes from the Jews' well for the benefit of all, and is followed by a Soviet-styled epilogue showing tractors ploughing the land, superimposed with the silhouettes of agricultural workers marching toward a utopian future.

Following World War II, the Holocaust became a major theme in the cinematic forging of national identity, by presenting Israel as the last haven for persecuted Jews (while later presenting the state as besieged and facing annihilation). These films, aimed at justifying the need for a Jewish state following the Nazi atrocities, were invariably concerned with the integration of the recently arrived immigrants through their transformation by working the land within a collective. *Earth* (Helmer Lerski, 1946), for example, offers a plethora of images panning an open and fertile land that enfolds the protagonists, infusing in them a sense of liberation from the terrifying past of the ghettoes and death camps still resonating in their minds.

CINEMA SINCE STATEHOOD

The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 amidst war with the surrounding Arab countries generated deep sociopolitical changes, mostly due to the doubling of the Jewish population within three years of independence (1949–1951) following the massive immigration of Jews from Islamic lands. Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion (1886–1973) shifted his party's Zionist socialism to a centralizing policy termed *mamlachtyut* (statism), which allowed for the rapid industrialization of the country in the course of absorbing the massive immigration. However, this policy resulted in the correlation of ethnic

origin and class, whereby the newly arrived Jews from Islamic lands came to form the lower classes. The state's dominant ideology shifted accordingly, and the image of the *ideal sabra* (native-born Israeli) changed from being a socialist revolutionary to an ethnically mixed Jew who is a loyal citizen and soldier within a beseiged nation. The 1948 "War of Independence" became a central subject in statist ideology and was replicated by a dependent cultural apparatus. Thorold Dickinson's (1903–1984) film *Hill 24 Doesn't Answer* (1956) portrayed the war as part of the long history of Jewish persecution, yet also presented it as the means through which the situation of the Jewish people was changing due to Israel's military resolve, its national independence, and the East–West condensed Jew forged by the inseparable experiences of war and sociocultural intermingling. This intermingling was interestingly dealt with in *Tent City* (Leopold Lahola, 1955), which also absolved the government of any wrongdoing toward the immigrants by blaming the Diaspora past for present hardships and ethnic strife, and by presenting government officials as impartial and authoritative, yet kind and dedicated civil servants. The film also promised a brighter future by showing through rhythmically accelerating editing patterns the ethnically varied citizenry harmoniously joining hands in different projects carried out during the rapid industrialization of the country in the 1950s, a subject recurring in other films that were mostly funded by Israel's major workers' union, Ha'Histadrut.

The expansion of the urban middle classes in the early 1960s, along with a relative geopolitical calm, dated the collectivist rhetoric of the government and the cultural establishment distanced itself from the government. Uri Zohar's (b. 1935) experimental *Hole in the Moon* (1965) and ethnic comedy *Sallah Shabati* (Ephraim Kishon, 1964), for example, offered parodies of Zionist socialism and statism by showing their incompatibility with the daily reality of a grotesquely depicted, yet "real" commercially oriented society. These emergent trends involving notions of art for art's sake and of art as industry gradually began to replace the earlier politically committed and propagandistic films, coming to full fruition after Israel's swift victory in the war of June 1967. Following this war Israelis had a sense of euphoric freedom at the lifting of a previously perceived siege due to the expansion of Israel's borders and the ensuing economic improvement, a function of increased US aid and the cheap Palestinian labor force that poured in from the newly occupied territories. Individualism thrived in the new economic and political situation, and a new generation of filmmakers influenced by the French New Wave and Hollywood began to produce films characterized by excess and lack of subtlety: war films, *burekas* films (comedies focused on interethnic relations), and personal films.

War films celebrated the victory and disavowed the threatening geopolitical implications of the war, focusing upon the heroic and successful deeds of free-spirited, valiant, and arrogant protagonists—in sharp contrast to the collectivist soldier of the films of the 1950s. Uri Zohar's tellingly named film *Every Bastard a King* (1968) includes an unusually long tank battle scene showing the valiant rescue under fire of a wounded soldier by the individualistic hero. Burekas films deceptively reduced the mounting class–ethnic tensions of the period to comic or melodramatic capitalist competition over money and women. *Katz and Carraso* (Boaz Davidson, 1971), which revolves around the competition between an Oriental Jewish family (Carasso) and a Western Jewish one (Katz) over a fat government insurance contract, is emblematic. Personal films reduced interpersonal relations to conflicts stemming mostly from accomplished or frustrated sexual desires. Despite articulating these subjects through the use of New Wave techniques (jump-cuts, asynchronous sound–image relations), the complex existentialism, politics, and subversion of the original films were reduced mostly to voyeuristic glances at Westernized protagonists detached from Israeli reality. A particularly extreme example of this tendency is the experimental *A Woman's Case* (Jacques Katmor, 1969), which offers voyeuristic looks at the naked body of its peculiar woman protagonist through close-ups of her body parts and jump-cuts between them.

AFTER THE 1977 POLITICAL TURNOVER

The threatening social and political processes that began to ripen during the early 1970s erupted into the Israeli consciousness and found filmic expression only after the political turnover that brought the right-wing Likud party to power in 1977 after the sixty-year hegemony of Labor parties. The change resulted from the disillusion with a government that had failed to predict the outbreak of the 1973 October war and remained undecided on the future of the occupied territories, as well as from the resentment toward the Labor party felt by low-income Jews from Islamic lands. This overturn shocked the Labor-leaning populace to which most of the filmmakers belonged and led to their radical politicization. The main focus of fiction films produced during the 1980s was criticism of the Israeli occupation of the densely Palestinian-populated West Bank and Gaza Strip following the intensification of Jewish settlements in these territories and Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982. This criticism, however, was confined to a narrow and melodramatic moral resentment, reflecting the overall paralysis of the left in its dead-end conception of reality. Most films

Dana Katz and Arnon Zadok in Uri Barbash's* Beyond the Walls *(1984). © WARNER BROS./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

offered a similar story line: a Palestinian Arab and an Israeli Jew, driven by a vague idea that solidarity between the two peoples is possible, decide to act accordingly. However, irrespective of the grounds upon which this solidarity is based, whether academic as in *Fellow Travelers* (Judd Neeman, 1984) or class-revolutionary as in *Beyond the Walls* (Uri Barbash, 1984), their coming together generates reactions from Israeli secret agents, soldiers, and policemen, as well as from Palestinian terror groups, which invariably lead the protagonists to a bitter end. This storyline is played out in jails, mental institutions, or army barracks presented as claustrophobic, labyrinthine, shadowy, and violent, depicting a society under constant threat, whose members are suspicious of each other's conspiracies. The films evidence the split in Israeli society and the paralyzing fear engendered by this split.

The outbreak of the first Palestinian *intifada* (uprising) in 1989 ended this focus on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, perhaps because Israeli filmmakers recognized that their moralistic stand was futile. Israeli films from the 1990s on, produced by a new generation of filmmakers, depicted a decentered Israeli culture through a self-representation of ethnic others that previously had had no voice, evidencing the splintering of Israeli society into various power groups. *Jana's Friends* (1998), directed by Russian-born Arik Kaplun, focuses on the 1990s Russian immigration to Israel, while *Shchur* (1995), scripted by Israeli Moroccan-Jew Hanna Azulai-Hasfari, exalts the return of its protagonist to the mystical aspects of Jewish-Moroccan ethnicity in reaction to her forced secular Israelization during the 1950s. *Late Wedding* (2003), directed by Georgian-born Dover Kozashvili, furthers this splintering trend in its representation of a peculiar Georgian-Jewish ethnicity without any mention of an Israeli-dominant national culture. Most of this film is spoken in Georgian, and most of it is shot in ethnically decorated Georgian interiors, while the few exterior shots

are of parking lots, empty sidewalks, and building staircases alien to the characters. These contemporary Israeli multicultural films mark the dialectical evolution of the representation of ethnic relations from a desired intermingling in the 1950s to today's ethnic splintering, perhaps also implying a dissolution of Israeli cinema's traditional forging of national identity as being that of a besieged nation.

SEE ALSO *Diasporic Cinema; National Cinema; Yiddish Cinema*

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Nitzan Ben-Shaul

ITALY

Given Italy's unparalleled contributions to the visual arts from the twelfth century to the present, it would have been unusual, indeed, if its culture had not made fundamental contributions to the development of film art from the silent era to the present. After being identified with the historical epic in the silent cinema, Italy's film culture was virtually ignored during the fascist period, but the advent of postwar Italian neorealism after 1945 threw Italy into the forefront of modern European filmmaking. Subsequently, a number of the individuals associated with neorealism developed into *auteurs*, and Italy produced several generations of Europe's best art film directors. Italy also contributed a great deal to commercial film genres, such as the spaghetti western, the sword and sandal epic, the *giallo* (horror-mystery), and even the cannibal and zombie cult movies of the late twentieth century.

BEGINNINGS: THE SILENT PERIOD

On 11 November 1895, Filoteo Alberini (1865–1937) applied for a patent on an early device, the Alberini Kinetograph, and between 1909 and 1916, the Italian silent cinema represented a major force in world cinema before the hegemony of Hollywood was firmly established, with major production centers in Turin, Rome, Naples, and Milan. Alberini produced the first feature film with a complex plot—*La Presa di Roma* (*The Taking of Rome*, 1905)—which was based on a patriotic theme, the annexation of the Eternal City in 1870 to the new Italian republic. The next year, CINES, a major production company, was founded, and it rapidly allowed Italian silent films to capture an enormous international market share for a brief period. While Italian silent films reflected a variety of genres, including Roman costume dramas, adventure films, comedies, filmed drama, even experimental or avant-garde works by the Futurists, there is little question that the success of the costumed film set in classical antiquity was responsible for much of the industry's early success. Italy's Roman past, the wealth of classic ruins and grandiose monuments all over Italy, the favorable climate and natural light of the peninsula, plus the relatively low labor costs for huge crowd scenes, all encouraged on-location shooting of costume dramas and interior scenes with lavish neoclassical decors. Important works in this epic vein include *Gli Ultimi giorni di Pompeii* (*The Last Days of Pompeii*, 1908) by Luigi Maggi, *Quo Vadis?* (1913) by Enrico Guazzoni, and the silent cinema's most famous epic by Giovanni Pastrone (1883–1959), *Cabiria* (1914), whose majestic treatment of the Second Punic War introduced the use of the dolly into cinematic practice, influenced D. W. Griffith's *Intolerance* (1916), and subsequently inspired many neomythological or *peplum* films, a staple export item of the Italian industry in the 1950s and 1960s.

In addition to historical epics and filmed versions of themes taken from drama, opera, and history, the Italian cinema quickly developed the star system (the *diva*), a development that naturally led to an increased use of close-ups to convey passionate emotions. Italian *femme fatales* such as Lyda Borelli in *Ma l'amor mio non muore* (*But My Love Won't Die!*, 1913) by Mario Caserini, Maria Carmi in *Sperduti nel buio* (*Lost in the Dark*, 1914) by Nino Martoglio, and Francesca Bertini in *Assunta Spina* (1915) by Gustavo Serena, set an international standard for melodramatic passion. The most memorable male lead was the muscular former

dockworker and taciturn protagonist of *Cabiria*, Bartolomeo Pagano (1878–1947), whose character in that film, Maciste, spawned numerous subsequent imitations that often changed *Cabiria*'s classical setting. For example, Maciste became an Italian soldier during World War I in *Maciste alpino* (*Maciste the Alpine Soldier*, 1916), a modern tourist in *Maciste in vacanza* (*Maciste on Vacation*, 1920), a detective in *Maciste policioho* (*Maciste the Detective*, 1917), and even a visitor to Dante's Inferno in *Maciste all'inferno* (*Maciste in Hell*, 1926) by Guido Brignone, which included memorable special effects and tinted colors to represent the punishments of Hell.

During the silent period, the cinema also attracted the critical attention of key Italian intellectuals. The avant-garde Futurist movement devoted a Futurist manifesto to cinema in 1916, calling for this new art form to avoid the slavish imitation of other art forms and to concentrate on its novel and innovative visual effects (exactly the opposite of what the industry actually did, since it privileged literary adaptations). Some Futurist short films were produced. Other popular writers, such as Gabriele D'Annunzio (1863–1938), who provided the intertitles for *Cabiria*, or Nobel Laureate and playwright Luigi Pirandello (1867–1936), who wrote a famous novel about a movie camera operator and worked to film a number of his successful plays, helped to bring respectability to this upstart art form that had only recently emerged from the atmosphere of the circus and vaudeville show. After World War I, American and European competition almost destroyed the Italian industry completely, forcing production to drop from 220 films in 1920 to less than a dozen works in 1927, just before the introduction of the talkies.

CINEMA UNDER FASCISM: THE ADVENT OF SOUND AND THE INCREASE OF NATIONAL PRODUCTION

From 1922 to 1943, over 700 films were produced, most not really "fascist" films at all but primarily entertainment. Indeed, the fascist regime admired the Hollywood model, not the totalitarian cinemas controlled by dictators in Germany and Russia. When it desired pro-regime propaganda, Mussolini's government relied on radio and short filmed documentaries prepared by LUCE (the Union of Cinematographic Education) and screened with the feature films designed for entertainment. Even in wartime, Italy averaged some 72 films annually between 1939 and 1944, a figure that gives some idea of the large local market for film and its role as popular entertainment. When the Italian industry nearly collapsed after World War I, Italian movie theaters (numbering at one point some 3,000 theaters) were forced to show only foreign films, a situation that was intolerable for the Fascist regime, whose official economic policy was self-sufficiency—that is, autarchy—in all matters economic and cultural. When the Italian government moved to block Hollywood's near monopoly of film distribution within the Italian market, the Hollywood "Big Four" (20th Century Fox, Paramount, MGM, Warner Bros.) withdrew from the Italian market in protest. No longer forced to face overwhelming American economic pressure, the Italian film industry eventually rebounded, filling the void of Hollywood products with nationally produced films.

Outside of Italy, little was known of Italian cinema during the fascist period, and this ignorance encouraged the erroneous idea abroad that the post–World War II Italian cinema had arisen miraculously from the ashes of the war. In retrospect, many important achievements of this era are more clear. Mussolini himself was fond of saying that the cinema was the most powerful art form developed in the modern era. Mussolini's son Vittorio played a major role as the editor of an influential film journal (*Cinema*) that involved such collaborators as the future postwar leftist directors, Luchino Visconti (1906–1976), Michelangelo Antonioni (b. 1912), and Giuseppe De Santis (1917–1997), and it was Vittorio Mussolini's friendship that enabled Roberto Rossellini (1906–1977) to begin to work in the industry. The regime founded a major film school, the Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia (1935); and it built one of the world's great film production complexes, Cinecittà, inaugurated by Mussolini in 1937. Both of these institutions are still in operation, and with their vast archives, they also serve as repositories of Italian cinematic history. *Bianco e nero*, the official organ of the Centro, and *Cinema* helped to spread information about foreign theories and techniques through translations and reviews. The regime also sponsored university film clubs (Cinegufs) that helped to create a generation of cinephiles. Most of the great directors, actors, technicians, and scriptwriters of the neorealist period received their training during the fascist period, and some postwar stars made their first films in the service of a regime whose policies they would later repudiate after the fall of Mussolini in 1943.

The first Italian sound film was *Canzone dell'amore* (*The Song of Love*, 1930) by Gennaro Righelli (1886–1949). With the advent of the talkies, Italian cinema was dominated by two important directors: Mario Camerini (1895–1981) and Alessandro Blasetti (1900–1987). Camerini's stylish comedies stressed role playing in society, enjoyed intelligent and lively scripts, and first brought together Vittorio De Sica (1902–1974), as an actor, and Cesare Zavattini (1902–1989), as scriptwriter in a classic comedy, *Darò un milione* (*I'd Give a Million*, 1935). Long before De Sica became identified by his neorealist masterpieces scripted with Zavattini, he was

the most popular actor in fascist Italy, playing roles similar to those performed in Hollywood by both Cary Grant and James Stewart. Camerini's most important comedy, *Il Signor Max* (*Mr. Max*, 1937), starring De Sica, established a level of craftsmanship and witty sophistication that rivals the best products of the Hollywood studios during the same period. Blasetti's career represents an entirely different approach to cinema. Frequently abandoning the sound studios at Cinecittà so crucial to Camerini's work, Blasetti created his masterpiece *1860* (*Gesuzza the Garibaldian Wife*, 1934), a patriotic film about Garibaldi. In its original uncut edition, he linked Garibaldi's Redshirts to Mussolini's Blackshirts, first made use of nonprofessional actors and on-location shooting, and pursued film realism—all supposedly original features of the immediate postwar period. Blasetti's *Vecchia guardia* (*The Old Guard*, 1935) employs a similar documentary style in portraying Mussolini's rise to power. Yet, Blasetti also made one of the most beautiful and imaginative of all films during this era, *La Corona di ferro* (*The Iron Crown*, 1941), in which ornately stylized studio sets testify to the technical prowess reached at Cinecittà. Its call for universal peace at a time when the entire world (including Italy) was at war demonstrates how fascist censorship was quite loosely applied to the commercial cinema. Moreover, Blasetti's *Quattro passi fra le nuvole* (*A Stroll in the Clouds*, 1942) prefigured the poetic style of De Sica's postwar neorealism in its simple plot and a Zavattini script.

Italian films made during the fascist period were usually not "fascist" in tone, although they were often nationalistic and patriotic, much like their Hollywood counterparts. The search for realism in the Italian cinema thus began not with the postwar period and the neorealists but, rather, with directors working in the 1930s and the 1940s before the end of World War II. In an important manifesto published in 1933 ("The Glass Eye"), pro-Mussolini journalist Leo Longanesi called for Italian directors to take their cameras into the streets and to produce a non-Hollywood version of Italian everyday life, a film realism that was authentically Italian in content. This interest in realism was specifically the goal of the left-wing Italian fascist intellectuals associated with Vittorio Mussolini's journal *Cinema*, and after the war and the fall of his father's regime, these same individuals continued their interest in film realism but pursued this goal with a Marxist, not a fascist, twist. Not only talented *auteurs* such as Blasetti, but other directors took up Longanesi's call, and the advent of the war added urgency to a realistic view of Italian life on celluloid. A marriage of fact and fiction, documentary and fantasy, soon became the formula for successful films about the war. Francesco De Robertis (1902–1959), his protégé Rossellini, and Augusto Genina (1892–1957), all contributed to this search for realism while making war films. Genina's *Squadrone bianco* (*The White Squadron*, 1936), a film about Italian colonialism in Libya, was shot on stupendous desert locations; his *L'Assedio dell'Alcazar* (*The Siege of the Alcazar*, 1940), a celebration of the Falangist defense of the Alcazar fortress by Franco's troops during the Spanish Civil War, also employed real locations and documentary footage.

The realistic war films of Genina, De Robertis, and Rossellini adopted the formula of the *documentario romanzato* (fictional documentary), combining a fictional-emotional-romantic theme (usually the love affair between a soldier and his lady friend) with the documentary-historical-realistic theme (the war film genre, real locations, documentary photography, some nonprofessional actors). De Robertis's *Men on the Bottom* (1941), made for the Italian navy, employs an editing style indebted to Eisenstein's montage (the Russian's theories had been discussed and partially translated by the film journal *Cinema*) and used nonprofessional actors, the men on board an Italian submarine, to great effect. Rossellini actually produced a trilogy of pro-regime films that we label today his "fascist trilogy," which may be contrasted and compared to the more celebrated "war trilogy" he made in the immediate postwar neorealist period. The first of these three works, *La Nave bianca* (*The White Ship*, 1941), the dramatic tale of life on a hospital ship saving brave Italian soldiers, was shot in collaboration with De Robertis; Vittorio Mussolini collaborated on the script. It was followed in short order by two other films supporting the war effort (the soldiers, sailors, and airmen doing the fighting and the dying, not necessarily the fascist regime): *Un Pilota ritorna* (*A Pilot Returns*, 1942) and *L'Uomo dalla croce* (*The Man With a Cross*, 1943). These three nationalistic films shot to support the troops represent important precursors of Italian neorealism, and another appeared in 1943, the year that witnessed the downfall of Mussolini's regime: *Ossessione* (*Obsession*) by Luchino Visconti (his first feature). Based on a pirated version of James Cain's novel, *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1934), Visconti created a truly unusual antiheroic protagonist who can easily be seen as a homosexual. This character was indebted to American hard-boiled novels and was diametrically opposed to the kind of "manly" protagonists fascist censors might have preferred. Visconti's long takes and languorous rhythms reappeared in his postwar work and represented a style that was set apart from the more rapid editing techniques in Rossellini's neorealist classics.

POSTWAR NEOREALISM: A BRIEF DECADE

With the fall of Mussolini and the end of the war, international audiences were suddenly introduced to

Italian films through a few great works by Rossellini, De Sica, and Luchino Visconti that appeared in less than a decade after 1945, such as Rossellini's *Roma, città aperta* (*Rome, Open City*, 1945) and *Paisà* (*Paisan*, 1946); De Sica's *Sciuscià* (*Shoeshine*, 1946), *Ladri di biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thieves*, 1948), and *Umberto D.* (1952); and Visconti's *La Terra trema* (*The Earth Trembles*, 1948). Italian neorealist films stressed social themes (the war, the resistance, poverty, unemployment); they seemed to reject traditional Hollywood dramatic and cinematic conventions; they often privileged on-location shooting rather than studio work, as well as the documentary photographic style favored by many directors under the former regime; and they frequently (but not always) employed nonprofessional actors in original ways. Film historians have unfortunately tended to speak of neorealism as if it were an authentic movement with universally agreed-upon stylistic or thematic principles. While the controlling fiction of the best neorealist works was that they dealt with universal human problems, contemporary stories, and believable characters from everyday life, the best neorealist films never completely denied cinematic conventions, nor did they always totally reject Hollywood codes. The basis for the fundamental change in cinematic history marked by Italian neorealism was less an agreement on a single, unified cinematic style than a common aspiration to view Italy without preconceptions and to employ a more honest, ethical, but no less poetic, cinematic language in the process.

These masterpieces by Rossellini, De Sica, and Visconti are indisputably major works of art that capture the spirit of postwar Italian culture and remain original contributions to film language. But with the exception of *Rome, Open City*, they were relatively unpopular within Italy and achieved success primarily among intellectuals and foreign critics. In particular, De Sica was criticized for "washing Italy's dirty laundry in public" by Giulio Andreotti, a Christian Democratic politician who was later to become one of Italy's most powerful prime ministers. One of the paradoxes of the neorealist era in Italian film history, an epoch that lasted no more than a decade, is that the ordinary people such films set out to portray were relatively uninterested in their self-image. In fact, of the approximately eight hundred films produced between the mid-1940s and the mid-1950s in Italy, only a relatively small number (about 10 percent) could be classified as neorealist, and most of these few works were box-office failures. After years of fascist dictatorship and the deprivations of war, Italians were more interested in being entertained than in being reminded of their poverty.

A number of less important but very interesting neorealist films were able to achieve greater popular success by incorporating traditional Hollywood genres within their narratives, thereby expanding the boundaries of traditional film realism. This group of commercially successful works include *Vivere in pace* (*To Live in Peace*, 1947) by Luigi Zampa (1905–1991), a comical view of Germans, Italians, and Allied soldiers at war that cannot help but bring to mind the World War II TV sitcom *Hogan's Heroes*; *Senza pietà* (*Without Pity*, 1948) by Alberto Lattuada (1913–2005), a daring *film noir* about the black market, prostitution, and American racism in postwar Livorno; *Riso amaro* (*Bitter Rice*, 1949) by Giuseppe De Santis, a vaguely Marxist film about proletarian class solidarity that gave birth to the phenomenon in Italy of the "sweater girl" known as the *maggiorata*, making Silvana Mangano (1930–1989) an overnight sensation; and *Il Cammino della speranza* (*Path of Hope*, 1950) by Pietro Germi (1914–1974), a film about poor Sicilian miners migrating to France in search of work. These four films reflect a shift from the war themes of Rossellini to the interest in postwar reconstruction typical of De Sica's best efforts, but they are even more important as an indication of how the Italian cinema moved gradually closer toward conventional American themes and film genres.

THE "CRISIS" OF NEOREALISM AND EXPLOSION OF STYLES AND GENRES

In spite of the fact that Italian intellectuals and social critics preferred the implicitly political and sometimes even revolutionary messages of the neorealist classics, the public preferred Hollywood works or Italian films made in the Hollywood spirit, and even the neorealist *auteurs* soon became uncomfortable with the restrictive boundaries imposed upon their subject matter or style by well-meaning leftist critics. In Italian cinema history this transitional phase of development is often called the "crisis" of neorealism. In retrospect, the period from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s can be described more accurately as a natural evolution of Italian film language toward a cinema characterized by many different styles and concerned with psychological problems as well as social ones. Crucial to this historic transition are a number of 1950s films by Rossellini, Michelangelo Antonioni, and Federico Fellini (1920–1993). In Antonioni's first feature film, *Cronaca di un amore* (*Story of a Love Affair*, 1950), he borrows a plot indebted to Cain's *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, American *film noir*, and *Obsession,* but his distinctive photographic signature is already evident: characteristically long shots, tracks and pans following the actors; modernist editing techniques that reflect the slow rhythms of daily life; and philosophical concerns with obvious links to European existentialism. Antonioni continued to develop this kind of narrative into the next decade, eventually emphasizing image over narrative storyline.

FEDERICO FELLINI

b. Rimini, Italy, 20 January 1920, d. 31 October 1993

Acclaimed film director, accomplished screenwriter, and cartoonist, Federico Fellini is one of Italy's most celebrated filmmakers. In 1943 he married actress Giulietta Masina, who starred in several of his films.

When World War II ended, Fellini wrote important neorealist screenplays, including Roberto Rossellini's *Roma, città aperta* (*Open City*, 1945)—work that earned him his first Academy Award® nomination, *Paisà* (*Paisan*, 1946) and *L'Amore* (*Ways of Love*, 1948), which contains "Il miracolo" ("The Miracle"); Alberto Lattuada's *Senza pietà* (*Without Pity*, 1948); and Pietro Germi's *Il Cammino della speranza* (*The Path of Hope*, 1950). Subsequently, Fellini launched a series of major works dealing with Italian provincial life that won him international fame, including *Lo Sceicco bianco* (*The White Sheik*, 1952), *La Strada* (*The Road*, 1954), and *Le Notti di Cabiria* (*The Nights of Cabiria*, 1957). The last two films won Oscars® for Best Foreign Language Film. Shortly thereafter, Fellini completed one of the most successful of all postwar European films, *La Dolce Vita* (*The Sweet Life*, 1959), his first collaboration with actor Marcello Mastroianni. The film's title became synonymous everywhere and in numerous languages with the society life depicted by Rome's gossip-column photographers or *paparazzi*, a word Fellini contributed to the English language. Fellini's often imitated but never equaled masterpiece *8½* (1963) cast Mastroianni as Fellini's alter ego and earned a third Oscar® for Best Foreign Film.

Fellini's later films became more personal and thus are linked to the postwar European art film. They deal with such themes as the myth of Rome—*Satyricon* (*Fellini's Satyricon*, 1969) and *Roma* (*Fellini's Roma*, 1971); Italy under fascism—*Amarcord* (1973), a film that won Fellini his fourth Oscar® for Best Foreign Film; and the very nature of art and creativity itself—*E la nave va* (*And the Ship Sails On*, 1983); *Ginger e Fred* (*Ginger and Fred*, 1986); and *Intervista* (*Fellini's Interview*, 1987). As Fellini's art developed beyond his neorealist origins, it began to explore dreams or surrealistic fantasies and to exploit the baroque imagery and sumptuous Cinecittà sets for which his cinema has become justly renowned.

During the last years of his life, Fellini made three television commercials for Barilla pasta, Campari Soda, and the Banco di Roma. They are extraordinary lessons in cinematography and reveal not only his genius, but also his grasp of popular culture. He also exhibited his sketches and cartoons, many of which were taken from private dream notebooks, thus uncovering the source of much of his artistic creativity—the unconscious. Fellini received numerous honors during his lifetime, including twenty-three nominations for Oscars® in various categories (eight of which were successful and four of which were for Best Foreign Film); a special fifth Oscar® for his career achievement (1993); the Golden Lion Career Award from the Venice Film Festival (1985); and dozens of prizes from the world's most important film festivals.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Lo Sceicco bianco (*The White Sheik*, 1952), *La Strada* (*The Road*, 1954), *La Dolce Vita* (*The Sweet Life*, 1959), *8½* (1963), *Giulietta degli spiriti* (*Juliet of the Spirits*, 1965), *Satyricon* (*Fellini's Satyricon*, 1969), *Amarcord* (1973), *Intervista* (*The Interview*, 1987)

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Peter Bondanella

Fellini's early works also continue an evolution beyond neorealist preoccupation with social problems. In *I Vitelloni* (*The Vitelloni*, 1953), a film to which Martin Scorsese's *Mean Streets* (1973) is deeply indebted as a model, Fellini provided a portrait of six provincial slackers, their miserable daydreams, and their humble existence. Instead of indicting his characters for their limited perspectives, Fellini, as in his later films, focused upon the clash of illusion and reality in the dreary lives of his comic figures. Soon afterward, two masterful films

***Federico Fellini on a crane shooting* Roma, (Fellini's Roma, *1972*).** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

established his international reputation as an *auteur*: *La Strada* (*The Road*, 1954) and *Le Notti di Cabiria* (*The Nights of Cabiria*, 1957). Both works won an Oscar® for Best Foreign Film, and in them both, Fellini moved beyond mere portrayal of provincial life to reveal a new emotional dimension, one motivated by a personal poetic vision and a particular Fellinian mythology concerned with spiritual poverty and the necessity for grace or salvation—concepts that seem to be Catholic but that, in Fellini's works, take on a strictly secular and vaguely existentialist connotation. As Fellini once remarked, he believed the story of one's neighbor was just as important as a narrative about a stolen bicycle (an obvious allusion to De Sica's neorealist masterpiece), and Fellini became the standard-bearer for the transcendence of neorealism by Italian film.

Although he was the neorealist director most directly associated with contemporary events and the use of documentary techniques and nonprofessional actors, Rossellini also joined Antonioni and Fellini in moving Italian cinema toward what he called "a cinema of the Reconstruction," most particularly in a number of films he made with his wife Ingrid Bergman: *Stromboli* (1950), *Europe '51* (*The Greatest Love*, 1952), and *Viaggio in Italia* (*Journey to Italy*, 1953). In each of these important but unpopular films, Rossellini employed one of the most glamorous and famous Hollywood stars in intimate roles that played completely against any traditional treatment of the female movie star in Hollywood, a technique lionized by Rossellini's New Wave fans but rejected by popular audiences as uninteresting.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE INTERNATIONAL ART FILM

In the years between the mid-1950s (when the "crisis" of neorealism had clearly passed) and the mid-1970s (a time of violent social and political upheavals in Italy), the Italian cinema achieved a level of artistic quality, international

popularity, and economic strength that it had never before achieved before and that it would never again reach. Film production continued at well above two hundred films for a number of years, while a prolonged crisis in the American industry reduced Hollywood competition within the domestic market and abroad. Italy could boast a number of distinguished *auteurs* (Antonioni, Fellini, Visconti, De Sica, Rossellini) who were producing their greatest masterpieces. Their films not only fascinated critics and festival audiences but also were highly successful commercially. Such hits as Visconti's *Rocco e i suoi fratelli* (*Rocco and His Brothers*, 1960), *Il Gattopardo* (*The Leopard*, 1962), *La Caduta degli dei* (*The Damned*, 1969), and *Morte a Venezia* (*Death in Venice*, 1971); Fellini's *La Dolce Vita* (*The Sweet Life*, 1959), *8½* (1963), *Satyricon* (*Fellini Satyricon*, 1969), and *Amarcord* (1973); Antonioni's trilogy on modern love *L'Avventura* (1960), *La Notte* (*The Night*, 1961), and *L'Eclisse* (*The Eclipse*, 1962) in black and white and the important color films *Il Deserto rosso* (*Red Desert*, 1964) and *Blow-Up* (1966); and De Sica's *La Ciociara* (*Two Women*, 1960) and *Il Giardino dei Finzi-Contini* (*The Garden of the Finzi-Contini*, 1970) all show highly complex stylistic shifts in films created by four *auteurs* whose origins evolved beyond the simpler neorealist approach of their early work.

De Sica's two films were awarded Oscars® and are highly wrought commercial films, skillful adaptations of literary works that might well have been made in Hollywood. *Two Women* portrayed a woman's horrifying experiences during the war and provided a successful star vehicle for a performance by Sophia Loren (b. 1934) that earned her an Oscar® for Best Actress. *The Garden of the Finzi-Contini* presented a moving portrait of the Holocaust in Ferrara. Both films were far removed from the spirit of the simple storylines about humble people that established De Sica as neorealism's most poetic director. Visconti's films portrayed broad historical themes with lush, opera-like *mise-en-scène*: *The Leopard*, for example, was a pessimistic interpretation of Italy's national unification, while *The Damned* and *Death in Venice* both examined different aspects of German national character from the standpoint of European decadence and modernism. Visconti's films often seem as if they could easily unfold on the operatic stage of La Scala. In Antonioni's films, both those in color and in traditional black and white, photography preempted the central function of traditional plot and character, as his characters came to grips with a sense of alienation and futility in the modern industrial world. Antonioni was particularly brilliant in relating characters to their environments, and he framed his shots as if he were a contemporary abstract painter, asking his audience to consider people and objects as equally important and meaningful.

Fellini's baroque style in *La Dolce Vita*, or his celebration of artistic creativity in *8½*, present broad strokes of fantasy, informed by the analysis of the director's own dreams and his desire to recreate his own bizarre fantasy world. For Fellini, the imagination, rather than reality, had become the cinema's proper domain because only fantasy fell under the director's complete artistic control. Since cinema entailed expression, not the communication of information, its essence was imagery and light, not traditional storytelling. The film *8½* also made an important statement about the nature of film art itself. The harried protagonist of the film, the director Guido, possesses many of Fellini's own traits. The narrative employed by Fellini in this work moved rapidly and disconcertingly between Guido's "reality," his fantasies, and flashbacks to the past of dreams—a discontinuous story line with little logical or chronological unity. Considered by many directors to be the greatest and most original film ever made (*Citizen Kane* may be its only true rival), *8½* has been imitated by directors as different as François Truffaut, Spike Jonze, Joel Schumacher, Woody Allen, Martin Scorsese, Bob Fosse, and Peter Greenaway, not to mention certain episodes of David Chase's TV series *The Sopranos*. *Fellini Satyricon* presented a psychedelic version of the classic novel by Petronius, while *Amarcord* offered a bittersweet portrait of Italian provincial life under fascism, the main characters of which may be considered the parents of the postwar slackers in *The Vitelloni*. *Amarcord* asserted Fellini's belief that Italian fascism displayed the nation's arrested development, its paralysis in adolescence, and the average Italian's wish for a delegation of moral responsibility to others, an unusually ideological position taken by a director who was often criticized for ignoring social problems by his leftist critics.

THE SECOND WAVE: A NEW POST-NEOREALIST GENERATION OF AUTEURS

If Visconti, De Sica, Antonioni, and Fellini dominated the cinema of the period, their international prestige coincided with the rise of an extremely talented group of younger men and women whose early works were indebted to neorealism but characterized by more ideological intentions. The best examples of such works are *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo* (*The Gospel According to Matthew*, 1964) by Pier Paolo Pasolini (1922–1975); *Battaglia di Algeri* (*The Battle of Algiers*, 1966) by Gillo Pontecorvo (b. 1919); *Prima della rivoluzione* (*Before the Revolution*, 1964) by Bernardo Bertolucci (b. 1940); *La Cina è vicina* (*China Is Near*, 1967) by Marco Bellocchio (b. 1939); *Salvatore Giuliano* (1962) by Francesco Rosi (b. 1922);

SOPHIA LOREN

b. Sofia Scicolone, Pozzuoli, Italy, 20 September 1934

Sophia Loren transcended illegitimacy and poverty to become the most famous film star in Italy. After working for Italian pulp magazines, Loren debuted in the movies as an extra in Federico Fellini's *Luci del varietà* (*Variety Lights*, 1950) and then as a slave girl in Mervyn LeRoy's *Quo Vadis?* (1951), shot by MGM in Rome. She first attracted serious attention in a filmed version of the Verdi opera *Aïda* (1953), in which she lip-synched Renata Tebaldi's singing. Loren's busty physique made her one of Italy's most famous *maggiorate* (sweater-girls), along with Gina Lollobrigida and Silvano Mangano.

At first Loren's beauty overshadowed her very real talent as an actress. In Vittorio De Sica's *L'oro di Napoli* (*The Gold of Naples*, 1954), her performance already commands respect. With the help of her husband, producer Carlo Ponti, Loren played a number of Mediterranean roles for Hollywood films, including Stanley Kramer's *The Pride and the Passion* (1957) and Melville Shavelson's *Houseboat* (1958), in which she worked with Cary Grant. In 1957 Loren and Ponti married in Mexico, but Italian divorce law did not recognize the marriage. As a result of marital and financial problems, the couple became the target of Italian paparazzi, and Loren even spent several weeks in an Italian prison in 1982 for tax evasion, a crime that only increased her popularity in Italy.

Loren's Hollywood films with such major stars as Grant, Alan Ladd, Anthony Perkins, and William Holden gave her international visibility. She appeared in both epic costume dramas, such as Anthony Mann's *El Cid* (1961) and *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (1964); in westerns, such as George Cukor's *Heller in Pink Tights* (1960); and in romantic comedies, such as Charlie Chaplin's *A Countess from Hong Kong* (1967) and Robert Altman's *Prêt-à-Porter* (*Ready to Wear*, 1994). No doubt, her Hollywood exposure helped her win an Oscar® for Best Actress in Vittorio De Sica's *La Ciociara* (*Two Women*, 1960), in which she played the courageous mother of a teenaged girl during World War II. Two other De Sica films showcased Loren's talent for film comedy, pairing her with another Italian film icon, Marcello Mastroianni: *Ieri, oggi, domani* (*Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, 1962), winner of an Oscar® for Best Foreign Film; and *Matrimonio all'italiana* (*Marriage, Italian Style*, 1964).

Loren delivered the greatest performance of her late career for director Ettore Scola in *Una Giornata particolare* (*A Special Day*, 1977), in which she plays an unglamorous and world-weary housewife in fascist Italy, who falls for Mastroianni, only to discover that he is a homosexual. Loren received two career awards: an Oscar® from the American Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (1991), and a Golden Lion from the Venice Film Festival (1998).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

L'oro di Napoli (*The Gold of Naples*, 1954), *La Ciociara* (*Two Women*, 1960), *Ieri, oggi, domani* (*Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, 1962), *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (1964), *Matrimonio all'italiana* (*Marriage, Italian Style*, 1964), *Una Giornata particolare* (*A Special Day*, 1975), *Prêt-à-Porter* (*Ready to Wear*, 1994)

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Peter Bondanella

Il Posto (*The Sound of Trumpets*, 1961) by Ermanno Olmi (b. 1931); *Indagine su un cittadino al di sopra di ogni sospetto* (*Investigation of a Citizen Above Suspicion*, 1969) by Elio Petri (1929–1982); *Padre Padrone* (*Father and Master*, 1977) and *La Notte di San Lorenzo* (*Night of the Shooting Stars*, 1982) by Paolo Taviani (b. 1931) and his brother Vittorio (b. 1929); *Il Portiere di notte* (*The Night Porter*, 1974) by Liliana Cavani (b. 1933); and *Pasqualino Settebellezze* (*Seven Beauties*, 1976) by Lina Wertmüller (b. 1926).

Olmi's touching examination of the loneliness of a young office worker named Domenico in *The Sound of Trumpets* seems closest to the tone of Christian humanism that neorealist films frequently espoused. In its use of nonprofessional actors, its emphasis upon expressive deep-focus shots in office interiors, and its concentration

Sophia Loren. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

upon moments of crisis in the protagonist's life where film time coincides with elapsed narrative time, this simple masterpiece owed an obvious debt to De Sica. Olmi's *L'Albero degli zoccoli* (*The Tree of the Wooden Clogs*, 1978), one of many examples of successful films financed by Italian state television Radiotelevisione Italiana (RAI), an increasingly important source of funding for major Italian works or for co-productions with other national cinemas, returned to a neorealist recreation of peasant life on a farm near Bergamo at the turn of the nineteenth century, employing nonprofessional peasants from the area who speak their local dialect. Its three-hour length allowed Olmi to recreate the slow rhythms of life in a pre-industrial peasant culture much as Visconti did earlier in *The Earth Trembles*.

In contrast to Olmi's simple touch, Rosi moved beyond neorealist presentation of nonrhetorical facts to what he termed a "documented" method of making films. *Salvatore Giuliano* was less a work of fiction than an investigation (*inchiesta*) into the ambiguous historical circumstances surrounding a Sicilian bandit whose career, under the director's close scrutiny, reflected the machinations of the Christian Democratic party, as well as the Mafia. Rosi combined a documentary style with a series of ingenious flashbacks to present a legal brief against Italian political institutions. It was the first of many Italian political films with an anti-establishment tone that appeared during the next two decades. He continued the richly documented briefs against the political system that he began with *Salvatore Giuliano* in a series of excellent works: *Lucky Luciano* (1974) was a probing look into the link between American politicians and the rise of the Mafia in Sicily; *Cadaveri eccellenti* (*The Context*, 1976) contained a chilling Kafkaesque parable about the connection between political power and corruption in Italy, adapted from the novel *Il Contesto* by Leonardo Sciascia, where the image of the Mafia is transformed into a universally comprehensive metaphor for corrupt, absolute power everywhere in the world. Most indebted to the simple storylines of neorealist narrative was Rosi's *Tre fratelli* (*Three Brothers*, 1981), a view of contemporary Italian life seen through the lives of three brothers who return to southern Italy for the funeral of their mother.

Like Rosi, Pontecorvo employed a documentary style in *The Battle of Algiers*, with a narrative structure that used flashbacks and flash-forwards to provide critical commentary on the "facts" the film presents. His careful recreation of a case history of Third World revolution owed an important debt to the style of Rossellini in his early war films and employed a variety of techniques—highly mobile, hand-held cameras employing fast film stock; telephoto lenses common in television news reporting; duplicating the negative of the film in the lab to reproduce the grainy, documentary texture of *Paisan*—to produce a hybrid style indebted not only to Rossellini's photography but also to Eisenstein's special form of ideological montage. Rossellini's neorealist model may also be discerned in *Father and Master* and *Night of the Shooting Stars* by the Taviani brothers. The first work was based upon an autobiographical account of how an illiterate Sardinian shepherd struggled to become a professor of linguistics. The acquisition of standard Italian thus became a metaphor for the acquisition of full citizenship in modern Italian society. *The Night of the Shooting Stars* is a postmodernist reinterpretation of Italian neorealism, a remake of Rossellini's *Paisan*. The Taviani brothers set Rossellini's realistic depiction of the meeting of American GIs and the partisan Resistance during World War II within a child's world of fantasy and imagination.

Although Bertolucci, Bellocchio, and Pasolini were indebted to Rossellini, they were also influenced by the aesthetics of Berthold Brecht (1898–1956) and the cinematic practice of Jean-Luc Godard and the French New Wave. Their relationship to their neorealist heritage was therefore far more ambiguous than might be suggested by

The self-reflexive world of imagination in Federico Fellini's* 8 ½ *(1963). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

simple influence. Pasolini accepted many of the features of neorealism—nonprofessional actors, on-location shooting, contemporary themes, natural lighting—but rejected any attempt to create naturalist cinema that would ignore the mystery of life embodied in religion. He described his love for reality as "philosophical and reverential," not naturalistic. For Pasolini reality included mythology, religion, and dream. The style he developed in *The Gospel According to Matthew*, a biblical film made by a Marxist atheist, can be best described as pastiche, mixing the most disparate cultural and thematic materials. Nothing is more striking about this highly original work than its editing and sense of rhythm, for it is with a continuous process of rapid cuts and the juxtaposition of often jarring images that Pasolini forces us to experience the life of Christ through a new perspective. In his later films, such as *Medea* (1969) or *The Decameron* (1971), Pasolini moved beyond any simple neorealist vision of society and employed literary texts as platforms to launch his theories about how modern capitalist societies have destroyed the virtues of his beloved lower class characters from non-industrial and economically underdeveloped cultures. In the first film, he interpreted Euripides's play as a mythic portrait of the exploitation of the preindustrial regions of the Third World (Medea's world) by Western capitalism (Jason's world). In the second film, Pasolini transformed Boccaccio's panoramic portrait of Florentine middle-class, mercantile culture into an amusing portrayal of the way in which the sexual freedom enjoyed by lower class types from Naples represents a form of human liberation not possible in modern industrialized society.

Bertolucci and Bellocchio presented a fresh view of Italian politics in their youthful works. With *Before the Revolution* Bertolucci adapted Stendhal's *The Charterhouse of Parma* in a poetic and highly lyrical study of a young bourgeois intellectual from Parma who toys with Marxism and eventually prefers a safe, middle-class marriage to revolution or an incestuous love affair with his aunt. Fabrizio, the protagonist of the film, is clearly a reflection of many of Bertolucci's own personal concerns, and like

Bertolucci, he suffers from the "nostalgia for the present." He lives in an era *before* the revolution and is doomed, like so many of Bertolucci's characters, to embrace the coming workers' victory but never to take an active role in it. Bellocchio's artistic perspective is angry and provocative rather than lyrical and elegiac. While Bertolucci's Fabrizio retreats into the protective womb of the Italian family, *China Is Near* attacked the very institution of the family itself, as Bellocchio portrayed a thoroughly dislikable middle-class family in a satire of Italian political corruption. The result was a political allegory attacking the historic compromise between the right and the left in Italy, viewed from the microcosm of a small, provincial family. Bertolucci's *The Conformist* (1970), perhaps his most beautiful work, employed a complicated plot with frequent flashbacks and reliance upon psychoanalytic theories indebted to Wilhelm Reich on the link between homosexuality and fascism, to analyze the birth of a fascist mentality. Bertolucci's mature grasp of his craft was evident in the famous tango scene between two women, with its quickly shifting camera angles, positions, graceful motions, and skillful editing. Bertolucci's controversial *Last Tango in Paris* (1972) continued his exploration of psychoanalytic themes, with a masterful performance by Marlon Brando as an American expatriate who has a deadly love affair with a young girl in Paris.

Elio Petri's *Investigation of a Citizen Above Suspicion*, blending an ideological message with suspense and slick commercial presentation, was awarded an Oscar® for Best Foreign Film. It combined the generic conventions of a police thriller with those of a more abstract, philosophical parable in the manner of Kafka. Like the film inquiries of Rosi, Petri's cinema aimed at a fundamental critique of Italian political power. Two Holocaust films by Cavani and Wertmüller presented radically different views of Nazi concentration camps, the most extreme form of political power ever exercised. In *The Night Porter*, Cavani narrated a controversial story about a female camp inmate who has an affair with a Nazi officer and then reunites with him years later in a sado-masochistic love affair ending in death in postwar Vienna. It is, as the Nazi says, a "Biblical" story, because the young woman asked for the head of another inmate who was annoying her and then danced nude for her Nazi lover in imitation of Salomé. In an entirely different and comic vein, Wertmüller's *Seven Beauties* (1975), for which she received the first Oscar® nomination for a female director, moves in from wartime Nazi Germany to prewar Fascist Italy (Naples). Its main character is a Neapolitan dandy who lives by his wits but whose nefarious deeds eventually cause him to be sent to the eastern front and ultimately to a concentration camp. There, in order to survive, he desperately seduces the obese commandant of the camp, who then forces him to murder his best friend in order to save his own life. Wertmüller's film thus portrays a man whose sole reason for living is to survive, even at the expense of neglecting all moral values. Both *The Night Porter* and *Seven Beauties* explored the moral implications of survival in the evil world of the Gunskirchen Lager concentration camp.

THE *COMMEDIA ALL'ITALIANA*: SOCIAL SATIRE AND CULTURAL CRITICISM

Much of the Italian film industry's success during its most prosperous years was based upon the popularity of film comedies, the *commedia all'italiana*. These genre films were dominated by some excellent commercial directors who acquired auteur status by virtue of their comic genius: Mario Monicelli (b. 1915), Luigi Comencini (b. 1916), Dino Risi (b. 1916), Ettore Scola (b. 1931), and Wertmüller. Furthermore, these directors enjoyed the collaboration of great scriptwriters, such as Age (Agenore Incrocci [1919–2005]), Furio Scarpelli (b. 1919), Tullio Pinelli (b. 1908), and Scola himself. These directors and scriptwriters had at their disposal a troupe of great comic actors and actresses no national cinema outside Hollywood could match: Alberto Sordi, Vittorio Gassman, Marcello Mastroianni, Nino Manfredi, Ugo Tognazzi, Claudia Cardinale, Sophia Loren, Monica Vitti, and Stefania Sandrelli. Once denigrated by Italian leftists as merely "commercial" films without artistic pretensions, Italian comedies often contained more trenchant social criticism than the more acceptable ideologically oriented "art" films of the period. The many excellent works produced from the late 1950s to the end of the 1970s provide an accurate mirror of changing Italian customs and values. They helped to force the average Italian into a greater awareness of conflicting values, by attacking age-old prejudices and questioning the inept rule of governing elites and institutions. They often embodied a black, grotesque vision of contemporary Italian society, and the laughter in these works was bittersweet.

The film that best reflected the combination of comedy and social criticism typical of the *commedia all'italiana* was Germi's *Divorce, Italian Style* (1961). Made before Italian law admitted legal divorce, Germi's satire of Sicilian sexual mores chronicled the comic attempts of a Sicilian nobleman to force his hated wife into adultery, so that he can murder her, receive a light sentence for a crime of honor (hence the film's title), and marry his mistress. Utilizing a complex narrative juxtaposing the director's critical view of this affair with the Sicilian's biased justification of his misdeeds, Germi recreated the oppressive atmosphere of Sicilian provincial life that forces men and woman to commit violent crimes

LINA WERTMÜLLER

b. Arcangela Felice Assunta von Elgg Spagnol von Braueich, Rome, Italy, 1928

After an early career as an actress and puppeteer, Wertmüller encountered Federico Fellini and worked as his unaccredited assistant on *8½*. Immediately afterward, she directed her first feature film, *I Basilischi* (*The Lizards*, 1963), a work that recalls Fellini's *I Vitelloni* (*The Young and the Passionate*, 1953) in its focus upon provincial slackers. After making several comedies under the name George H. Brown featuring singer Rita Pavone and actor Giancarlo Giannini—*Rita la zanzara* (*Rita the Mosquito*, 1966) and *Non stuzzicate la zanzara* (*Don't Sting the Mosquito*, 1967) that met with some success at the box office—Wertmüller made the spaghetti western, *Il Mio corpo per un poker* (*The Belle Starr Story*, 1967).

Her international renown came about because of five incredibly popular political comedies that introduced the pairing of Giannini and Mariangela Melato. *Mimì metallurgico ferito nell'onore* (*The Seduction of Mimi*, 1972), a farce about sex and politics, made the two performers famous, and the subsequent *Film d'amore e d'anarchia* (*Love and Anarchy*, 1973) was a box-office sensation. *Travolti da un insolito destino nell'azzurro mare d'agosto* (*Swept Away*, 1975) aroused the ire of many feminists. This comedy of a rich woman abandoned on a deserted island with a member of the Italian proletariat and their subsequent love affair still arouses passions. A comparison of Wertmüller's *Swept Away* with the embarrassing 2002 remake underscores the quality of Wertmüller's early comic films. Wertmüller's cinematic style was influenced as much by popular Italian culture as by the cinema: a love for puppetry and the *commedia dell'arte* tradition informs her films, most of which employ stereotypical comic figures to criticize society.

Wertmüller's masterpiece, *Pasqualino Settebellezze* (*Seven Beauties*, 1976), which combined political comedy with a dark vision of the Holocaust, received the first Academy nomination for Best Director bestowed on a woman.

Following the unparalleled critical and commercial success of this film, Wertmüller signed a contract to direct English-language films, but her international popularity fell off dramatically with the appearance of *La Fine del mondo nel nostro solito letto in una notte pienad pioggia* (*A Night Full of Rain*, 1979). Subsequent Italian-language films—*Fatto di sangue fra due uomini per causa di una vedova* (*Blood Feud*, 1978), *Scherzo del destino in agguato dietro l'angolo come un brigante da strada* (*A Joke of Destiny*, 1983), *Io speriamo che me la cavo* (*Ciao, Professore!*, 1993), and *Metalmeccanico e parrucchiera in un turbine di sesso e di politica* (*The Worker and the Hairdresser*, 1996)—demonstrated her combination of politics and humor but never matched the popular and critical success of her 1970s films. Besides work in the cinema, Wertmüller has directed operas and made films for Italian television. Since 1988, she has served as an administrator at Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, the film school in Rome.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Mimì metallurgico ferito nell'onore (*The Seduction of Mimi*, 1972), *Film d'amore e d'anarchia* (*Love and Anarchy*, 1973), *Tutto a posto e niente in ordine* (*All Screwed Up*, 1974), *Travolti da un insolito destino nell'azzurro mare d'agosto* (*Swept Away*, 1975), *Pasqualino Settebellezze* (*Seven Beauties*, 1976), *Io speriamo che me la cavo* (*Ciao, Professore!*, 1993)

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Peter Bondanella

in order to obtain sexual fulfillment. Another excellent example of *commedia all'italiana* was *Bread and Chocolate* (1973) by Franco Brusati (1922–1993), a grotesque indictment of the conditions experienced by Italian "guest workers" in Switzerland. Perhaps the most interesting comic director was Ettore Scola, who began working in the cinema as a scriptwriter on dozens of comic films produced in the 1950s and the early 1960s. In *We All Loved Each Other Very Much* (1974), *Dirty, Mean and Nasty* (1976), and *The Terrace* (1980), Scola employed a

Lina Wertmüller on the set of* Ciao, Professore! *(1992). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

sophisticated metacinematic narrative (a narrative about movie making) to treat the history of Italian cinema itself, examining not only the heritage of neorealism (especially his model Vittorio De Sica) but also the assumptions of *commedia all'italiana*. *We All Loved Each Other Very Much* was the most complex of these films, combining a consideration of the many social and political changes Italy has undergone since the fall of the Fascist regime with an equally comprehensive survey of major developments in the history of postwar Italian film. *Dirty, Mean, and Nasty* presented a humorous remake of De Sica's proletarian fairy tale, *Miracle in Milan* (1950). However, Scola completely altered De Sica's fanciful utopian shantytown and his happy poor, for in Scola's contemporary shantytown every positive characteristic of the poor in De Sica's classic work is reversed. Instead of patient, long-suffering, and downtrodden people, Scola shows us vicious, brutish, mean, and nasty individuals without any redeeming moral values who have become what they are because of a desperate economic system. In *The Terrace* Scola examined the genre so crucial to his own career as a director and scriptwriter, the *commedia all'italiana*, continuing his metacinematic examination of Italian film history by questioning the very possibility of making film comedies.

With a style indebted to Fellini's baroque imagery, Italy's commedia dell'arte, and a political perspective critical of contemporary Italian society, Lina Wertmüller established herself in the 1970s as Italy's most important female director. Her best works were all typical of the *commedia dell'italiana* genre: *The Seduction of Mimi* (1971); *Love and Anarchy* (1972); *Swept Away* (1974); and her previously discussed masterpiece, *Seven Beauties*. Wertmüller's comedies, filled with stock characters and presented with the typical vulgarity of traditional Italian slapstick farce, treated controversial political subjects, such as feminism, women's rights, working-class chauvinism, and the opposition of love and anarchy, with grotesque humor. They frequently highlighted the acting talents of a pair of brilliant comedians, Giancarlo Giannini (b. 1942) and Mariangela Melato (b. 1941). Other important examples of this genre include four films by Monicelli: *Big Deal on Madonna Street* (1958), a parody of a bank robbery film; *The Great War* (1959), a satirical attack on

Sophia Loren and Marcello Mastroianni in* Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow *(Vittorio de Sica, 1963), a comic look at Italian sexual mores. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

patriotism; *The Organizer* (1963), a very funny account of a Socialist labor organizer; and *My Friends* (1975), a classical hilarious collection of cruel Tuscan practical jokes played on stupid people. Equally well-crafted works containing interesting social commentary may be found in Comencini's *Everybody Home!* (1960), a comedy about Italy's withdrawal from World War II; and in two works by Risi: *The Easy Life* (1962), a portrait of postwar Italian cynicism, and *The March on Rome* (1962), a send-up of a fanatic believer in Mussolini who persists even after the fall of Il Duce's regime.

KINGS OF THE Bs: ITALIAN GENRE FILMS

Between the mid-1950s and the 1970s, the Italian film industry produced an enormous number of genre films. The first of these specifically Italian versions of themes more often identified with Hollywood than with Rome was the sword-and-sandal epic, also called the neomythological or peplum film, accounting for 10 percent of Italian production between 1957 and 1964. *Hercules* (Pietro Francesci, 1958) gave birth to a flood of muscle-men pics with body-builders (often Americans, such as Steve Reeves or Gordon Mitchell) playing the lead roles and bearing the classically associated names of Hercules, Maciste, Ursus, Spartacus, and Samson, to name only a few. Perhaps the most skilled of the directors who worked in this genre was Vittorio Cottofavi (1914–1998), whose *The Warrior and the Slave Girl* (1958) and *Hercules and the Conquest of Atlantis* (1960) are classic examples of the genre. Set vaguely in classical times and populated by mindless musclemen and buxom damsels in distress, these works appealed to a predominantly male audience that thrived on violent action and strong, anti-intellectual heroes. The genre flourished during the 1960s and then again briefly in the 1980s, but its production values were far removed from similar works

made in Hollywood, and these films rapidly became cult favorites and the butt of jokes on *Saturday Night Live* satirical skits, which poked pun at the cheap dubbing that allowed actors to speak without moving their lips and to fall silent when they did move. In Italian film history, such films made conscious reference to the far older tradition of silent film epics, such as *Cabiria*.

The other remarkably successful commercial genre during this period was the "spaghetti" western, dominated by a great director, Sergio Leone (1929–1989), who virtually revived a dead Hollywood genre with *A Fistful of Dollars* (1964) by a conscious departure from what had come to be known as the "classic" western formula. Leone's film owed a debt both to Akira Kurosawa's *Yojimbo* (1961) and to Carlo Goldoni's play *The Servant of Two Masters* (1945). The Stranger, or The Man with No Name (a part that was to make Clint Eastwood an international star), leaves prison and cleans up a border town infested by two rival families: American gunrunners and Mexican bootleggers. Leone plunges his audience into a violent and cynical world far removed from the traditional West of John Ford or Howard Hawks. His hero is motivated by the same greed as the evil bandits, and graphic violence is accompanied by grotesque comic gags and mannered close-ups indebted to Eisenstein. A crucial artistic element is the skillful music of Ennio Moricone (b. 1928), whose unusual sound track composed of gunfire, ricocheting bullets, cries, trumpet solos, Sicilian folk instruments, and whistles became an international best-selling record. The classic western gunfight became, in Leone's hands, a ritualistic act that concludes a narrative cycle and employs a crescendo of music not unlike the close of an aria in a grand opera. This international hit was followed in close order by four other films of the highest quality: *For a Few Dollars More* (1965), *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly* (1966), *Once Upon a Time in the West* (1968), and *Duck, You Sucker!* (1971). The link between popular film genres in the Italian industry may be discerned from the fact that Leone's first film before he began making his westerns was a colossal peplum, *The Colossus of Rhodes* (1961), no doubt inspired by the success of the Hollywood production of *Ben Hur* filmed in Italy in 1959. More than a few links exist between the musclemen of the peplum and the strong, silent gunfighters of the spaghetti western. Between 1963 and 1973, over four hundred Italian westerns were produced, but none of them had the impact of Leone's works or were made with the same high production values and fine acting. Like the peplum genre, the lesser Italian westerns followed a formulaic pattern, focusing upon a single gunfighter hero, such as Sabata, Django, Ringo, Sartana, and Trinity. Eventually, the genre began to parody itself in such interesting films as *My Name Is Nobody* (Tonino Valerii, 1973); or to incorporate radical political themes, such as *A Bullet for the General* (Damiano Damiani, 1966) or *Don't Touch the White Woman* (Marco Ferreri, 1975). Again, as was the case with the peplum film, the high-water mark of this genre was reached within approximately a decade.

Another popular and low-budget genre that generated enormous profits for the industry and, like the peplum and the western, became an object of cult attention, was the so-called spaghetti nightmare or Italian horror film, often also called the *giallo* (the name being derived from the yellow covers that Italian publisher Mondadori employed on their mystery novel series). Pioneers in this genre were Mario Bava (1914–1980), Lucio Fulci (1927–1996), and Riccardo Freda (1909–1999), whose directorial debut, *Black Sunday* (1960), turned little-known British actress Barbara Steele into a cult-figure "scream queen." Perhaps the most highly regarded horror director is Dario Argento (b. 1940), whose successful works include *The Gallery Murders* (1970), *The Cat o' Nine Tails* (1971), *Deep Red* (1975), and *Suspiria* (1977). Argento's work combined the excessive gore and splatter violence of the traditional B-horror film with extremely elaborate and baroque visual settings. Because of the praise these spaghetti horror films have received from American directors Quentin Tarantino, George A. Romero, and John Landis, as well as writer Stephen King, the best and the worst representatives of this Italian genre remain popular and still command cult followings even larger than those that exist for the peplum or the spaghetti western.

THE DECLINE AND FALL: THE MID-1970s TO THE END OF THE CENTURY

The international success of Bertolucci's *Last Tango in Paris* and Fellini's *Amarcord* may mark the high-water mark of Italian cinema's commercial and artistic success. From the dawn of Italian neorealism to the beginning of the 1970s, Italian cinema was universally regarded as one of the most original and innovative national cinemas, often rivaling Hollywood in its artistic achievements if not always in its commercial success. Subsequently, in 1976 both Bertolucci and Fellini attempted big-budget films, romantic epics more typical of Hollywood productions, the former with *1900*, a historical treatment of the rise of Italian socialism with touches of *Gone With the Wind*, and *Fellini's Casanova*. In spite of their undeniable qualities, neither lived up to expectations. Leone attempted the same leap from Italian production norms to Hollywood blockbuster standards with *Once Upon a Time in America* (1984), challenging the association of American gangsters with Italians by telling the story of Jewish gangsters. Finally, with *The Last Emperor* (1987),

Giancarlo Giannini and Shirley Stoller in Lina Wertmüller's* Pasquelino Settebellezze *(Seven Beauties, 1976). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Bertolucci scored a bulls-eye, winning nine Oscars® for his epic portrayal of the Emperor of China who eventually becomes a simple citizen and dies during Mao's Cultural Revolution. But the artistic merits of such films could not detract from the air of crisis circulating throughout the industry. Gradually the old lions, the great art film directors, disappeared one by one or simply ceased making interesting films; the economically profitable genre films, such as the peplum, western, or horror film, dried up and became no longer events at the box office but cult collectors' items on video and DVD. International co-productions, such as *Last Tango* or *The Last Emperor*, to cite only the most profitable examples by Italian directors, raised the embarrassing question of whether such films ought to be considered really "Italian" or whether they were more accurately to be labeled as Eurofilms.

Talented Italian directors, actors, and technicians did not disappear (indeed, there was a migration of Italian cameramen, makeup artists, special effects people, and set designers to Hollywood during this period). But Italian film theatres began to close: in 1985, almost 5,000 theatres existed; by 1998, that number was reduced to 2,600. Basically, individual great films continued to be produced, but these films were created within an industry that had become increasingly weaker. In the mid-1970s, Italian-produced films controlled approximately 60 percent of its home market, but by 1993, that figure had dropped to 13 percent. During the 1990s, some 140 to 180 Hollywood films circulated in Italy as opposed to around 100 Italian films, but the Hollywood products gained almost 75 percent of the market share. In 1999, the year that witnessed the international success of *Life Is Beautiful* by Roberto Benigni (b. 1952), only 14 percent of Italian production had any life at the box office at all; many were never distributed or were only screened in ten cities or less. In spite of this depressing situation, Italian films continued to produce some authentic gems in spite of its weak industrial base and the dearth of energetic and skillful producers.

THE THIRD WAVE: A NEW GENERATION FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

A third generation of Italian directors is slowly appearing as younger artists begin to test their strength at the box office and at international film festivals. Their success may well hold out the promise of another Italian "Renaissance" in the cinema in the new century. This group may be described as the "postmodern" generation,

since their works so often cite other films in the Italian or Hollywood cinematic traditions. Such new faces include Benigni; Gianni Amelio (b. 1945), Maurizio Nichetti (b. 1948), Nanni Moretti (b. 1953), Giuseppe Tornatore (b. 1956), Gabriele Salvatores (b. 1950), Silvio Soldini (b. 1958), Marco Tullio Giordano (b. 1950), Giuseppe Piccioni (b. 1953), Gabriele Muccino (b. 1967), and Ferzan Ozpetek (1959). Benigni's *Life Is Beautiful* combined comic techniques learned from Charlie Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* (1940), Fellini's visual style, and Wertmüller's *Seven Beauties* to create a moving but tragicomic vision of the Holocaust. Nichetti married visual techniques learned from television advertising with a parody of De Sica's neorealist classic *Bicycle Thieves* in *The Icicle Thief* (1989). Giuseppe Tornatore's *Cinema Paradiso* (1989) owed much to both Fellini's example and the history of Italian cinema, and like Scola's *We All Loved Each Other Very Much,* it viewed contemporary Italy through the prism of the cinematic past, garnering an Oscar® for Best Foreign Film and enormous audiences all over the world in the process. Salvatores's *Mediterraneo* (1991), another recent Oscar® winner for Best Foreign Film, employed formulas from the *commedia all'italiana* (particularly the satires of patriotism in *The Great War* and *Everybody Home!*) to produce a funny account of inept Italian occupiers of a Greek island in World War II. Salvatores's most recent *I'm Not Scared* (2003) has been widely praised as a moving thriller. Nanni Moretti is perhaps the most idiosyncratic and most talented of this entire generation, producing bittersweet comic works that are closer to film essays than to fictional films. His *Dear Diary* (1994) won the Grand Prize at the Cannes Film Festival: it combined ideas about simple storylines from Zavattini's neorealist theory, political ideas from Pasolini's work, and Fellini's choice of the ''mockumentary'' genre form. His more recent work, *The Son's Room* (2001), the winner of the Palme d'Or at Cannes, moved from Moretti's usual egocentric but sympathetic narcissism to treat the devastating effects of a young boy's loss on his parents. Piccione's *Not of This World* (1999); Muccino's *The Last Kiss* (2001) and *Remember Me, My Love* (2003); and Soldini's *Bread and Tulips* (2000) are all worthy successors to the glorious *commedia dell'italiana* tradition. Monica Stambrini's *Gasoline* (2001), a lesbian thriller that was a hit at various film festivals around the globe, may be the debut of another Italian feminist director that is even more outrageous than Lina Wertmüller and as equally talented. A number of excellent works by Gianni Amelio—*Open Doors* (1970), *The Stolen Children* (1992), *Lamerica* (1994), and *The Way We Laughed* (1998)—and by Marco Tullio Giordano—*One Hundred Steps* (2000) and *The Best of Youth* (2003)—all offer eloquent testimony that Italian cinema's penchant for social realism has not disappeared.

Perhaps the most unusual of the new faces to appear on the horizon is Turkish-born director Ferzan Ozpetek, whose films are resolutely Italian in character, language, and style but whose Levantine origins are also apparent in their themes: *The Turkish Baths* (1997), *Harem* (1999), *His Secret Life* (2001), and *Facing Windows* (2003). His ability to work within the Italian film industry while coming from another national culture recalls the success of another recent Italian hit with an international flavor, *Il Postino—The Postman* (1994), directed by non-Italian Michael Radford. Incorporating a moving performance by a dying Italian comic star, Massimo Troisi (1953–1994), *Il Postino* was Italian in every conceivable respect but its director's nationality. Perhaps one way Italian cinema may survive into this new century is to become more international and less deeply rooted in native traditions of cinematic art. But such a globalization of Italian cinema would deprive the world of one of the most original and unique film traditions to have arisen in the century-old existence of the cinema.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema; Neorealism; Westerns*

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Peter Bondanella

JAPAN

The Japanese cinema was the first of the great East Asian cinemas to make its way out of the local and into the global. As early as the 1930s one finds Japanese co-productions with Germany, such as *Atarashiki tsuchi* (*The New Earth*, 1937), while Japanese films were winning awards at the Venice International Film Festival in that same decade. Of course, these co-productions and festival appearances link Japan with its wartime Axis allies. Still, though, it indicates Japanese desires for an international presence in the world of cinema. This cinematic globalism is in keeping with Japan's more sinister and tragic desires for a global presence among the imperialist powers starting in the late nineteenth century. It may be no surprise, therefore, to find that Japan—the first East Asian world power of the modern era—is also the first East Asian world cinematic power. Its interest in competing with the advanced industrial nations for a cinematic presence both locally and globally was very much in keeping with its desires for territories and colonies. It is no coincidence, then, that very early in the twentieth century, a popular subject for Japanese films was the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), and that both documentary and fiction filmmaking were central to Japan's war efforts in the Pacific theater of the 1930s and 1940s, whether celebrating Japan's early victories against the United States or continuing propaganda efforts to convince citizens at home and abroad of the essential justifications for Japan's conquests. At the same time that these cinematic celebrations of war and conquest were being produced, Japan also created a cinema of unique beauty and sensitivity, and it is these films, made just prior to World War II and in the postwar era, for which the Japanese cinema is famously and justifiably celebrated.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

As in the rest of Asia, the Japanese were introduced to the cinema through the cameras and cameramen of the globe-trotting Lumière Brothers Company. Film came to Japan in 1897 with the Japanese still flush with victory from the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), the first mark that the Japanese campaign of modernization (which meant in some measure increased industrialization and westernization) was working to make Japan an equal member of the European new world order. The Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) was the culmination of this initial phase of societal transformation. Along with increased industrialization and the need for Western-style higher education came increased urbanization, an influx of people into Japan's already rather impressively populated urban centers such as Tokyo and Osaka—moves that proved particularly useful for the growth and development of the new urban entertainment form known as the cinema. This introductory phase of the cinema found Japan the object of the Western gaze as the Lumière cameramen turned an Orientalist eye on Japanese life. As the Japanese themselves began to shoot motion pictures—they began their own efforts around 1898 and by 1900 were manufacturing their own projectors modeled on the Edison machines—it seems inevitable that they, too, would shoot with an eye for the exotic, the uniquely Japanese. This seems a twofold strategy: to see themselves through the eyes of the West, to give the West back an image of Japan created in the West's image through its own technology, but also to begin that process of Nihonjinron (the study of the essence of "Japaneseness"), which would culminate in the actual promulgation not only of specific laws regarding

the content of film, but actual invocations to create a kind of intrinsic or idealized Japan as the 1930s gave way to the 1940s and the expansion of the Pacific War. Even into the modern era, debates over what is (and what therefore is not) "typically" Japanese have continued to swirl around films and filmmakers working in this contested terrain.

The earliest films of geisha dances, popular street scenes, and other bits of exotica were typically exhibited at fairs or in traditional amusement districts in Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto. This pattern quickly asserted itself, and by the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century, film in Japan had become primarily an entertainment-oriented, commercial enterprise whose appeal was largely to the urban working and lower-middle classes. With the rapid growth of the larger cities during this period, there was an ample audience not only of the working and middle classes, but also of young people. In other words, the movies could not have asked for a more perfect situation in which to insert itself, and indeed, before too long permanent theaters were built to accommodate film, and companies arose that specialized in the production of motion pictures. The Kinki-kan was converted from live theater to film in 1900, while in 1903 the Denki-kan became the first theater built specifically for film. The Yoshizawa Company, which had started as an equipment manufacturer and turned to production with proto-documentaries at the turn of the century, built a film studio in Tokyo in 1907. At this same time, the Yokota Company began its foray into fiction filmmaking, so that by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, Japanese cinema was actively engaged in producing and exhibiting films for an increasingly voracious audience. The innovations of the M Pathé Company in 1905—larger theaters, uniformed usherettes, higher admission prices, and the establishment of a trust organization that merged the four top production companies, leading to the formation of Nikkatsu Studios—set the tone for the monopolistic practices that helped the Japanese cinema grow and develop along organized Fordist models of mass production, economies of scale, and contract labor.

Films of this era generally fell into two dominant modes: Kabuki stories and (semi- or pseudo-) documentaries. The Chinese Boxer Rebellion (1898–1900) and, especially, the Russo-Japanese War gave Japanese audiences a chance to explore the world around them with the satisfied air of newly modernized global citizens. It has been claimed that approximately 80 percent of all films made and released in Japan in 1905 were devoted to the Russo-Japanese War, but as the war faded from immediacy, the number of such films dropped. But it is arguable, too, that they dropped because audiences preferred the increasingly sophisticated storytelling of the Kabuki-derived dramas. Certainly that unique institution of the Japanese cinema, the *benshi* (or *katsuben*), derives from this moment with its roots in Kabuki and Bunraku (puppet) theater. Along with the usual musical accompaniment, this narrator, who explained the film, provided live, almost synchronized dialogue, filled in narrative gaps, and otherwise added an audio component to the visuals, giving Japanese cinema a full, multimedia presentation. Kabuki-derived stories gave audiences a chance to see famous actors recreate portions of their well-known roles and even allowed the development of the *rensa-geki* (chain dramas), which integrated filmed portions into live theatrical entertainments.

If the reliance on *rensa-geki* was short-lived as films got a bit longer and audiences became more willing to experience film for its own sake, the *benshi* became virtually institutionalized. Some argue that the relative lateness of sound's arrival in the Japanese cinema (1931) and audiences' willingness to continue to patronize so-called silent cinema was owed to the popularity of the *benshi*, as well as to their numerical strength. In 1927 there were, for example, over seventy-five hundred registered film narrators—testimony to both their popularity and clout. For commentators as otherwise different as Nöel Burch and Joseph L. Anderson, the *benshi* is in many ways the primary reason that the Japanese cinema developed unique storytelling procedures, shooting styles, and pacing. Certainly, it endowed the Japanese cinema with an available tradition where psychological realism and tightly controlled plotting give way to a series of intense scenes and revealing moments; of narrative ellipsis; flat staging; and, for all that, longer films that reproduce the pacing and techniques of Kabuki and Bunraku. Naturally, there are other traditions of Japanese art and culture from which the cinema has drawn, including the novel and painting, but some might argue that a good deal of Japanese cinema's uniqueness stems from this theatrical orientation.

The theatrical orientation of early Japanese cinema extended importantly into the 1920s with the rise of the *shimpa* (new) theater and its frequent adaptation into the cinema. Both Kabuki and *shimpa*, and so, too, the cinema, relied on so-called female impersonator actors (*onnagata*) to play women's roles. But such a convention began to break down with the more intimate presentation of the cinema; the gradual introduction of close-ups; and competition, so to speak, from the naturalist theater known as Shingeki (New Theater). The dominant mode of *shimpa* was the melodrama, a genre that, by definition, may be said to foreground women and women's issues, and so the use of *onnagata* actors became increasingly untenable. Actor-directors trained in Hollywood, such as Kisaburo (aka Thomas) Kurihara (1885–1926), also helped divorce Japan from this particular theatrical

mode, so that after 1922, with the success of *Rojo no reikon* (*Souls on the Road*, 1921), the days of the *onnagata* on film were numbered (though the tradition still continues in Kabuki).

In the early 1920s, Shochiku Studios arose as the primary competitor to Nikkatsu. Relying on Hollywood-style production practices, eliminating the *onnagata*, and producing *shimpa*-style melodramas in order to attract working-class and middle-class women, Shochiku took the competitive edge over Nikkatsu, which specialized in Kabuki-derived action and swordplay movies. It might be said that here lie the origins of Japan's two cinematic mega-genres, the *jidai-geki* (period play) and *gendai-mono* (modern story), although it is true that the Kabuki theater utilizes the same basic divisions. With stars like Matsunosuke Onoue in the 1910s and, even more importantly, Denjirô Ôkôchi (1898–1962) under the direction of Daisuke Ito (1898–1981) at Nikkatsu and Tsumasaburo Bando (b. 1950) working for Shozo Makino (1878–1929) and his son Masahiro Makino (1908–1993), the *jidai-geki* became a foundational genre for the Japanese cinema—a status it would retain well into the 1970s.

But it was in the realm of the *gendai-mono* and its numerous subgenres, such as the tendency film (or *keiko eiga*, which depicts contemporary social problems and issues treated from a generally leftist perspective), the *nansensu* (nonsense) comedies, and especially the *shomin-geki* (stories of the lower-middle class), that the Japanese cinema truly flourished, for it was here that most of the great actors, actresses, writers, and directors of the day made their mark on world cinema history.

THE FIRST GOLDEN AGE

Sound came to the Japanese cinema in 1931 with Heinosuke Gosho's (1902–1981) *Madamu to nyobo* (*The Neighbor's Wife and Mine*), but other masters of the Japanese cinema continued working in silent film into the middle of the decade. But whether silent or sound, the Japanese cinema of the 1930s marks a true Golden Age where the major studios Shochiku and Nikkatsu, along with Toho, which had joined the ranks of the former two through a series of mergers, relied on contract stars and directors who generally worked within consistent and recognizable genres—much like Hollywood in its contemporaneous Golden Age. Toho relied on popular actors and actresses like Kazuo Hasegawa (1908–1984) (who would make over three hundred films over the course of his career), Takako Irie (1911–1995), Setsuko Hara (b. 1920), and child superstar Hideko Takamine (b. 1924) (whose luster would never fade as she would work well into her sixties). Matched by directors like Teinosuke Kinugasa (1896–1982), Hiroshi Inagaki (1905–1980), and Mikio Naruse (1905–1969), Toho could work in both *jidai-geki* and *gendai-mono* to full effect. Shochiku did not have quite the star power of Toho, but its directorial stable is a "who's who" of the Japanese cinema of the 1930s, led by Yasujiro Ozu (1903–1963) along with Heinosuke Gosho, Yasujiro Shimazu (1897–1945), and Hiroshi Shimizu (1903–1966). Working at the studio's Kamata branch, these directors made the world of the lower-middle classes the studio's specialty, whether through comedies like Ozu's *Otona no miru ehon: Umarete wa mita keredo* (*I Was Born But . . .*, 1924), the bittersweet Naruse's *Tsuma yo bara no yo ni* (*Wife, Be Like a Rose*, 1935), or the child-centered masterpieces of Shimizu (for example, *Kaze no naka no kodomo* [*Children in the Wind*, 1937]).

Some directors managed to work outside of the big three of Shochiku, Toho, and Nikkatsu or to play one against the other. Naruse began at Shochiku but moved to Toho, while Sadao Yamanaka (1909–1938)—whose death in combat in China in 1938 marks the greatest directorial loss of the war years—moved to Toho as well, in his case from rival Nikkatsu. Kenji Mizoguchi (1898–1956), meanwhile, managed to carve out a nice career working for independent or semi-independent companies such as Dai-Ichi Eiga, where he made his two masterpieces of 1936—*Naniwa erejî* (*Osaka Elegy*) and *Gion no shimai* (*Sisters of the Gion*). Independent production was not unknown, either. Most famous among such films is surely Kinugasa's *Kurutta Ippeji* (*A Page of Madness*, 1926), an avant-garde film that focuses on a man who takes a job as a janitor in a mental asylum in order to be nearer to his wife, who has been confined after attempting to drown their child, featuring subjective shots of the inmates to the expressionistic locale of the institution itself. The very range of films—anarchic *jidai-geki* featuring alienated *ronin* (unemployed samurai), raucous comedies about college youth, tearful melodramas of lost love or bitter poverty, gentle romances, moving dramas of young children, even musical comedies—speaks to the success of the Japanese cinema.

While not, in fact, a major exporter of films (until it would force its films on its occupied territories during the war), Japan's large population could sustain a self-supporting film industry. Attendance by the middle of the 1930s reached 250 million annually. As was the case with Hollywood in this same period, the major studios either owned major theaters outright or controlled most of them through various contractual and legal obligations. Though this made independent production difficult and exhibition even more so (amateur films and documentary films appear with great regularity in this period but remain firmly outside traditional production and exhibition practices and venues), for the commercial filmmaker

YASUJIRO OZU

b. Tokyo, Japan, 12 December 1903, d. 12 December 1963

It is ironic that Yasujiro Ozu's films were once thought to be "too Japanese" for Western audiences to appreciate. This serious misunderstanding of either Ozu's essential universalism or the West's ability to appreciate Japanese culture made Ozu the last major Japanese director of the postwar era to have his films fully distributed in the West. But once his films became fully available (mostly by the mid-1970s), Ozu became the Japanese cinema's most respected director among film critics and scholars, as well as among a whole generation of independent filmmakers in the US and abroad. Once called "Japan's most Japanese director," Japanese critics have rejected this notion, some even claiming he is hardly very Japanese at all. It is clear that Ozu's cinema is deeply rooted in Japanese traditional culture, yet it is equally true that he has a unique approach to the cinema and an unmatched commitment to a personal worldview. His relentless examination of contemporary Japanese life as lived by ordinary people and a film style that provides endless fascination and a wry sense of humor have proven to have universal appeal and tremendous influence.

Ozu is best known for a series of films dealing with the trials and tribulations of the typical Japanese family and the shifts wrought by changes in postwar culture and the inevitability of time's passing. Thus, his families are not only impacted by the shift away from the multi-generational household amidst the continued urbanization of postwar Japan, but also by the simple fact that children grow up, marry, and start their own families. These elements are seen so unforgettably in *Tokyo monogatari* (*Tokyo Story*, 1953), where the aging parents still living in rural Japan struggle with feelings of disappointment and disillusionment when they visit their seemingly distracted and unloving children in Tokyo. In three remarkable films with essentially the same plot—a daughter's reluctance to get married causes her widowed parent to resort to a veiled threat of remarriage him- or herself to convince the child to wed—Ozu finds his essential theme. Though the father in *Banshun* (*Late Spring*, 1949) and *Sanma no aji* (*An Autumn Afternoon*, 1962) and the mother in *Akibiyori* (*Late Autumn*, 1960) will be all alone (and lonely), the parent must convince the daughter to wed; it is the nature of life, the life cycle in every sense of the term, that parents grow old and children marry so the cycle may begin again.

For all the seeming simplicity of his stories, the complex mechanisms of his narrative procedures and cinematic style endow Ozu's films with a modernist complexity. His use of ellipsis, for instance, tends to de-dramatize the plot. He typically leaves out many would-be important elements—especially in the "wedding" films, where he omits the actual wedding itself. He is also notable for his utilization of 360-degree space, which produces seeming mismatched action, both within the frame and across it. Though Ozu has a reputation for using long takes, it is actually a misperception. Certainly, the contemplative camera positioned just a few inches off the floor and the de-dramatized narratives lend his films a leisurely pace, but there is nothing especially lengthy in his typical shots. Rather, his films unfold at the speed of life and capture it in its essence.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Umarete wa mita keredo (*I Was Born But...*, 1924), *Chichi ariki* (*There Was a Father*, 1942), *Banshun* (*Late Spring*, 1949), *Bakushû* (*Early Summer*, 1951), *Tokyo monogatari* (*Tokyo Story*, 1953), *Higanbana* (*Equinox Flower*, 1958), *Ohayô* (*Good Morning*, 1959), *Ukigasu* (*Floating Weeds*, 1959), *Akibiyori* (*Late Autumn*, 1960), *Sanma no aji* (*An Autumn Afternoon*, 1962)

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David Desser

Yasujiro Ozu. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

the safety net of popular stars, clear genres, and a well-oiled distribution system provided more than a modicum of freedom to give rise to one of the most remarkable creative periods in all of world cinema history—one matched perhaps only by Hollywood and France during this period, and by the Japanese themselves later in the 1950s.

Always aware of Hollywood and a major importer of American films (a situation that still remains), the Japanese were always conscious of the style and modes of the world's premier film power. One can see, therefore, the clear influence of Hollywood on Japanese cinema of the 1930s—whether in Ozu's *nansensu* comedies, which interpolated Harold Lloyd into stories of contemporary Japanese youthful ambitions, or in Mizoguchi's Warner Bros.—like low-key lighting and semirealistic dramas. Yet the particularities of Japanese film culture render their cinema, along with that of dozens of other first-rate directors, the unique expression of Japanese sensibilities. An overt stylization, what David Bordwell has called ''a cinema of flourishes,'' was allowed to exist alongside and within clearly generic, plot-driven stories. Mizoguchi's long takes and complex camera movements certainly have no derivation from Hollywood in the 1930s—moments of stylistic excess in *Osaka Elegy* and, especially, *Zangiku monogatari* (*The Story of the Last Chrysanthemums*, 1939), are closer in spirit to the films of France's master Jean Renoir, but with a definite Japanese flavor. Yamanaka's *Ninjo kamifusen* (*Humanity and Paper Balloons*, 1938) is a brilliant melding of Shingeki theater and samurai drama to tell a uniquely Japanese story of class oppression and human tragedy. So many films from the Japanese cinema have been lost—virtually everything made before World War I, but even the output of the 1930s has been devastated—by war, by nitrate film deterioration, by carelessness; but what remains bespeaks of a cinema as vibrant as any in the world, yet one that so clearly derives from a unique cultural and aesthetic tradition.

ERUPTION AND INTERRUPTION OF WAR

By 1937, Japan was essentially at war with China. War was inevitable, to anyone with eyes to see, as early as 1931, but by 1937 the military draft and regular excursions into the Chinese heartland indicated that Japan was a nation at war. Cinematic excursions into China became increasingly common as well, with the infamous stardom of Yoshiko Yamaguchi being the most famous instance of the Japanese trying to conquer China on screen and off. A Japanese woman born in Manchuria, Yamaguchi was passed off as a Chinese actress, Li Hsiang-lan, and she appeared in a handful of overt propaganda films inevitably portraying a Chinese woman in love with, rescued by, and otherwise indebted to a Japanese soldier. The effectiveness of propaganda films like *Shina no yoru* (*China Night*, 1940) within China is more than questionable, as Chinese audiences wanted no part of such films. On the Japanese homefront, propaganda was the order of the day by 1940, but Yamaguchi-Li's talent and beauty may have overcome the otherwise obvious intentions behind the film.

Government censorship was always a factor in the production of Japanese cinema. As early as 1925, a centralized state censorship board was established to oversee film content, with particular concerns for public security and morality. Leftist filmmaking of the late 1920s and early 1930s (including many documentaries) encouraged further government intervention in the early 1930s, but it was the ever-increasing social conservatism and imperialistic militarism that led to the Pacific War and the virtual nationalization of the film industry and its heavy censorship by 1940. The production of *kokusaku-eiga* (national policy film) led to the overtly propagandistic nature of the entertainment cinema, while the government forced the merger of the major studios into three concerns: Shochiku, Toho and Daiei (which had

***Yasujiro Ozu examined the dynamics of family life in such films as* Tokyo monogatari *(*Tokyo Story*, 1953).* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

taken Nikkatsu Studios under its new corporate banner). In the early period, from 1937 to 1941, a number of interesting films were produced whose overt propaganda value may be questionable. Films like *Five Scouts* (*Gonin no sekkohei*, 1938) and *Mud and Soldiers* (*Tsuchi to heitai*, 1939) seem rather grim in their portrayal of ground combat in China, while *Airplane Drone* (*Bakuon*, 1939) is a rather charming comedy. Masterpieces like Mizoguchi's *Genroku chushingura* (*The Loyal Forty-Seven Ronin of the Genroku Era*, 1941) and Ozu's *Chichi ariki* (*There Was a Father*, 1942) similarly show far less overt propaganda content than Hollywood's rabid anti-Japanese, pro-war films of the 1940s, but other, less well-known films take an anti-Western tack. Toho's all-star, big-budget *Ahen senso* (*The Opium War*, 1943), directed by the prolific Masahiro Makino and starring Setsuko Hara and Hideko Takamine, for instance, is charmingly propagandistic, with Japanese actors portraying the Chinese and British characters that make up the film. But as the war took a turn for the worse, so, too, the film industry declined—resources becoming ever scarcer and filmmakers ever subject to censorship. Ironically, when the war ended and the US Occupation forces arrived, the film industry was subjected to some of the same rigid censorship codes, though put to different ends.

THE SECOND GOLDEN AGE

It is arguable that the Japanese cinema of the 1950s is one of the high water marks in the history of world cinema, where Japan achieved a major international presence in film festivals and in art cinemas and solidified a mass audience at home that led to one of the most prolific periods of film production in the world. This Golden Age began innocently enough as, under US Occupation mandate, the Japanese cinema began producing films favoring democracy and women's liberation while rejecting feudalism and militarism. Under such circumstances, the production of *jidai-geki* took a back seat to films

examining postwar realities, though Mizoguchi's take on the famous woodblock (*ukiyo-e*) artist Utamaro, with his *Utamaro o meguru gonin no onna* (*Utamaro and His Five Women*, 1946), managed a deft combination of period exoticism and women's liberation. Akira Kurosawa (1910–1998) examined social problems in films like *Shizukanaru ketto* (*The Quiet Duel*, 1949), *Yoidore tenshi* (*Drunken Angel*, 1948), and *Nora inu* (*Stray Dog*, 1949), while Ozu continued to refine his perspective on the Japanese family in the process of solidifying an increasingly unique and challenging film style in his postwar masterpieces *Akibiyori* (*Late Autumn*, 1949), *Bakushû* (*Early Summer*, 1951), and *Tokyo monogatari* (*Tokyo Story*, 1953). Indeed, one reason for the Golden Age of the 1950s was the manner in which 1930s masters like Mizoguchi, Ozu, Naruse, and Gosho were joined by the growing ranks of a new generation of filmmakers led by Kurosawa and supported by the likes of Kon Ichikawa (b. 1915), Keisuke Kinoshita (1912–1998), and Masaki Kobayashi (1916–1996), among others.

A stellar lineup of movie stars began appearing in such genres as the woman's film, especially variations such as the *haha-mono* (mother stories), out of which Kinoshita's masterpiece *Nihon no higeki* (*A Japanese Tragedy*, 1953) emerged, and the bar-hostess film, which eventually led to Naruse's sublime *Onna ga kaidan wo agaru toki* (*When a Woman Ascends the Stairs*, 1960). Musicals reappeared in various forms, led by the extraordinary *enka* (folk) singer Hibari Misora (1937–1989), who appeared in over one hundred films in the 1950s. Tough-guy action stars in the mode of Elvis Presley, like Yûjirô Ishihara (1934–1987) and Akira Kobayashi (b. 1937), gave Nikkatsu a unique form with their action films. Toho Studios struck gold with the atom-bomb allegories in the form of the *kaiju-eiga* (monster movie), creating, literally, the biggest star of the decade with *Gojira* (*Godzilla*, 1954)—followed by sequels and fellow giant monsters galore. Daiei Studios succeeded in its own way by making films with great domestic box-office appeal while also producing films rather specifically geared for overseas appeal at film festivals and art houses.

Kurosawa's *Rashomon* (1951), a puzzling film that Toho Studios showed little interest in producing, was made at Daiei to minor recognition at home. But its success at the Venice International Film Festival in 1951 (where it was awarded the Golden Lion) and its Academy Award® for Best Foreign Film more than made up for any domestic disappointment. The film brought Kurosawa instant acclaim, Daiei a great deal of prestige, and the Japanese cinema the kind of worldwide recognition it had long desired. Daiei embarked on a campaign of producing films with an eye toward film festivals and art theater distribution and met with a good deal of success with Mizoguchi's *Ugetsu* (1953) and Kinugasa's *Jigokumon* (*Gate of Hell*, 1953). This penchant for producing period films for the export market had the unfortunate consequence of keeping many of Japan's *gendai-mono* from receiving the kind of institutional support required to break out of the domestic market. Thus, Ozu and Naruse, for instance, were little known abroad compared to Kurosawa and Mizoguchi. Nevertheless, with Daiei leading the way, other studios, too, jumped on the *jidai-geki* bandwagon so that Kurosawa's *Shichinin no samurai* (*Seven Samurai*, 1954) and Inagaki's Samurai trilogy (1954–1956) received both international distribution and prize-winning acclaim. These period films may have functioned to help redeem Japan's image from that of an imperialist power that had waged a bloody and frightful war against its Asian neighbors and against Western powers like the United States and Great Britain. Set in the past, the films clearly removed themselves from the recently completed war and presented images of an exotic culture—colorful costumes, mysterious and beautiful women, elegant interiors decorated with painted screens, and graceful Zen gardens. Yet films like *Rashomon*, *Ugetsu*, and *Gate of Hell* in fact clearly speak to the disaster of the Pacific War—the ruination of Japan's cities; the effects on innocent civilians, especially women; and the trauma of loss and defeat.

By displacing the recent war onto the more distant past, the films could be made palatable to both domestic and international audiences. But no displacement, no tricks, no hidden meanings were required to appreciate the obvious artistry on view. Drawing on pictorial traditions as venerable as *sumi-e* (black and white ink brush painting), *yamato-e* (landscape painting in the Japanese style), and *emaki-mono* (narrative picture scrolls), the Japanese cinema was characterized by a pictorial elegance not seen anywhere else in the world. A propensity for long takes and long shots gave many of the films a stately, leisurely, contemplative pacing that appealed to many young film critics and filmmakers. The creation of mood, of tone, was similarly a unique property of the Japanese cinema. Combined with many theatrical elements, the films presented themselves as the product of a culture that seemed far from the one that waged fierce war on the world. The stylistic experiments of Kurosawa (one of the rare directors who were as comfortable with dynamic montage as he was with long takes) and Ozu (a filmmaker virtually unique, but not *sui generis*, with his graphic matches, narrative ellipses, dramatic deemphases, and singular thematic concern) grew out of a prolific, varied, and exciting cinematic period. One might argue that it was precisely this combination of art film acclaim and domestic box-office appeal that defines this period as not only a Golden Age of Japanese cinema, but a Golden Age of world-class filmmaking.

Akira Kurosawa's* Rashomon *(1950) introduced Western audiences to Japanese cinema. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

AKIRA KUROSAWA

b. Tokyo, Japan, 23 March 1910, d. 6 September 1998

Akira Kurosawa was a child when the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 leveled the sprawling city of Tokyo. Thus, Kurosawa grew up in a new, modern Tokyo, but one that never lost sight of its past. This struggle between the modern and the traditional is one of the hallmarks of his films—both in terms of the director's veering between period films and modern stories and the way he highlights the need for certain traditional values within modern society; at the same time he brings a distinctly modern perspective to the venerable period film.

It would be hard to imagine the modern American cinema without Kurosawa's palpable influence, whether in the action staging of Sam Peckinpah, Walter Hill, and Martin Scorsese or the distinctive editing patterns that so clearly set off the films of Francis Ford Coppola, George Lucas, and Steven Spielberg. And this is no less true of his influence on internationally acclaimed directors ranging from Italy's Western auteur, Sergio Leone, to Hong Kong's master of balletic violence, John Woo. The strategic use of slow motion, the transformation of Sergei Eisenstein's handling of crowd scenes, the use of jump-cuts on movement, the intermixing of long takes and montage, have all entered the lexicon of the modern action cinema.

It is likely that *Shichinin no samurai* (*Seven Samurai*, 1954) is the single most remade and reworked film in all of world cinema, from Hollywood to Bollywood; *Rashomon* (1951) is as responsible for the modernist move in world cinema as Bergman's *Sjunde inseglet, Det* (*Seventh Seal*, 1957), Fellini's *La Strada* (1956), or Antonioni's *L'Avventura* (*The Adventure*, 1960); and *Yojimbo* (*Yojimbo the Bodyguard*, 1961) may fairly be said to have relaunched the Western in the 1960s. Similarly, Kurosawa's Shakespearean adaptations—*Kumonosu jô* (*Throne of Blood*, 1957), *Warui Yatsu Hodo Yoku Nemuru* (*The Bad Sleep Well*, 1960), and *Ran* (1985)—are generally acknowledged as among the finest filmic transformations of the Bard's classics, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *King Lear*, respectively.

Within the strictly Japanese context, Kurosawa has been one of the few filmmakers willing to tackle an issue generally suppressed in Japanese public art—the atomic bomb. Handled typically by allegory (e.g., *Godzilla*, 1954) or via the fantastic world of anime, the Bomb has been largely taboo in Japanese cinema. Yet in the middle of his career, with *Ikimono no kiroku* (*Record of a Living Being*, 1955), and near the end, with *Hachigatsu no kyôshikyoku* (*Rhapsody in August*, 1991), Japan's best-known filmmaker squarely confronted Japan's most traumatic experience. Kurosawa's willingness to confront tradition, criticize modernization, and tackle taboo subjects made him the leading filmmaker of his generation, and his unequaled command of cinematic language made him one of the most influential filmmakers in the history of the cinema.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Sugata Sanshiro (*Judo Saga*, 1943), *Waga seishun ni kuinashi* (*No Regrets for Our Youth*, 1946), *Nora inu* (*Stray Dog*, 1949), *Rashomon* (1951), *Ikiru* (*To Live*, 1952), *Shichinin no samurai* (*Seven Samurai*, 1954), *Kumonosu jô* (*Throne of Blood*, 1957), *Yojimbo* (*Yojimbo the Bodyguard*, 1961), *Tengoku to jigoku* (*High and Low*, 1963), *Akahige* (*Red Beard*, 1965), *Kagemusha* (*Kagemusha the Shadow Warrior*, 1980), *Ran* (1985), *Madadayo* (1993)

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David Desser

A NEW WAVE

Some recent critical work has come to question the perhaps too easy and quick assignation of the term "New Wave" (*Nuberu bagu*, *nouvelle vague*) to a group of filmmakers who directed their first efforts at Shochiku Studios around 1960, in particular Nagisa Oshima (b. 1932), Masahiro Shinoda (b. 1931), and Yoshishige Yoshida (b. 1933). With some stylistic and thematic similarities to the French and Polish New Waves of this period, such a comparison made sense, if only from the

Akira Kurosawa on the set of* Kagemusha *(*Kagemusha the Shadow Warrior, *1980). © TOHO COMPANY/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

perspective of public relations and pop journalism. Still, by adding in the contemporaneous efforts by the likes of Shohei Imamura (b. 1926) and Susumu Hani (b. 1928), one can safely claim a historical moment of a clear confluence of interests revolving around the political alignment of Japan with the United States; the alienated state of postwar youth; continued discrimination against Koreans, *burakumin* (untouchables), and the working poor; women's liberation; and the freeing of film form from the Classical and Postwar masters. And while it has been common to claim this New Wave as cresting in 1960, greater historical distance may reveal that a more interesting and truer "wave" of radical filmmaking came about at the end of the decade, not at its beginning.

The very success of the mainstream Japanese cinema of the 1950s enabled studios like Shochiku, especially, but also Nikkatsu, to allow a greater sense of directorial freedom of expression and the breakdown of classic genres. This was exacerbated when the industry began a steep decline after 1963 due, mostly, to the introduction of television. This new medium rather quickly took away one of the industry's stalwart audiences: middle-class women. One way to try and hold on to their remaining audience was the turn to younger directors and their favored theme of youth. With films like *Seishun Zankoku Monogatari* (*Cruel Story of Youth*, 1960), *Furyo Shonen* (*Bad Boys*, 1961), and *Buta To Gunkan* (*Pigs and Battleships*, 1961), among others, something like a new wave appeared. Alienated youngsters rebelling from middle-class society or unable to enter into the promise of economically resurgent Japan, and a film style characterized by neo-documentary techniques, hand-held camerawork, a rejection of the pictorial tradition, all sifted, many times, through a darkly comic lens, certainly marked a break even from those 1950s youth films that are the clear predecessors of the 1960s new wave. But as the decade wore on and the industry could no longer support the radical efforts of younger filmmakers, and as mainstream audiences continued to desert the Japanese cinema, the industry had reached a crisis by the late 1960s. The Art Theatre Guild (ATG) came to the rescue of many of the new wave filmmakers, introducing new production and distribution patterns into the Japanese

cinema. It must be beyond coincidental that the best films of Hani, Shinoda, Yoshida, and even Oshima were made at the ATG, and that even most of their subsequent films take a backseat to the truly original works made there.

The ATG began in the early 1960s primarily as an exhibitor of foreign films—though it did produce *Otoshiana* (*The Pitfall*) in 1962, the first film of acclaimed independent filmmaker Hiroshi Teshigahara (1927–2001). The distribution and exhibition by the ATG of Oshima's *Ninja bugei-cho* (*Band of Ninja*) in 1967, produced by Oshima's own Sozosha Corporation, was something of a surprise hit. Oshima used no live action film footage, but "animated" actual *manga* (comic books/graphic novels) panels by enlarging, shrinking, and superimposing or merely through fast editing of stills. The fact that the audience was that greeted this film enthusiastically was largely young should have been a wake-up call to film producers everywhere, but the ATG was the first to heed it. At this same time, the already well-established Shohei Imamura co-produced *Ningen Johatsu* (*A Man Vanishes*, 1967) with the ATG. The film was a modest success—again with a young, restless audience very much ready to embrace underground art, theater, and cinema. By 1968 the ATG would provide that in abundance. Films like Oshima's *Koshikei* (*Death by Hanging*, 1968) and *Gishiki* (*The Ceremony*, 1971) hit at the heart of Japan's social and familial institutions; his *Shinjuku dorobo nikki* (*Diary of a Shinjuku Thief*, 1968) captured the Japanese 1960s as no other film; and Shinoda's *Shinju ten no amijima* (*Double Suicide*, 1969) and Toshio Matsumoto's (b. 1932) *Bara no soretsu* (*Funeral Procession of Roses*, 1969) and *Shura* (*Pandemonium*, 1971) combined the most traditional of Japanese arts—Bunraku and calligraphy, among others—with a decidedly Modernist approach to film.

The importance of the New Wave in the 1960s should not diminish the significance of more mainstream genres, in particular the male-oriented films directed at young and working-class men. If women had abandoned the cinema in favor of television and the overall more home-centered lifestyle mandated in economically successful Japan, filmmakers turned to the samurai film in increasing numbers. Under the impetus of director Kenji Misumi (1921–1975) and star Raizo Ichikawa (1931–1969), a new youth orientation was introduced into the already nihilistic tale of a possessed *ronin* in *Daibosatsu Toge* (*Satan's Sword*, 1960) and two sequels (1960, 1961). This same story would be stylishly engaged later in the decade by Tatsuya Nakadai under the sure-handed direction of Kihachi Okamoto (1923–2005) in a version known as *Dai-bosatsu tôge* (*The Sword of Doom*, 1966). Akira Kurosawa contributed to this newly anarchic and violent tendency of the genre turn with *Yojimbo* (*Yojimbo the Bodyguard*, 1961) and *Sanjuro* (1962), with Toshirô Mifune (1920–1997) as the samurai-with-no-name. The star, Shintaro Katsu (1931–1997), would similarly bring a new dimension to the samurai film, appearing in over twenty films in the decade as the wandering, blind, masseur-master swordsman, Zatoichi. This new-style samurai film prospered into the early 1970s, but by then overexposure on television, the aging of the samurai stars, and the continued decline of the mainstream film industry put a halt to the routine production of these often startlingly original, beautifully realized, artistically surprising genre entries.

Coincident with the new-style samurai film was another male-oriented genre, often filled with more graphic violence than the samurai film. (Though few films can top the *Kozure Okami* series [*Lone Wolf and Cub*, 1970–1972] for sheer swordplay mayhem.) Known as the *yakuza* (gangster) genre film, it became the staple of Toei Pictures, formed in 1951. A complex morality, sometimes seen as conservative—feudalistic notions of duty, honor, and loyalty predominate—merges with a truly nihilistic flavor, as all values except male bonding and camaraderie are called into question by the time of the (inevitable) violent showdown. The superstar Ken Takakura (b. 1931) is a key figure in the genre, especially with his eighteen-part *Abashiri Bangaichi* (Abashiri prison series, 1965–1972), as is Bunta Sugawara (b. 1931), especially as guided by the wily veteran director Kinji Fukasaku (1930–2003) in the multi-part *Battles without Honor and Humanity* series (*Jingi naki tatkai*, 1973–1974). By the middle of the 1970s, overproduction, aging stars, and declining production values, as well as *yakuza* series on television, sheathed the sword of the gangster as it had the samurai earlier.

THE LOST DECADE AND A MINOR RENAISSANCE

The film industry in Japan began a decline in the early 1960s that was staved off by the occasional blockbuster hit; the long-running film series (for example, *It's Tough To Be a Man* [*Otoko wa tsurai yo*, 1969–1995]); or the intervention of independent financing, such as that of the ATG. Nevertheless, by the middle of the 1970s, the Japanese cinema was a shell of its former self, more footage being devoted to the genre of the *roman-poruno* (romantic-pornography) than all other genres combined. In the late 1960s a group of younger filmmakers, such as Koji Wakamatsu (b. 1936), utilized the genre to inject the youthful politics of the New Wave into films like *Violated Women in White* (*Okasareta byakui*, 1967) or *Tenshi No Kokotsu* (*Ecstasy of the Angels*, 1972). Nagisa Oshima took the genre to its logical heights of hard-core pornography with *Ai no Corrida* (*In the Realm of the Senses*, 1976), whose graphic imagery and challenging

TOSHIRÔ MIFUNE

b. Qingdao, China, 1 April 1920, d. 24 December 1997

If Akira Kurosawa is generally credited with introducing Japanese cinema to the West with his *Rashomon* in 1951, perhaps Toshirô Mifune should be credited with making it welcome. He was to the Japanese cinema what Marlon Brando was to Hollywood in the postwar era, a dynamic force to be reckoned with, and it is perhaps this resemblance to Brando—in spirit and dynamism—that enabled films like *Rashomon* and *Shichinin no samurai* (*Seven Samurai*, 1954) to win popular acclaim and Academy Awards®.

Mifune is most associated with Kurosawa, though he was a favorite actor of other major Japanese filmmakers, especially Inakagi Hiroshi. Still, it is undeniable that the sixteen films he made with Kurosawa have entered the annals of world film history as an unmatched body of collaborative work. He rocketed to stardom in Kurosawa's *Yoidore tenshi* (*Drunken Angel*) in 1948 and then appeared in every Kurosawa film from 1949 through 1965, save for the subtle *Ikiru* (*To Live*, 1952). While perhaps best remembered for the boisterous, youthful energy displayed in films like *Nora inu* (*Stray Dog*, 1949), *Rashomon*, and *Shichinin no samurai* (*Seven Samurai*, 1954), or the complete power and command he shows in films like *Kakushi-toride no san-akunin* (*The Hidden Fortress*, 1958), *Yojimbo* (*Yojimbo the Bodyguard*, 1961) and *Sanjuro* (1962), his range as an actor might be unsurpassed in the entire Japanese cinema. He could play a mature doctor as early in his career as 1949 with *Shizukanaru ketto* (*The Quiet Duel*) or as late in his relationship with Kurosawa as *Akahige* (*Red Beard*), released in 1965. He is desperately romantic and helpless in *Donzoko* (*The Lower Depths*, 1957); aging, weak, and tortured in *Ikimono no kiroku* (*Record of a Living Being*, 1955); a successful businessman who loses everything in *Tengoku to jigoku* (*High and Low*, 1963); and as a tormented and remorseful man in the Hamlet-derived *Warui Yatsu Hodo Yoku Nemuru* (*The Bad Sleep Well*, 1960), not to mention being acclaimed as one of the finest incarnations of Macbeth in *Kumonosu jô* (*Throne of Blood*, 1957).

With appearances in Hollywood films like *Grand Prix* (1966) and *Red Sun* (1971), it seems that Hollywood was trying to create its first Japanese star since Sessue Hayakawa in the silent era. Mifune's poor English perhaps got in the way (his voice is dubbed in the Word War II epic *Midway*, 1976), but it is also likely that his portrayal of a taciturn warrior capable of incredible and explosive violence paved the way for another Asian star, Bruce Lee, to break through into the American market just a year or so later. Over the course of his fifty-year career, Mifune appeared in over 180 films, a testament to his never-ending hard work and timeless appeal.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Rashomon (1951), *Shichinin no samurai* (*Seven Samurai*, 1954), *Miyamoto Musashi* (*Samurai, Part I*, 1954), *Muhomatsu no issho* (*The Rickshaw Man*, 1958), *Yojimbo* (*Yojimbo the Bodyguard*, 1961), *Akahige* (*Red Beard*, 1965), *Grand Prix* (1966), *Red Sun* (1971), *Midway* (1976)

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David Desser

sexual politics netted the film worldwide acclaim and controversy. The rare breakout hit from the *roman-poruno* world and the occasional film by Kurosawa, Imamura, and Shinoda could hardly lay claim to being any further Golden Age or New Wave–like excitement, while only a small handful of new directors emerged in the 1970s and 1980s to launch the Japanese cinema into any new areas, to find new audiences, and to garner much new respect. The situation in the 1980s was so very dismal that critics have come to call this the ''lost decade'' of the Japanese cinema.

The social satires of Juzo Itami (1933–1997), the son of the pioneer filmmaker Mansaku Itami (1900–1946), stand alone as a directorial achievement in this lost decade. Certainly *Tampopo* (*Dandelion*, 1985), Itami's breakthrough hit in world cinema (though the film was by no means a hit in Japan), is a worthy successor to the stylish delights of Ozu and Kurosawa, by way of the Hollywood Western. Yoshimitsu Morita's (b. 1950) *Kazoku gêmu* (*Family Game*, 1983) similarly struck universal chords with its darkly comic examination of the pressures exerted on the middle-class family by the

Toshirô Mifune. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

notorious Japanese educational system. But such films were too few and far between. Only *anime* (Japanese animation) proved to have the sort of mainstream, blockbuster appeal on which the industry once routinely counted. With feature films, television series, and direct-to-video offerings, *anime* came to dominate the industry the way *roman-poruno* had a decade earlier. (The genre had turned to direct-to-video marketing by the late 1980s, and for better or for worse, little of it was made for the theatrical market.) Even after a mini-renaissance beginning in the mid-1990s, *anime*'s hold on the Japanese imagination remains unbreakable, with director Hayao Miyazaki continually breaking box-office records with films like *Mononoke-hime* (*Princess Mononoke*, 1997), *Sen to Chihiro no kamikakushi* (*Spirited Away*, 2001), and *Hauru no ugoku shiro* (*Howl's Moving Castle*, 2004).

Live-action cinema began its slow reappearance with the emergence of a new generation of filmmakers—trained completely outside of the traditional assistant director system—supported by entirely different modes of production. Indeed, in large measure, renaissance Japanese cinema of the 1990s is a strictly independent movement. With backgrounds in television as performers or directors, in music-video production, in film school education, or in amateur filmmaking, members of this new generation, like its New Wave predecessors, rely largely on the youth audience to support its modest efforts. Some of these films have found their way into the international film festival/art cinema market, but without sacrificing the small, but devoted, domestic audience.

The cinema has largely resurrected itself on the strength of film genres with both domestic and global youth appeal. The horror film, in particular, brought to new heights of attention by the subtle and stylish works of Kiyoshi Kurosawa (b. 1955)—such as *Kyua* (*Cure*, 1997), *Karisuma* (*Charisma*, 1999), and *Kairo* (*Pulse*, 2000)—was extended for the video-game generation with films like *Ringu* (*Ring*, 1998), *Ju-on: The Grudge* (2000), *Honogurai mizu no soko kara* (*Dark Water*, 2002), and numerous others. The Hollywood remakes of these films attest to their universal appeal and have garnered the Japanese originals perhaps even greater attention. Along with the horror film, the action film has taken pride of place in the commercial independent cinema, especially the outré films of Takashi Miike (b. 1960). While he has worked in many genres (including a horror-musical, *Katakuri-ke no kôfuku* [*The Happiness of the Katakuris*, 2001]), his greatest cult success has been with a series of incredibly high energy, ultra-violent gangster films that begin where John Woo's Hong Kong films left off. Films like *Gokudô sengokushi: Fudô* (*Fudoh: The New Generation*, 1996), *Hyôryû-gai* (*City of Lost Souls*, 2000), and *Koroshiya 1* (*Ichi the Killer*, 2001) bear little resemblance to the *yakuza* films of Ken Takakura and Bunta Sugawara, and if they seem less specifically Japanese, it is partly because times have changed and Japan is, in every respect, imbricated at the highest levels in global popular culture. Indeed, it may be that the Japanese cinema has lost its particular "flavor" in the postmodern era, although the occasional throwback film like Hirokazu Koreeda's (b. 1962) *Maboroshi no hikari* (*Maborosi*, 1995) or the increasingly important and impressive oeuvre of Takeshi Kitano (b. 1947), especially his *Hana-bi* (1997), continue to remind the world of the cultural traditions that underline one of the world's most unique and most successful filmmaking nations.

SEE ALSO *Martial Arts Films; National Cinema*

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David Desser

JOURNALS AND MAGAZINES

Film journals and magazines are central to cinema culture and film consumption. Such publications contain information on developments within the industry, movies in production, and the technical processes behind the creation of a particular look or effect. They also present film reviews, film criticism, and theoretical or cultural analysis, interviews and star profiles, and fan appreciation. Film journals and magazines can be divided broadly into five categories: fan magazines aimed at a specific readership with a focus that is often subcultural; populist film magazines consumed by a mainstream readership; news weeklies or daily papers—tabloids and broadsheets—that devote space to film journalism; trade publications produced for the cinema industry; and academic journals that analyze and debate film and cinema.

FANZINES

Fan magazines and fan bulletins are the most vibrant and diverse part of the film magazine market. Commonly collections of articles and short pieces written and compiled by the fans themselves, these fan publications, or fanzines, sometimes receive mainstream circulation and can be purchased from main street retailers. Mostly, however, they are acquired from speciality shops, fan conventions, or by subscription. A cottage industry of independent publishers caters to a wide variety of specialist and cult interests, with film stars, movies, and prominent genres from both the classical and postclassical periods of film attracting sustained devotion. The number of fanzines available has increased dramatically since the mid-1980s, aided by an accessibility to desktop publishing and improved mail ordering facilities, as well as the growth in cult film and media shops and the explosion in fan fairs. Moreover, since the late 1990s the fan magazine has been extended through the seemingly endless possibilities offered by the Internet and Internet publishing. Online, members of countless subcultural fan communities celebrate, debate, and recollect their movie experiences, all with the speed and directness in communications required by fans who crave immediate interaction with like-minded individuals. The hallmark of these fan sites is the fans' active consumption of, contribution to, and participation in the published text, whether paper or electronic.

The proliferation of fanzines has been greatest in the United States and the United Kingdom, where the horror, science-fiction, and fantasy genres have dominated production. The horror genre is especially suited to independent or underground publishing activities; fans often take a subcultural interest in addressing transgressive images and taboo subjects, and attempt to expose marginal films from the realms of low-budget or exploitation cinema. Two pioneering publications offered an alternative voice proclaiming a fan's passion and indulgence for the horror genre: Forrest J. Ackerman's *Famous Monsters of Filmland* (1958–1983) and Calvin T. Beck's *Castle of Frankenstein* (begun in 1959 as *Journal of Frankenstein*; final issue 1975). *Famous Monsters of Filmland*, associated with classic horror films from the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, reveled in nostalgia but presented articles and information in a jocular manner.

The editorial approaches of fanzines can vary widely—from the studious, nostalgic, and archival to the sarcastic or anarchic—but they all tend to give an impression of faithfulness and authority in a frank and opinionated way. Notable horror and exploitation

fanzines from the United States include the New York–based *Sleazoid Express* (originally 1980–1983) and *Gore Gazette*, magazines with a fascination for assaultive films from cinema's grindhouses, and for either distinctly low-budget horror or productions with a high visceral content. The Baltimore-based *Midnight Marquee* (begun in 1963 as *Gore Creatures*), focuses on obscure, older, and neglected horrors; in 1995 it also successfully ventured into book publishing. Similarly, Michael Weldon's book *The Psychotronic Encyclopedia of Film* (1983) emerged from his fanzine *Psychotronic*, which was originally established with the intention of reviewing the more unusual films being shown on New York television. Later, in 1989, Weldon aimed for widespread coverage of all films of a bizarre or extreme nature with his second fanzine *Psychotronic Video*. *Video Watchdog*, begun in 1990 by Tim Lucas, has from the beginning carried the cover label "The Perfectionist's Guide to Fantastic Video." Aimed at providing "information" and a "consumer-orientated guide," this unique publication has become an authority on the different prints and versions of films in circulation, providing detailed reviews of video and DVD releases. *Asian Cult Cinema* (begun in 1992 as *Asian Trash Cinema*), like *Video Watchdog*, moves freely beyond the horror genre, providing expertise in the areas of film on which it centers, and most significantly displaying an ambition to provide pan-Asian coverage of genre cinema.

The boom in 1990s horror fanzines was most apparent in the United Kingdom. The two key pioneers were *Shock Xpress* (1985–1989) and *Samhain* (1986–1999). Both began as basic typed and photocopied publications, with *Samhain* in particular carrying fans' artwork; but later they evolved into more sophisticated fanzines with quality reproduction images and color covers. The fanzines that followed include *Dark Terrors* (1992–2002); *Flesh and Blood* (1993–1997); *Necronomicon* (1993–1994); *Delirium* (1993–1997), subtitled "The Essential Guide to Bizarre Italian Cinema"; *The House that Hammer Built* (1996–2002), "The Fanzine that builds into a comprehensive guide to Hammer's Fantasy Films"; and *Uncut* (begun in 1996). British horror fanzines have displayed a much stronger concentration on European horror cinema (especially British and Italian movies) and film and video censorship than their American counterparts. Hammer films have also attracted significant attention with special fanzines such as *Dark Terrors* and *Vintage Hammer*, devoted to discussing and detailing seemingly everything connected to the studio. However, the focus of fanzines on Hammer extends back to the 1970s with the seminal publications *Little Shoppe of Horrors* (begun in 1972 and published in the United States) and *House of Hammer* (1976, later *Halls of Hammer*, final issue 1984, published in the United Kingdom).

PROZINES AND POPULIST FILM MAGAZINES

With the wider availability of new technologies for production, modern fanzines have moved beyond the earlier mimeographed and photocopied publications. *Shock Xpress*, *Flesh and Blood*, and *Necronomicon* continued as edited books; *Samhain* edged closer to the style and content of prozines such as the British-published *Starburst* (begun in 1978), *Fear* (1988–1991), *The Dark Side* (begun in 1990), and *Shivers* (begun in 1992). Prozines, commercially produced publications with a fan focus, exist between fanzines and populist film magazines (those that offer a general cinema coverage). They often feature the work of paid journalists or regular writers and present news coverage, interviews, and images from current film productions supported by publicists. The prozine developed in the 1970s, beginning with the US-based *Cinefantastique* (begun in 1970), with its commitment to scrutinizing the technical and professional aspects of current fantasy film productions, and *Starlog* (begun in 1976), which led a batch of fan publications centered on the new wave of late 1970s science-fiction films. In August 1979 the horror prozine *Fangoria* emerged as a sister publication to *Starlog* and the short-lived *Future Life* (begun in 1978); it became synonymous with the new style of glossy magazines, containing graphic and color images from the horror new wave of the 1980s and celebrations of the ingenious work of the special effects artists.

The British prozines *Starburst* and *Shivers* are published by Visual Imagination, a company with a portfolio of fan and film afficionado magazines that includes *Xposé*, *Ultimate DVD*, *Movie Idols*, and *Film Review*. The latter began in 1950 as *ABC Film Review* and is now the United Kingdom's longest-running general film monthly. Initially sold in the lobbies of the ABC cinema chain, it carried reviews and features on current film releases as well as special items on in-vogue film stars. Such populist film magazines, essentially promotional publications for the film industry, exist in symbiotic relationship with studios, with these film monthlies giving celebrity exposure, film production updates, and generous coverage for new releases, all supported by special access to sets, production shots, and exclusive stories. Fans do actively contribute to the publications through competitions, readers' letters, pen pal ads, and "wanted" notices, but, compared to fanzines, the pages show greater regulation (with content controlled by both the publisher and the film industry).

Among the very first film magazines was the American publication *Photoplay* (1911–1980), which was to go through several name changes in its history and spawn a version designed specifically for the British market. *Photoplay* initially published fiction and novelizations of recent films, a content imitated in cinema's early years

by publications such as *Photo-Play Journal* (1916–1921) and *Photo-Play World* (1917–1920). The first film star, Florence Lawrence, emerged in 1910, and with the increasing interest in film stars throughout the teens and 1920s, magazines came to be dominated by star portraits and profiles, celebrity news and gossip. *Picturegoer* (1913–1960) was the most successful film magazine of its time in the United Kingdom, often featuring special supplements targeting a particular film star. Its name changed several times over the decades, incorporating key words such as ''theater,'' ''film,'' or ''picturegoers,'' reflecting a period of cinema history when film magazines were initially attempting to establish an identity against other popular cultural pursuits. The magazine merged with competing titles as the market adjusted to a field led by fewer magazines. The replacement of some film monthlies with film weeklies indicates the popularity of both cinemagoing and film magazines in the peak period of the late 1920s to the early 1950s. Film magazines' popularity can also be seen in the diversification of titles into those aimed at specific sections of the cinemagoing audience: for instance, the British publications *Boy's Cinema* (1919–1940), which incorporated *Screen Stories & Fun & Fiction* (1930–1935), and *Girls' Cinema* (1920–1932), which was incorporated into *The Film Star Weekly* (1932–1935).

In the 1950s movie ticket sales fell dramatically. Cinema attendance grew again in the mid-1980s, partly as a result of the wave of expensive studio blockbuster films. A new breed of populist film magazines coincided with this change in the film industry, with publications often dealing more with the spectacle of the films and the work of popular directors than with film stars. This is not to say, though, that stars ceased to be marketable factors for film magazines, as magazine covers remain highly dependent on star portraits for their consumer appeal. The new magazines include the US publication *Premiere* (begun in 1987) and the British film magazines *Empire* (begun in 1989) and *Total Film* (begun in 1996). With the postclassical film industry marked by high levels of synergy with other media forms, it is not surprising that these publications devote space not just to films but also to DVDs and relevant books, soundtracks, and Websites, as well as television and computer games. Such magazines are also showing greater confidence in the types of film reviews they print, with reviewers expressing more independent opinions and adopting a style that is a combination of the fanzine writer and the newspaper critic. In fact, these reviewers often write simultaneously for these different publications.

NEWS WEEKLIES, NEWSPAPERS, AND TRADE JOURNALS

Film critics can be powerful figures within the cinema industry. In the United States, for instance, as members of bodies such as the New York Film Critics Circle and the Los Angeles Film Critics' Association, they have voting rights for annual awards ceremonies; winning such awards can greatly enhance the marketability of a successful film. Critics also exert power by publishing reviews in newspapers, news weeklies, and popular magazines and by appearing on television programs. Many of these critics have become celebrated and respected, some notorious, with their opinions at times believed to be a prominent factor in a movie's popular reception. The influential and impassioned critic Pauline Kael, who wrote for the weekly magazine *The New Yorker* from 1967 to 1991, was noted for her independent—often idiosyncratic—opinions. For instance, she was highly critical of *West Side Story* (1961), winner of multiple Oscars®; yet she championed the widely attacked *Last Tango in Paris* (1972). Andrew Sarris and later J. Hoberman reviewed films for New York's weekly newspaper *The Village Voice*. Sarris was initially a writer for the more academic journal *Film Culture* (1958–1992), which was the primary publication for the American film avant-garde. It was in that journal in 1962 that Sarris first employed the term ''auteur theory,'' initially put forth in 1954 by François Truffaut in the French film journal *Cahiers du Cinéma* (begun in 1951). After *The Village Voice*, Sarris served as a critic for the newspaper *The New York Observer*.

Other notable American critics include Jonathan Rosenbaum, film reviewer for the alternative weekly *Chicago Reader*, and Roger Ebert, whose reviews have appeared in the *Chicago Sun-Times* since 1967 and in wide syndication. In the United Kingdom, Alexander Walker served as film critic for London's *Evening Standard* from 1960 until his death in 2003. Like Kael, Sarris, and Rosenbaum, Walker was a respected writer of film books, including a study of the director Stanley Kubrick and a trilogy of books on British cinema. A prolific writer, Walker was not afraid to give a controversial opinon, and as such he was associated with notorious reactions to films such as *The Devils* (Ken Russell, 1971), *Crash* (David Cronenberg, 1996), and *Ôdishon* (*Audition*, Takeshi Miiki, 1999). Christopher Tookey of the *Daily Mail* is also known for condemning certain films deemed confrontational. Many saw Walker, along with reviewers such as Derek Malcolm, who was film critic for *The Guardian* from 1970 until his retirement in 2000, as among the last of a band of journalists to have a genuine knowledge of cinema history. In the United Kingdom and the United States contemporary film reviews often seem designed to provide attention-grabbing quotes for movie advertising. Also, the Internet is growing into an immensely powerful tool in a film's success; the critic Harry Knowles of the Website

PAULINE KAEL

b. Petaluma, California, 19 June 1919, d. 3 September 2001

Pauline Kael was an outspoken, witty, and often unpredictable film critic who wrote for the weekly magazine *The New Yorker* from 1967 to 1991. Regarded as arguably America's greatest film critic, she influenced many, with her group of devotees called the "Paulettes." Her books include *I Lost It at the Movies* (1965), *Kiss Kiss Bang Bang* (1968), *The Citizen Kane Book* (1971), *Deeper into Movies* (winner of a National Book Award, 1973), and *5001 Nights at the Movies* (1982).

After studying philosophy, literature, and the arts at the University of California at Berkeley, she ran an art-house cinema in San Francisco in the late 1950s while broadcasting film reviews for a Berkeley radio station. She wrote film reviews for *Vogue*, *Life*, and *The New Republic* and the film journals *Sight and Sound* and *Film Quarterly*. Although her work, both for film journals and general-interest publications, exhibited an intellectualism, her writing style was notable in that she incorporated her personal experiences as well as slang and put-downs. She was avowedly anti-theory, assailing supporters of the auteur theory for what she saw as their attempt to advance Hollywood directors to the status of artists. She entered into a notorious public debate with Andrew Sarris about the auteur theory, ridiculing Sarris's proposed auteur "theory" with a persuasive deflation of auteurism's critical assumptions, and later on published *The Citizen Kane Book* (1971), in which she offered an account of the production of Orson Welles's film that attempted to show that it was less the product of a single towering auteur than a collaboration among several important artists.

An advocate of good storytelling and powerful acting, she was critical of the conceptual work of European filmmakers such as Alain Resnais, Robert Bresson, and Ingmar Bergman. Drawn to popular culture and films with energy that engaged the viewer's emotions, she blamed television for superficiality in movies after the 1950s and particularly disliked Hollywood's move toward event movies or big action films. She praised the Hollywood genre productions of the 1930s and 1940s and the realism and humanism of the European directors Max Ophüls, Jean Renoir, Roberto Rossellini, and Vittorio de Sica. These values coalesced in a group of films that emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s by maverick directors whom Kael championed, such as Robert Altman, Arthur Penn, and Sam Peckinpah, and the early films of the Hollywood new wave of Francis Ford Coppola, Brian de Palma, and Steven Spielberg. Kael had a sociological approach to movies that took into account the reactions of the general filmgoer. Considering the cinema as essentially an entertainment experience, some would argue that she was less a critic than a reviewer.

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Ian Conrich

www.aintitcoolnews.com has attained the status of a minor celebrity for his unorthodox postings.

Trade journals, the earliest of film publications, are not generally recognized for their film reviews but rather are designed to support the industry through business news and advice on equipment and technical issues. Among the first were the American titles *Moving Picture World* (1907–1927) and *Motion Picture News* (1911–1930) and the British title *Bioscope* (1908–1932). In comparison to other film publications, trade journals have been marked by their longevity, in particular *Motion Picture Herald* (1915–1972); *American Cinematographer* (begun in 1921); *Hollywood Reporter* (begun in 1934), the film industry's first daily trade paper; and, most noticeably, *Variety* (begun in 1905). The latter has become an industry institution: its film reviews are influential, and its style of journalism, consisting of a jargon composed of abbreviations, alliteration, or a rhyming structure, has regularly been adopted as media-speak. *Variety* has even provided a "slanguage"

Pauline Kael. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

dictionary on its website. In the United Kingdom, *Screen International* (begun in 1975) is the key surviving trade publication. Its history can be traced back to *The Daily Film Renter* (1927–1957), which merged with *Today's Cinema: News and Property Gazette* (1928–1957) and became *The Daily Cinema* (1957–1968); *Today's Cinema* (1969–1971); and *Cinema TV Today* (1971–1975). The other major UK trade journal, *Kine Weekly*, which began in 1904 as *Optical Lantern and Kinematograph Journal* and went through several name changes, ceased publication in 1971.

ACADEMIC JOURNALS

Scholars working in the field of film studies, who publish articles on various aspects of film, often rely on trade journals as an archive of information for research on aspects of cinema's history. Historical and empirical perspectives on film are the focus of *Film History* (begun in 1987), the *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* (begun in 1981), and *Early Popular Visual Culture* (begun in 2005, formerly *Living Pictures* [2001–2002]). Other publications are known for their left-wing political positions, such as *Cineaste* (begun in 1967), *Afterimage* (1970–1987), *Jump Cut* (begun in 1974, since 2001 an online journal), *Framework* (published since 1975, but particularly political between 1980 and 1992), and the early issues of *CineAction* (begun in 1985). These journals have been predominantly concerned with independent and experimental fimmaking, Third Cinema, race and gender, and art cinema and documentary film.

Third Cinema is also the concern of a large number of regional publications. In fact, the majority of film journals offering analysis and academic discussion are concentrated on national or regional cinemas. *Cinemaya* (published since 1988 in New Delhi) has been a sustained local voice on the broad questions of cinema across the Asian continent. The Sri Lankan–produced *Cinesith* (begun in 2001) and the New Zealand–produced *Illusions* (begun in 1986) largely deal with contemporary film developments. *Asian Cinema* (begun in 1986), *East-West Film Journal* (1987–1994), and *Journal of British Cinema and Television* (begun in 2004) publish a range of cultural, historical, and theoretical studies across periods in film.

Established academic film journals include *Film Quarterly* (begun in 1945); *Cinema Journal* (begun in 1959); *The Velvet Light Trap* (begun in 1971), concerned mainly but by no means exclusively with American film; *Post Script* (begun in 1971); *Journal of Popular Film and Television* (begun in 1972), concerned with mainstream, often genre-based cinema; and *camera obscura* (begun in 1976), which focuses on the topics of gender, race, class, and sexuality. Although central to film studies, these journals have not been associated with a particular critical school or position.

Screen (begun in 1969), founded by the Society for Education in Film and Television, was noted by the mid-1970s for its important articles on realism, formalism and poststructuralism, theories of ideology, aesthetics, and approaches to semiotics and pyschoanalysis. The journal, which published the first English-language translations of key texts by important theorists including Christian Metz, Roland Barthes, and Bertolt Brecht, inspired publications such as *The Australian Journal of Screen Theory* (1976–1985) and indeed gave rise to the term "screen theory." *Cahiers du Cinéma* was the other major journal to have had a lasting impact on film studies. Established in 1951 by André Bazin, this French journal (available additionally in English for just twelve issues from 1966 to 1967), was responsible for publishing not just debates regarding the *politique des auteurs*, but crucial discussions on film editing and *mise-en-scène*. Its writers included Claude Chabrol, Jean-Luc Godard, and Jacques Rivette, who, together with several other important directors, were later recognized as the French New Wave.

Cahiers du Cinéma was an influence on *Movie* (1962–2000), a British journal that admired a large

group of Hollywood directors (above all Howard Hawks and Alfred Hitchcock) for what it saw as their authorial skill and personal vision. *Movie* paid particular attention to *mise-en-scène* and held that critical analysis in existing British journals, such as the orthodox *Sight and Sound* (begun in 1932), was lacking. *Sight and Sound*, a publication of the British Film Institute, absorbed the *Monthly Film Bulletin* (1934–1991), a sister journal that was a film credits and reviews listing, only a year after the demise of a main UK competitor, *Films and Filming* (1954–1990). *Sight and Sound*'s equivalent American publication was *Film Comment* (begun in 1961), published by the Film Society of Lincoln Center in New York. *Sight and Sound* and *Film Comment* cover foreign films and also devote in-depth discussions to new releases and developments in mainstream cinema. With the Internet now so central to culture, and with film magazines devoted to popular movies dominating the market, these film studies journals face the challenge of remaining both commercially attractive and critically cutting-edge.

SEE ALSO *Auteur Theory and Authorship; Criticism; Fans and Fandom; Film Studies; Star System*

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Ian Conrich

KOREA

The South Korean film industry—producing anywhere between fifty and two hundred feature-length films annually—has been historically one of the world's most active national cinemas. The annual ticket sales figure in 2002 was $105 million (US), $50 million of which were for admissions to domestic Korean films. Between 2003 and 2005 in South Korea, attendance at domestic Korean films exceeded attendance at Hollywood imports, a rarity in a movie-going culture dominated by multiplex theaters. The cinema in Korea has strong roots as a privileged cultural form that has attracted the interests of diverse talents, including novelists, performers, musicians, artists, and intellectuals.

As an economic, political, and military ally of the United States throughout the post–World War II period and during the Korean War (1950–1953), South Korea was exposed to American popular culture through the US military forces and American clubs. Despite import and screen quotas that held foreign films in check, American films could always rely on strong audience identification. Running up against the impressive Hollywood scale of production, Korean films were forced to compete at the box office through low-budget genres like comedies, melodramas, and horror films. Surprisingly, interest in these domestic popular films was quite strong during the postwar years. The only anomalous period was from the mid-1970s to the early 1990s, when the film industry—like other cultural sectors—was placed under vigilant censorship by the military government. A strong strand of auteur-driven films with historically sensitive themes emerged in the 1990s. Most art films are now funded by the Korean Film Commission, which was established by the liberal government of President Kim Dae-jung (1998–2002).

After decades of volatility, the distribution system stabilized in the early years of the twenty-first century. A local conglomerate, Samsung, is one of the largest investors in the Korean film industry. Its subsidiary company, CJ Entertainment, makes direct investment, produces films, distributes local and imported films, operates the CGV multiplex theater chain, and sells the distribution and broadcasting rights of its products on the foreign market. Another film company that has demonstrated impressive growth is Showbox, a financing and distribution firm of entertainment contents, that also operates the Megabox theater chain. These two companies share about 50 percent of the total box office revenue in Korea. Though the passage of a new Motion Picture Law in 1986 has allowed Hollywood companies to distribute their films directly in Korea, the business performances of American companies like Columbia, Twentieth Century Fox, and Warner Brothers in Korea lag far behind CJ Entertainment and Showbox.

EARLY HISTORY

A film screening held in 1899 at the Kyŏngbok Palace in Seoul, when American cinematographer Burton Holmes visited King Kojong, is widely accepted as the first instance of film exhibition in Korea. Though these early film exhibitions were limited to court circles, they soon aroused general curiosity and became widespread mass-entertainment events. Newspapers, as early as 1903, began to aggressively advertise motion picture screenings, sponsored by Western cigarette companies. These public screenings generated so much excitement that the Seoul Electric Company converted its garage in Dongdaemun into a formal movie theater within months of the initial

screenings. Though these exhibition records in Korea are relatively well documented, complications cloud the exact exhibition date of the first Korean film. Japanese colonialism, which began in Korea in 1910, contributed to the loss of records of early Korean films (including the disappearance of all Korean narrative films made before 1943). Many films made in Korea during the colonial period, which lasted thirty-five years, were financed, supervised, and distributed by Japanese entrepreneurs and personnel. Strict film censorship, enacted in 1926, also required every film to obtain approval from the Japanese authorities before it could be screened in Korea. With one notable exception (Tansŏngsa, which still remains in business), all of the successful theaters in Seoul were also owned by the Japanese during the first half of the twentieth century.

Throughout the 1910s and 1920s, efforts were made by Korean businessmen and artists to establish independent film production companies that would free them from Japanese financial and technical dependence. Most of their films struggled to compete against foreign films, but their resilience eventually paved the path for a renaissance of Korean filmmaking. The first filmmaker to achieve true national recognition was Na Woon-gyu (1902–1937), whose film *Arirang* sparked an intense nationalistic film movement. Released in 1926, *Arirang*—written and directed by (and starring) Na Un-gyu—was perhaps the most popular film screened in Korea during the colonial period. A simple story that pits a Korean student against a villainous local bureaucrat who collaborates with the colonial government, the film found loopholes in Japanese censorship. Though he was not a particularly attractive man, Na's persona as an enraged common man tapped into the fury and frustration of colonial Korea. He was not only Korea's first legitimate "pop" icon, he was also the first modern celebrity who was not of *yangban* (aristocratic) origin.

By the time sound technology had arrived in Korea during the mid-1930s, Korean cinema had already suffered a precipitous fall. Once the war escalated in China during the 1930s, Japan abandoned any policies that had allowed expression of Korea's indigenous culture. Less than a handful of films were produced per year during this decade. Na Woon-gyu died in 1937, while only in his thirties; two years later, the Japanese authorities banned the Korean language and Korean names from official use. Though audiences cheered upon hearing dialogue in their native language in the first Korean "talkie," *Chunhyang* (1935, a film based on a popular folktale), the eventual prohibition of the Korean language virtually robbed Koreans of the opportunity to establish their own national identity during the early sound era. Ironically, this delay of the arrival of sound enabled Korean *pyŏnsa*s (*benshi*, live commentators of silent films) to find work even as late as the postwar years. Meanwhile, the Japanese-run Manchurian Film Company, Man-Ei, active during the war years, provided a fertile training ground for many Korean filmmakers who would later become the most important producer-directors of the Korean cinema's Golden Age.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF CINEMA IN SOUTH KOREA

Though several notable films were made during the liberation period (1945–1950), cinema became a mature industry only after the Korean War (1950–1953) had ended. Known as the "Golden Age," cinema was easily the most popular entertainment form during the two decades that followed the Korean War. It had posed some serious competition for Hollywood, not only locally but also in other parts of Asia, including Hong Kong. Throughout the 1960s and the early 1970s, Ch'ungmuro, a district in Seoul, was home to one of the most profitable and active industries in the world, producing at its peak (1968–1971) over two hundred films a year. Nearly half of the 170 million tickets (the entire population was just over 30 million) in 1972, for instance, were sold for the screening of local films.

Among the films that still receive critical attention, most of them were produced around 1960. The creative vacuum that the intellectual community had suffered during the Korean War—through deaths, psychic injuries, and mass defections to the North—had begun to change by the late 1950s and the early 1960s. The trauma of war—along with a rapid pace of modernization, changing roles of gender, and postwar recovery—was a source of dramatic inspiration for many young filmmakers. The films that best represent this unique era, *Hanyŏ* (*The Housemaid*, Kim Ki-young, 1960), *Sarangbang sonnim kwa ŏmŏni* (*The Houseguest and My Mother*, Shin Sang-ok, 1961), *Obalt'an* (*The Stray Bullet*, Yu Hyun-mok, 1961), and *Mabu* (*The Coachman*, Kang Tae-jin, 1961) were all released within a two-year period.

Though every genre of films imaginable—horror, comedy, action thrillers, martial arts, and even musicals—were made and viewed during this period, it was melodrama that was by far the most powerful and successful genre. Caught between the modern ideals of freedom and the traditional mores of chastity and virtuous motherhood, women were often the protagonists whose personal dilemmas punctuated the film's central theme. In Shin Sang-ok's (1926–2006) *The Houseguest and My Mother*, for example, a widow still clothed in traditional *hanbok* has a love affair with a schoolteacher who is a boarder at her house. The film's narrative naturalizes the modern-day desire that drives the mother and the houseguest together, challenging the orthodox moral codes that require widows to remain in mourning their entire lives.

Im Kwon-Taek's romantic epic* Chunhyang *(2000), with Hyo-Jeong Lee and Cho Seung Woo. © LOT 47/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

This vibrant cinematic period came to a screeching halt in 1973 when the military government radically restructured and censored the film industry. For the next twenty years, all surviving production companies had to meet strict government guidelines, which required them to devote themselves, at least partially, to the moral revamping of the nation. As it turned out, these requirements forced the film industry to churn out, on one hand, government propaganda films and "quality films" (awards given to the best adaptations of major literary works), which almost always lost money, and on the other, B-grade erotic movies, which served to make up for this loss.

THE NEW KOREAN CINEMA

When Park Kwang-su (b. 1955) and Jang Sun-woo (b. 1952), the two key directors of the New Korean Cinema, began their careers in 1988, Ch'ungmuro had already lost its earlier glory. Most Korean moviegoers shunned domestic films in the 1980s. Throughout that decade and most of the 1990s, the percentage of the domestic market share for Korean films fell below 20 percent, while Hollywood films brought in the overwhelming majority of box office receipts. The Korean film industry was forced to reinvent itself, against the background of a restless sociopolitical climate. The spirit of democratization during the 1980s influenced many young filmmakers to seriously challenge the status quo. The activist film movement in turn helped cultivate a generation of cinephiles, who were instrumental in the success of film festivals in Pusan, Puchon, and Jeonju and in the diversification of Korean film. Some of the films that best represent this period include Park Kwang-su's *To the Starry Island* (*Kŭ sŏm e kagosipta*, 1993) and *A Single Spark* (*Arŭmdaun ch'ŏngnyŏn Chŏn T'ae-il*, 1996), which are realistic films set against grim historical backgrounds. Jang Sun-woo, on the other hand, refused to be tied to realism and has instead explored questions of representation through the issues of sexuality, desire, and power. Both wry and cathartic, his films, such as *To You, from Me* (*Nŏ ege na rŭl ponenda*, 1994) and *Timeless Bottomless Bad Movie* (*Nappŭn yŏnghwa*, 1997), feature young people in crisis and reveal a strong

IM KWON-TAEK

b. Chang-sŏng, Korea, 2 November 1934 (lunar calendar; by certificate, 1936)

Having begun his career in 1961, Im Kwon-Taek has, as of 2006, directed ninety-nine films, and he remains one of the rare directors to have achieved success in both the domestic box office and international film festivals.

Success eluded Im Kwon-Taek until he was nearly fifty years old. Though a proficient director of various popular genres during the "Golden Age" of the 1960s and the 1970s, Im was considered merely a B-grade studio director. His maturation as a director of art films had been impeded by several factors: government censorship, his social class, his family's ideological affiliations (as leftists), and his regional background (he was born in Chŏlla province, which has historically suffered political oppression). Im imposed self-censorship throughout the early stage of his career, and he steered away from making personal films until the democratization of the 1980s and the 1990s removed sanctions on sensitive political subjects.

Im Kwon-Taek's career is as paradoxical, dramatic, and tumultuous as the history of modern Korea itself. During the 1960s and early 1970s, Im directed films for small companies, often shooting as many as eight films per year. By 1973, the government had centralized the film industry, and Im began to develop as a director by refining his trade without the pressure of the box office. He became known as the director of "quality film," making numerous adaptations of period novels in such films as *Chokpo* (*The Genealogy*, 1978) and *Kippal ŏmnŭn kisu* (*The Hidden Hero*, 1979). From 1981, his films began to garner international recognition. During the 1990s, they diverged along two paths: one that would remain close to art film subjects and another that would utilize genre conventions for popular consumption. For instance, *Sopyonje* (1993) tells the story of an itinerant family of musicians who practice a dying traditional art (*p'ansori*), and the *han* (pent-up grief) that underpins both their music and their lives. While aesthetically uncompromising, the film also tapped deep into the melodramatic impulses that had been lurking beneath the tragic history of modern Korea.

Korean audiences were drawn to *Sopyonje*; it shattered the local box office record, created a national fanfare around *p'ansori*, and restored—albeit briefly—confidence in the commercial viability of art films. Im returned to his successful roots of *p'ansori* seven years later with *Chunhyang* (2000), a musical based on a one-man vocal performance of the famous folktale about a loyal courtesan who remains faithful to her true love. *Chunhyang* and his subsequent film, *Chihwaseon* (*Strokes of Fire*, 2002), a real-life story about a maverick painter of the nineteenth century, garnered commercial successes in the United States and France, and it remains one of the biggest box office successes for Korean films in those two countries.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Chokpo (*The Genealogy*, 1978), *Kippal ŏmnŭn kisu* (*The Hidden Hero*, 1979), *Mandala* (1981), *Gilsottum* (1985), *Tik'et* (*Ticket*, 1986), *Ssibaji* (*Surrogate Mother*, 1986), *Sopyonje* (1993), *Chunhyang* (2000), *Chihwaseon* (2002)

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Kyung Hyun Kim

inclination to debunk cinematic conventions. Both Park and Jang also hold the ignominious record of making two of the most commercially disastrous films in the history of Korean cinema: Park's *Uprising* (*Yi Che-su ŭi nan*, 1999) and Jang's *The Resurrection of the Little Match Girl* (*Sŏngnyang p'ari sonyŏ ŭi chaerim*, 2002).

Widely regarded by critics as the best contemporary Korean director, along with Im Kwon-Taek (b. 1936) and Park Chan-wook (b. 1963), is Hong Sangsoo (Hong Sang-su, b. 1960), whose work is distinguished by deeply personal dramas. Hong's films also often manipulate the linear flow of time, splitting time into segments and repeating them without disrupting the narrative center. The characters in *The Power of Kangwon Province* (*Kangwondo ŭi him*, 1998) and *Virgin Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors* (*O! Sujŏng*, 2000) are unforgettable, as his *mise-en-scène* masterfully selects the intolerably sublime moments from the insignificant everyday.

In the early twenty-first century, it became routine in Korean cinema to distribute a single film to more than

Im Kwon-Taek. © CAROLE BELLAICHE/SYGMA/CORBIS.

500 screens in multiplexes, following aggressive marketing campaigns, to maximize the return of opening weekend box office results. *Shiri* (1999), a spy thriller about North Korean infiltration in the South, sold over 5.7 million tickets, several million more than the previous record holder. This practice radically restructured the entire film industry; in the early 2000s, it was not unusual for local blockbusters to gross over $20 million. Since 2003, Korean films consistently outdraw their Hollywood competitors, representing one of the highest shares of domestic movie consumption in the world. Lee Chang-dong (Yi Ch'ang-dong), the winner of the director's award at the Venice Film Festival for *Oasis* (2002), was appointed minister of culture in 2003.

Korean cinema is at a crossroads: in addition to the international blockbusters, such as *Shiri* and *Silmido* (Kang U-sŏk, 2003), there are provocative independent films, like *Camel(s)* (Park Ki-yong, 2002) and *Invisible Light* (*Kŭ jip ap*, Kim Gina, 2003), which are not included in the standard distribution circuit. Multiplex theaters have redefined what was once a comprehensive film culture, and the box office is ruled by crass comedies about gangster families and oversexed teenagers, making investors reluctant to finance films that are outside the scope of low-risk genre films. The New Korean Cinema, which has the potential to stimulate audiences intellectually, waned at precisely the moment that the industry became commercially rejuvenated.

NORTH KOREA

Though the severe economic hardship of the 1990s forced the centralized film industry to curtail its productivity, cinema continues to serve an important function in North Korean society. Kim Il-Sung, the former leader, and Kim Jong-Il, his heir, took great interest in movies. Kim Jong-Il began his career in the Department of Culture and Propaganda, writing several guidebooks on filmmaking methods during the 1970s that still remain relevant today. Severe limitations on subject matters are imposed because cinema must serve explicit political purposes and underscore official *juch'e* ideology. A North Korean averages about ten trips to see movies per year, but most of these screenings are held as an auxiliary part of cultural or sociopolitical events sponsored by the state. Some of the most accomplished films were produced during the late 1960s and early 1970s. *Sea of Blood* (*P'ibada*, 1968) and *The Flower Girl* (*Kkot p'anŭn ch'ŏnyŏ*, 1972), two classic films of the era, both depict the Manchurian armed resistance of the 1930s during which Kim Il-Sung built his reputation as a young leader of the independence movement.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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Kyung Hyun Kim

LATINOS AND CINEMA

Latinos/Hispanics are people with ancestry in Latin-American countries or the US Southwest, which was part of Mexico prior to 1848. The term "Hispanic," which has been used by the US government since the 1970s, includes people whose ancestry can be traced back to Spain and other Spanish-speaking countries; it tends to emphasize European ancestry. Because many people choose not to trace their ancestry back to Europe, or hail from Latin-American countries that are not Spanish-dominant, the term "Latino" is increasingly a preferred term for individuals of Latin-American heritage. "Latino" also is written as "Latino/a" or "Latina/o"; this designation combines the male designation of Latin*o* in Spanish with the female designation of Latin*a* to emphasize reference to both women and men. For the sake of clarity, the term "Latino" is used here to refer to both women and men.

As individuals with ancestry in countries with radically different histories, cultures, and relationships to the United States, Latinos are a diverse group. These histories contribute to widely varied situations for Latinos in the United States in terms of class, education, and citizenship. Latinos also span a range of races as defined by the US census. Mexican Americans made up the largest group of Latinos in the United States in 2000, comprising about 58.5 percent of all Latinos, followed by Puerto Ricans (10%), Cuban Americans (3.5%), and smaller but rapidly increasing numbers of Latinos of Central and South American descent. While Spanish-language usage is at times a commonality among Latinos, that is not always the case, as US Latinos may or may not speak Spanish.

Latinos have undergone an eventful evolution both behind the scenes and on the screen in American film. The participation of Latinos in American film is increasingly important to film scholarship, as the Latino population in the United States continues to grow rapidly. Latinos currently are the largest nonwhite group in the United States, comprising an estimated 13.7 percent of the population in 2003, according to the US Census Bureau.

LATINOS AND HOLLYWOOD FILM

Historically, Latinos have seldom been the protagonists of Hollywood film stories, and their characters typically have been marginal and underdeveloped when they do appear. The use of stereotypes has been a major facet of Latino film representation, particularly in the era of classical Hollywood. In past decades, Latino characters often were presented as especially sexual, childlike, or aggressive. Although some films exhibited more positive or complex imagery of Latinos, the overall history is not fully known because scholarship in this area is relatively new. Prominent scholars of Latino film representation include Chon Noriega, Charles Ramírez Berg, Ana M. López, Clara Rodríguez, and Rosa Linda Fregoso.

The early negative stereotyping of Latinos in film has a direct relationship to the history of Latinos, and specifically Mexican Americans, in the United States. Mexicans and, later, Mexican Americans were often seen as impediments to the move westward by European settlers in the 1800s; notions of "Manifest Destiny" circulated in frontier literature, and other artifacts of popular culture tended to pose Mexican Americans as inferior in intelligence and integrity and thus unworthy of the rights of citizenship. Early films merely rearticulated these

"American" stereotypes in their imagery of Mexican Americans and Mexicans. Films of later decades extended such stereotypes to Central and South Americans.

In the first few decades after the birth of American film in the late 1890s, a few Latinos in fact were involved in filmmaking or appeared as actors in films. These individuals were all from economically privileged backgrounds and had predominantly Spanish ancestry, however. In this time period there was no centralized film industry; rather, filmmaking consisted of entrepreneurs scattered around the country making silent motion pictures. A few Americans of Latino descent who made early silent films in this capacity included the actresses Myrtle Gonzalez (1891–1918) and Beatriz Michelena (1890–1942), who also produced the adventure films she starred in. As a small number of film production companies rose to dominate the industry in the 1910s and 1920s, Latinos working behind the scenes in film production virtually disappeared, however. They did not reappear in substantial numbers until the 1970s.

The earliest Latino characters appeared in silent westerns; they often played the villainous "greaser" opposing the white hero. Films that capitalized on this storyline included *Tony the Greaser* (1911) and *The Greaser's Revenge* (1914). The term "greaser," which was in popular usage at the time, was then used to describe Mexican bandits and other lazy, untrustworthy Mexican characters. Such representations began the Hollywood pattern of establishing Latino characters as "others" in contrast to whites. These images were not exported to Latin-American countries without protest, however. Complaints and a boycott of Hollywood films by the Mexican government in the early 1920s eventually led film producers to take care to disassociate negative Latino characters from identification with any particular country, leading to pan-Latino representations that typically still were denigrating.

In the mid-1920s there was a boom in opportunity experienced by a few, light-skinned Latino actors and actresses. Inspired by the immense popularity of the Italian actor Rudolph Valentino (1895–1926), the original "Latin Lover," film producers provided opportunities to a few Latinos, including Mexican-born Ramon Novarro (1899–1968), Dolores Del Rio (1905–1983), Gilbert Roland (1905–1994), and Lupe Velez (1908–1944). These actors and actresses were cast in major roles, often as passionate, sensuous Latin Lover types, and became international stars in silent films of the mid- to late 1920s. The Latin Lover image capitalized on notions that Latinos were innately passionate and sexual, particularly in comparison with their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, with this sensuality at times paired with more negative traits of aggression or sadomasochism. These often were actually not Latino roles, moreover, but in fact characters of other ethnicities and nationalities. Latino film characters still were typical villains or servants in this era.

CHALLENGES IN SOUND ERA HOLLYWOOD

The intense popularity of the Latin Lover ended in the early 1930s. In this period, the transition to sound film and shifting American ideologies after the onset of the Great Depression resulted in Latino actors and actresses generally losing the chance to be promoted as stars equal to white Americans. "All-American" stars were favored over foreign or ethnic actors, while Latino actors suffered in relation to American scapegoating of Mexican Americans during this period of unemployment crisis. Now that accents could be heard, Latino actors and actresses generally found themselves marginalized in minor roles or exaggerated their accents to comic effect, as was the case for Lupe Velez in such roles as that of the daffy "Mexican Spitfire" in a popular early 1940s film series. In addition, Latinos typically were not cast in "white" roles, regardless of how fair-skinned they might be. This Hollywood standard reinforced an imaginary racial hierarchy that deemed Latinos nonwhite and non-American. Hollywood film roles for Latinos in the sound era often included only violent and shiftless Latino bandits and cantina girls in westerns. The Latino actors who were cast in more challenging roles and maintained the busiest careers in the studio system–dominated decades of the 1930s and 1940s included former silent film stars Dolores Del Rio and Lupe Velez, Cuban actor Cesar Romero (1907–1994), and Mexican-Irish newcomer Anthony Quinn (1915–2001).

The few leading Latino roles in films often were cast with Anglo actors, a Hollywood tradition that has continued (but decreased) in recent years. Cases of Anglo actors in "brownface" over the decades have included Paul Muni as a hotheaded Mexican American lawyer in *Bordertown* (1935), Marlon Brando's turn as Mexican revolutionary leader Emiliano Zapata in *Viva Zapata!* (1952), Natalie Wood's role as a young Puerto Rican woman in *West Side Story* (1961), and more recently, the casting of non-Latinos in multiple Latino roles in *The House of the Spirits* (1993) and *The Perez Family* (1995).

Some new opportunities arose in "Good Neighbor" films of the 1940s, however. This cycle of films, with story lines set in Latin-American locales, was released just prior to and during the war years of the early 1940s. During this period of the US government's Good Neighbor Policy, the United States sought to encourage ongoing political ties with Latin-American countries. In support of these efforts, Hollywood studios produced and exported films that emphasized the celebration of

Latin-American cultures and themes of friendship and cooperation. They also hoped to recoup some of the financial losses they were incurring while European markets were closed to US film exports. The films produced as a part of this cycle included biographical dramas and Latin-themed musicals, such as Disney's animated film *The Three Caballeros* (1945) and the Twentieth Century Fox musical *Weekend in Havana* (1941). Actors such as Cesar Romero, Lupe Velez, and Ricardo Montalban (b. 1920) found opportunities in this cycle of films, although generally only in minor Latin Lover roles, playing second fiddle to white American leads. Several stars with musical abilities were imported from Latin America to perform in musical numbers and play supporting roles in Good Neighbor musicals. Among the most successful were Cuban performer Desi Arnaz (1917–1986) and singer-actress Carmen Miranda (1909–1955), who was born in Portugal but had grown up in Brazil. Miranda, known for her exaggerated costumes and performance style, appeared in many musicals of the cycle. In musical numbers such as "The Lady in the Tutti Frutti Hat" Miranda came to symbolize the comic, tropical Latina, a stereotype that is widely known today.

A new genre of films that at times represented US Latinos and their social issues, the social-problem film, also appeared in the late 1940s and 1950s. This postwar cycle of films strove for realism and emphasized exposing real-life social inequities. Some of the social-problem films that addressed discrimination faced by Mexican Americans in their communities included *A Medal for Benny* (1945) and *The Ring* (1952). The genre began to wane with the federal government's hunt for communists in Hollywood in this same period. This had a chilling effect, particularly as the film industry blacklisted film professionals whose political beliefs were considered too critical of the United States. The best-known social-problem film with a focus on Mexican Americans, *Salt of the Earth* (1953), in fact was made by blacklisted filmmakers. It related the true story of Mexican-American miners and their wives who had managed to successfully strike against a zinc mine company for unsafe and exploitive working conditions.

As studios became disinterested in making Latin-themed films and social-problem films, Latino actors and actresses again had fewer opportunities. Some, in attempting to maintain their careers, downplayed their Latino heritage. Actors such as Anthony Quinn and the Puerto Rican actor Jose Ferrer (1909–1992) often did not address their heritage in their publicity during these years. Similarly, in later decades actors such as Raquel Welch (b. Jo Raquel Tejada in 1940) and Martin Sheen (b. Ramon Estevez in 1940) changed their names to avoid Hollywood typecasting. Others, such as the Puerto Rican performer Rita Moreno (b. 1931), who began her Hollywood career in 1950, tried to stay true to their ethnic roots, but they struggled with limited opportunities and roles that continued to play on previous stereotypes. Beginning in the 1960s these roles included juvenile delinquents and gang members in urban dramas such as *Blackboard Jungle* (1955) and *West Side Story* (1961), and new versions of the bandit role in Italian and Hollywood westerns, such as Sergio Leone's *Il Buono, il brutto, il cattivo* (*The Good, The Bad, and the Ugly*, 1966) and Sam Peckinpah's *The Wild Bunch* (1969).

ORIGINS OF CHICANO AND LATINO CINEMA

In this same time period, Latinos were beginning to take matters into their own hands with respect to filmmaking. Latino feature filmmaking has its roots in political activism of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and in particular the Chicano and Puerto Rican civil-rights movements. In the 1960s many Mexican Americans and other Latinos became involved with civil-rights activism, fighting for equal rights and respect for Latinos in US social institutions, including the mass media. It was during this period that the term "Chicano" began to be embraced as a label of pride by many Mexican Americans.

The fight for more positive film representations was fought on two main fronts by Chicano, Puerto Rican, and other Latino activists. On one front, Latino media-advocacy groups such as CARISSMA and JUSTICIA protested images that were seen as negative stereotypes and demanded training opportunities and employment for Latinos in the US television and film industries. On another front, some Chicano and Latino activists began producing short films in conjunction with their activism. These films are generally considered the first wave of Chicano, Puerto-Rican, and Cuban-American cinemas. These early activist-filmmakers included Moctesuma Esparza, Sylvia Morales, Jesus Salvador Treviño, Susan Racho, and Luis Valdez (b. 1940). Some were also among the first Latinos to be able to enter film schools and receive formal training.

These films of early Chicano and Latino cinema are notable for their anti-Hollywood and pro-movement ideals of promoting ethnic political consciousness and pride. Manifestos written by proponents and practitioners of early Chicano cinema, for instance, note its aim to serve as an antidote to how Latinos historically had been represented and employed in film. To this end, the tenets of Chicano cinema included a focus on education and uplift of Chicanos and the aim to serve as a countercinema to Hollywood. Many early Chicano films in fact were documentaries produced on shoestring budgets that highlighted social issues and celebrated Mexican-American culture and identity. Such films included

LUIS VALDEZ
b. Delano, California, 26 June 1940

Writer-director Luis Valdez has often been described as the father of Chicano theater and cinema; he also is notable for creating bridges between these creative worlds and Hollywood cinema. The son of migrant farm workers in California, Valdez began his creative career as a playwright while a student at San Jose State University in the early 1960s. When a boycott of California grapes in support of Mexican-American farm workers began in 1965, he returned to his childhood home to participate in the efforts of the United Farm Workers (UFW). In support of the UFW he founded Teatro Campesino (the Farmworkers Theater) in 1965. The theater group served to inform, encourage, and entertain Chicano farm workers with its humorous and socially incisive skits called "actos," often performing on flatbed trucks in the fields. He also produced the short film *I Am Joaquin* (1969), based on an epic poem by Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzales, which celebrated Chicano identity and became an anthem of the Chicano movement.

Several of Valdez's theatrical projects made their way to film and television over the years. The first was *Zoot Suit*, a retelling of the early 1940s "zoot suit riots," during which Mexican Americans suffered injustices at the hands of white American servicemen in Los Angeles. Drawing from interviews and archival research on the related 1942 trial of Henry Leyva and eight other Mexican-American youths in the Sleepy Lagoon murder case, Valdez crafted a play that foregrounded Chicano voices and experience in regional and national theater. *Zoot Suit* was the first play by a Mexican American to be produced on Broadway. As a film, *Zoot Suit* (1981) starred Valdez's brother, Daniel, and costarred Edward James Olmos in one of his first starring roles. Shot in just two weeks on a low budget, the film deftly brings the energy and theatricality of a full-scale musical to the screen. It is seen as a masterpiece of Chicano cinema and has served as an inspiration to a new generation of Latino filmmakers.

The critical success of *Zoot Suit* led to Valdez's second feature film, *La Bamba* (1987), about the 1950s Mexican-American rock singer Ritchie Valens. *La Bamba* was one of the first films distributed by a major studio in an effort to reach the Latino audience; both English- and Spanish-language versions were released by Tri-Star Pictures. Both *Zoot Suit* and *La Bamba* were instrumental in the growing interest in and openness to Latino filmmakers, actors, and film projects.

Valdez continues to live and work with Teatro Campesino in San Juan Bautista, California. He also teaches at California State University, Monterey Bay.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Los Vendidos (1972), *Zoot Suit* (1981), *La Bamba* (1987), *The Cisco Kid* (1994)

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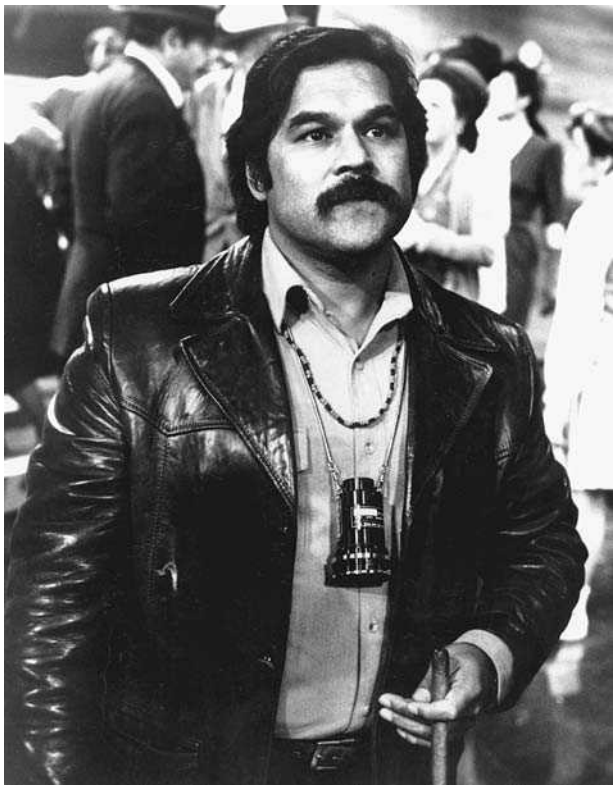
Mary Beltrán

Valdez's *I Am Joaquin* (1969), Treviño's *Yo Soy Chicano* (1972), David Garcia's *Requiem 29* (1971), Racho's *Garment Workers* (1975), and Morales's *Chicana* (1979).

NEW OPPORTUNITIES SINCE THE 1980s

The 1980s and 1990s brought new opportunities for Latino filmmaking and Latino film representation. These shifts took place because of the rising cadre of Latino film professionals entering the mainstream film industry, many of whom had gotten their start in Chicano and other Latino cinemas, as well as the industry's rising interest in the Latino audience. A substantial number of feature films directed by Latino filmmakers were distributed by the major studios in the 1980s; these films were by and large critically acclaimed and earned respectable box-office profits. They included Valdez's *Zoot Suit* (1981) and *La Bamba* (1987), Gregory Nava's



Luis Valdez. **© UNIVERSAL PICTURES/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION.**

(b. 1949) *El Norte* (1983), *Crossover Dreams* (Leon Ichaso, 1985), *Born in East L.A.* (Cheech Marin, 1987), and *Stand and Deliver* (Ramón Menéndez, 1988). (Latina filmmakers, while they did exist, tended to produce short films outside the Hollywood system during this time period.)

The visibility of Latino-themed feature films led the news media to dub the 1980s the ''Decade of the Hispanic'' late in the decade. While the period did witness the breakthrough of Latino filmmaking in Hollywood, it did not necessarily amount to long-term change on the part of the studios, as filmmakers continued to struggle mightily to secure financing and distribution of Latino-themed feature-film projects. But the few films that did get made offered Latino actors and actresses some of their most interesting and well-developed roles ever, catapulting several to stardom. Actors and actresses who were showcased in Chicano and Latino films in the 1980s and 1990s included the Mexican Americans Edward James Olmos (b. 1947), Lupe Ontiveros (b. 1942), and Elpidia Carrillo (b. 1963). A number of Latino actors of a variety of nationalities also broke into the mainstream in this decade, playing both Latinos and non-Latinos; they included the Cuban actor Andy Garcia (b. 1956), the Puerto Rican Raul Julia (1940–1994), the Irish-Cuban Mercedes Ruehl (b. 1948), and Maria Conchita Alonso (b. 1957), a Venezuelan of Cuban descent.

With respect to Latino filmmaking, an even greater diversity has been seen in Latino-themed film projects since the 1990s, reflecting the divergent interests of the newest generation of Latino filmmakers. Successful films with Latino themes since the 1990s include *American Me* (1992), directed by Olmos; *My Family/Mi Familia* (1995) and *Selena* (1997), both directed by Nava; and *Real Women Have Curves* (2002), directed by the Colombian filmmaker Patricia Cordoso. Perhaps the most successful Latino filmmaker today is the Mexican-American Robert Rodriguez (b. 1968), who has established a busy and fruitful career working from his studios in Austin, Texas, on projects that include Latino themes and actors but also aim to appeal to a broad US and global audience. His films have included *El Mariachi* (1991), *Desperado* (1995), *Sin City* (2005), and the family-friendly *Spy Kids* series beginning in 2000.

The rising visibility and status of Latinos in the industry, combined with increasing desire on the part of film studios to court the Latino audience, has created a virtual ''Latinowood'' within the traditionally white Hollywood star system. Since the 1990s the roster of Latino actors with name recognition among non-Latinos and Latinos alike has grown exponentially, and these stars often have greater status and opportunity than Latino actors of previous eras. Contemporary Latino stars include Salma Hayek, Benicio del Toro, Jay Hernandez, Rosario Dawson, Benjamín Bratt, and Michelle Rodriguez. The most powerful and highest-paid Latina in Hollywood today is Nuyorican (New York–born Puerto Rican) multimedia performer Jennifer Lopez. Having found her first opportunities in film and television products helmed by Latinos and African Americans, including the sketch-comedy series *In Living Color* (1990–1994) and the films *My Family/Mi Familia* and *Selena*, Lopez has risen in status to headline her own film projects, often breaking through former ethnic barriers to play roles written for non-Latinas in such films as *Out of Sight* (1998), *The Wedding Planner* (2001), and *Angel Eyes* (2001).

Despite the stardom of a handful of Latinos, the majority of Latino actors continue to face particular challenges, however. A number of factors play into a Hollywood mindset that still puts Latinos at a disadvantage. These include the dearth of Latino film executives and talent agents, and a corresponding lack of Latino creative professionals who might create more complex and positive roles for Latinos to portray. As was documented by a 1999 Tomás Rivera Policy Institute study commissioned by the Screen Actors Guild (SAG), most

A somber scene depicting life in a troubled Guatemalan village in* El Norte *(Gregory Nava, 1983). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Latino actors and actresses find it extremely difficult to secure talent management or find employment in film or television. In 1998 Latinos comprised only 4.3 percent of total SAG membership, and worked on average only 2.9 percent of actors' work days. Latino actors also were generally cast in supporting rather than leading roles, particularly in comparison to white and African American actors. In addition, Latino film stars still tend to be promoted in ways that echo former stereotypes. This includes an emphasis on a supposed, inherent sexiness and passion and the use in publicity of descriptors related to tropical climates, such as "heat" and "spice." Latino actors and actresses thus often still cannot escape age-old patterns of representation, despite their growing status and the wide diversity among them.

Focusing on all of these fronts, several advocacy groups continue to lobby for more positive and complex portrayals of Latinos in film and television and increased Latino employment and promotion in acting, production, and executive roles. These groups include the National Hispanic Media Coalition, the Imagen (image) Foundation, the National Hispanic Foundation for the Arts, and the National Association of Latino Independent Producers. The actors' group Nosotros (us), founded decades ago by the actor Ricardo Montalban, also serves to provide support to Latino actors and actresses in Los Angeles. In addition, a number of industry professionals have emerged as strong advocates for Latino opportunity in film, including the producer Moctesuma Esparza, writer-director Gregory Nava, and actor-producer Edward James Olmos, who are among the handful of Latinos who have the ability to spearhead large-scale feature films today.

SEE ALSO *Mexico; Race and Ethnicity*

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Mary Beltrán

LIGHTING

To begin to appreciate the ways in which lighting can shape the ways we respond to a film, consider the scene in Alfred Hitchcock's *Suspicion* (1941) where a young wife (Joan Fontaine) lies ailing in her bed while her mysterious newlywed husband (Cary Grant) slowly ascends the stairs to her room, advancing through a spiderweb of foreboding shadows. On a small tray he carries a glass of milk that glows with an eerie luminosity. The scene invites us to wonder whether he might be trying to poison his wife. Such mistrust assuredly does not arise from the popular actor's star image; instead, the ominous shadows cast across the set and the covert placement of a light bulb inside the glass combine to arouse unease.

Lighting has come to be an important component of cinema's visual design. It is widely recognized that in film, as elsewhere, it can create a substantial emotional impact. A primordial response to darkness and light is a deep-seated element of human psychology that filmmakers have harnessed in order to influence the ways viewers respond to narrative development. On the one hand, deep shadows can make a character seem untrustworthy or conceal a host of horrors. On the other, bright, diffused lighting can provide comfort and reassurance or create the impression of an angelic countenance. Extremely bright light can cause discomfort, though, and can even be used as a weapon, as in *Rear Window* (1954) and *The Big Combo* (1955), where it dazzles the villains and halts their advance.

Brightness is only one variable of lighting that can contribute to the effect of a scene. The choices the cinematographer makes about what kinds of lights will be used, how many there will be, and where they will be placed all require careful consideration. Moreover, color and black-and-white cinematography each allows for different lighting effects. Colored lighting can give rise to a range of subjective impressions that may be systematically used throughout a film for atmosphere, as in the moody and heavily stylized *Batman* (1989), or for metaphorical significance, as in *Vertigo* (1958) when Scottie (James Stewart) persuades Judy (Kim Novak) to transform her appearance into that of the dead Madeleine (Novak). When she emerges from her bathroom made over into Madeleine's image, she is bathed in a green light, its supernatural associations accentuating the uncanniness of the resurrection of her alter ego.

Film lighting has three main purposes. The first is clarity of image. It is important for viewers to be able to discern all the important elements in the frame. These might range from facial expressions and physical gestures to the presence of significant props. In early cinema this was the sole purpose of lighting, but around 1905 other factors came into play. Lighting's second purpose is a quest for greater realism. Films began to introduce visual schemes that suggested that the lighting came from logical sources within the world depicted. The use of "effects lighting," as it was known at the time, paved the way for the third purpose: the creation of atmosphere or emotional effect. The development of lighting technique as a significant element of *mise-en-scène* became an important tool for manipulating audience responses to characters and narrative events. Increasingly, a repertoire of standardized lighting techniques came to be used for particular dramatic situations and particular lighting styles came to be strongly associated with film genres.

Suggestive lighting in Alfred Hitchcock's* Suspicion *(1941), photographed by Harry Stradling. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

LIGHTING CREWS AND THEIR COLLABORATORS

The person responsible for the design and execution of a film's lighting is the director of photography (known in Britain, tellingly, as the "lighting cameraman"). This feat cannot be accomplished alone, however, so directors of photography, or cinematographers, need to work closely with their own support teams as well as with a range of collaborators in other departments. The cinematographer's main assistant is the gaffer, who is responsible for designing and supervising the rigging of the lights that are required to produce the effects the cinematographer desires. The gaffer is, in turn, assisted by the best boy and a range of electricians and grips who handle the often substantial array of equipment.

The range of lights used can, in themselves, require a large crew. First they must be positioned round the set, either on stands or supported overhead, a task performed by the riggers. During filming, the lights need to be operated, which may include dimming or moving them. Some types of light, such as carbon arcs, require constant monitoring by a dedicated operator. As well as the lights themselves, the lighting department uses a wide range of other apparatus that needs to be set up, monitored, and maneuvered. Flags or gobos, screens that come in a wide range of shapes and sizes, each with a different name, are used to prevent light from shining into the camera lens or onto areas of the set where shadows are required. They also may be used to help prevent microphone stands and other set equipment from casting shadows into the frame. Reflectors are widely used, especially for outdoor shooting, to redirect light in the desired direction. The different colors and substances used to make reflectors determine the type of light reflected. A choice can therefore be made between a sunlight and moonlight effect, for instance. Diffusers—translucent screens, often made of fine mesh or textured glass—are used to soften a hard light source. When shooting with artificial lights, it is possible to place a small diffuser close to the light source, but for sunlight shooting far larger screens may be needed.

Whereas gaffers and grips deal with the mechanics of delivering the lighting, its design is a product of the cinematographer's collaboration with the director. Although some directors have only a limited understanding of lighting equipment and technique, most have clear ideas of the kinds of effects they are looking for. Normally, they seek to create a particular atmosphere as part of their film's look. They also direct the movements of the actors and the camera, and the lighting must respond to each of these for reasons of visual clarity as well as compositional effect. The lighting styles of some directors can be as individually distinctive as those of top cinematographers. Josef von Sternberg (1894–1969), for instance, had very specific ideas about the way his protégé Marlene Dietrich should be lit in films such as *Dishonored* (1931) and *Shanghai Express* (1932) (both photographed by Lee Garmes [1898–1978]) and *Blonde Venus* (1932) and *The Scarlet Empress* (1934) (photographed by Bert Glennon [1893–1967]). More recently, Clint Eastwood's work as a director has been defined by unusually low-key lighting, irrespective of film genre. Like Sternberg and many other directors, Eastwood has shown a preference for repeatedly collaborating with cinematographers who are experienced in delivering his preferred visual style. His most regularly used cinematographer in the 1970s and early 1980s was Bruce Surtees (b. 1937), who was responsible for such films as *The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976) and *Sudden Impact* (1983). Surtees's former camera operator, Jack Green (b. 1946), then continued in the same visual tradition for thirteen films including *Bird* (1988) and *Unforgiven* (1992). He, in turn, was later replaced by his former chief lighting technician, Tom Stern, who photographed *Blood Work* (2002), *Mystic River* (2003), and *Million Dollar Baby* (2004).

The camera operator is another crew member with whom the cinematographer must work closely. In America, the director of photography often supervises all aspects of cinematography, including the camera and its operator. In Britain there is a greater separation of roles so that the operator is more likely to take instructions from the director. Irrespective of the line of command, though, a close relationship between lighting and camera is crucial. This is partly because the lighting design and camera placement must respond to one another, but also because the film speed (the type of film stock used and the amount of light it needs to register a clear image) affects the level of light required. The exposure time (the duration that the camera aperture is open) and the lighting levels must also be in accord with one another.

Furthermore, the cinematographer must collaborate with the members of the crew who are responsible for the appearance of the people and objects that are to be lit. Early discussions between the production designer and/or art director and the cinematographer can prove immensely beneficial, although they do not always occur. Set design can have important implications for the type and number of lights that are used, and for their positioning. The presence or absence of walls and ceilings in studio sets are especially critical in determining where lights can be positioned. Sets may be designed in such a way as to conceal light sources within the frame. Alternatively, they may incorporate visible light sources, such as table lamps, that suggest a logical motivation for the lighting used. Sometimes the set design may even include cheated lighting effects, such as painted shadows.

Expressionist lighting in* The Big Combo *(Joseph H. Lewis, 1955), photographed by John Alton. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The use of particular colors in set design, costume, and makeup may also have ramifications for lighting design. Most lights are not pure white but have a slightly colored hue, known as their ''color temperature,'' which can change the appearance of the colors in front of them. This affects black-and-white as well as color photography, since two very different colors may photograph identically in monochrome, or else the same color may appear quite differently depending on the color of the light. For trick effects this has occasionally been used to advantage. One of the most famous instances of a special effect achieved through colored light was the transformation scene of actor Frederic March in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1931), which was accomplished without any cuts or in-camera trickery. Instead, the effect was obtained by painting the actor's face with colored makeup. During filming, different-colored filters were moved in front of the lights, the technique gradually revealing the dark shadowed effect of his face paint.

The juxtaposition of dark and light surfaces may also raise lighting issues, since providing the correct amount of lighting for extreme contrasts can prove difficult. White bed sheets, for instance, may ''burn up'' in a dazzle of reflected light. Illuminating the scene at a lower level is likely to result in the face of someone in the bed appearing underexposed. Colored linen has often proved preferable, therefore, especially when shooting in a black-and-white, a situation that requires cooperation between the cinematographer and the art department.

As well as collaborating with other members of the production crew, the director of photography will normally try to foster a close relationship with the laboratory that develops the film. Both the apparent lighting levels and the color tones can be adjusted during the process of timing

(or grading, as it is known in Britain). By deciding in advance how far this potential will be exploited, the cinematographer can choose to forego difficult on-set lighting setups in favor of emulating their effects in the lab.

LIGHTING TECHNOLOGY AND FILM STYLE

There has always been a reciprocal relationship between technology and film style. The development of different types of lighting equipment and the introduction of new film stocks have both expanded the range of lighting methods and effects available to the cinematographer. Many types of lighting units were first developed for nonfilmic uses, such as street lighting or searchlights. Only later was their potential for producing cinematic lighting effects explored. Although certain styles of film lighting arose in response to technologies that already existed, many other technical innovations were the result of experiments by enterprising cinematographers and gaffers. In some instances, the name of a certain lighting effect has derived from its first use in film. One example is the "obie," a small spotlight that was designed by the cinematographer Lucien Ballard (1908–1988) during the filming of *The Lodger* (1944) in order to conceal the facial scars of actress Merle Oberon. The history of film lighting is a complex chronicle of intersecting influences involving technological and aesthetic innovations, periods of relative stasis, and the gradual development and refinement of existing techniques.

The lighting techniques used in the early cinema of the late 1890s and the first years of the twentieth century were astonishingly primitive in comparison with those used in still photography. Filmmakers of that era did not adopt the range of artificial lighting that was already standard equipment in photographic studios and widely used by photographers to enhance the aesthetic appearance of their work. Instead, filmmakers relied almost entirely on bright daylight. For this reason, when films were not shot on location they were filmed on rooftop sets, or else in studios built with either an open air design or a glass roof. Thomas Edison's famous Black Maria studio, built in 1892, was based on a rotating structure that allowed its glass roof to be maneuvered to follow the direct sunlight. A greenhouse-like studio built by the French filmmaker Georges Méliès (1861–1938) in 1897 that featured both glazed roof and walls and a series of retractable blinds proved to be an influential model for the design of later studios. The availability of many hours of bright sunlight was so important to early filmmakers that it has often been cited as one of the reasons that the American film industry shifted its base from New York to California (although other reasons, such as the wide range of landscapes California could offer for location shooting, also were important).

The use of daylight as the main source of illumination provided visual clarity. It did not allow as many opportunities to create dramatic effects as artificial lighting did, however. Nor did it permit indoor or night-time cinematography. The first uses of artificial lighting have been traced back as far as 1896, when the pioneering German filmmaker Oskar Messter (1866–1943) opened his indoor studio in Berlin. By 1900 the Edison studio in America had begun to make regular use of artificial light to complement naturally available light. Examples of this practice can be found in *Why Jones Discharged His Clerks* (1900) and *The Mystic Swing* (1900). Although the use of artificial lighting was initially confined to replacing or augmenting sunlight in order to provide a clear image, by 1905 filmmakers had begun to explore the creative possibilities of artificial light. In spite of the fact that the technology had long been available, the potential value of harnessing it to further the aesthetic development of film style does not appear to have been recognized in the early cinema.

Two main sources of artificial light were used at this time. One source was arc lights, which produced illumination by means of an electric spark jumping between two poles of carbon. The other was mercury vapor lights, which worked in a way similar to modern fluorescent lighting tubes. These sources allowed the creation of directional lighting, meaning that a chosen area of the set could be lit more brightly than the other parts. As the practical and aesthetic benefits of electric lighting came to be accepted both in America and abroad, some producers adopted it as their primary source of lighting, and the first "dark studio" opened in Turin, Italy, in 1907.

In America, experiments with lighting effects continued, both indoors and out. A range of new techniques were discovered, although no significant technological innovations appear to have been introduced until the 1910s. The director D. W. Griffith (1875–1948) and his cameramen were particularly active in their exploration of lighting effects, which can be found in such films as *Pippa Passes* (1909), *The Thread of Destiny* (1910), and *Enoch Arden* (1911). The last of these is often cited as the film that introduced a significant new technique: the creation of a soft lighting effect on faces by using reflectors to redirect strong backlight. The innovation was claimed by the cameraman Billy Bitzer (1872–1944), although questions have been raised as to whether he was really the first to use this strategy. In the mid-1910s, Griffith also began to make increasing use of high contrast lighting that cast deep shadows across characters and sets. This style had emerged a few years earlier in the Danish and German cinemas. Due to its earlier use by the famous Dutch painter, it is sometimes known as Rembrandt lighting, a term attributed to the Hollywood director Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959),

who used the technique in films such as *The Warrens of Virginia* (1915) and *The Cheat* (1915).

During the latter half of the 1910s, filmmakers adopted two significant new techniques, both derived from other art forms. One was the use of carbon arc spotlights, which had previously been used in theater and which allowed a strong light to be directed from a distance onto a particular actor or area of the set. The other was the use of diffusing screens, which already belonged to the repertoire of the still photographer. Diffusers could be used to transform a hard light into a soft light that did not cast such severe shadows. The increasing use of soft lighting techniques, whether they relied on reflectors or diffusers, had particular benefits for facial lighting. Soft lighting produced more flattering effects and, with the rise of the star system during this decade, it was becoming ever more important to make the actors look attractive.

The range of lighting sources that were used in film, and a growing appreciation of their potential to create specific effects, encouraged the development of more sophisticated lighting styles. It became common to use a combination of several lights to create a pleasing aesthetic that flattered the appearance of the actors and the sets as well as serving the film's narrative requirements. One of the best known lighting setups is the so-called three-point system, which was used primarily for figure lighting. The brightest of the three lights was the "key" light, which was directed toward the actor's face from the front-side. If this light were used on its own it would leave one side of the face in virtual darkness and cause the actor's nose to cast a large, unflattering shadow. To prevent this from happening, a second softer light known as the "filler" light was directed at the other side of the face. This light was normally positioned close to the camera, on the opposite side from the key light. It helped to balance the composition, reducing the dark shadows cast by the key light while preserving the facial sculpting. A third "backlight" was positioned behind the actor in order to create a halo of light around the hair. This served to separate the actor from the background and also helped to emphasize the fairness of blonde hair, which did not otherwise show up well on the monochromatic film stock that was used until the late 1920s.

A third type of light that came to be used in conjunction with the arc and mercury vapor lights was the incandescent light, which used a glowing metal filament, much like most modern domestic lighting. The cinematographer Lee Garmes (1898–1978) claimed to have used this type of light as early as 1919, although its first use is more commonly identified in Erich von Stroheim's *Greed* (1924), which was photographed by Ben Reynolds (c. 1891–1967) and William Daniels (1901–1970). Whatever the case, it was not until the introduction of panchromatic film stock in 1926 that it came into common use, when it was found that the color temperature of incandescents, or "inkies," was better matched to this stock than was that of the arc lights. Studios were quick to embrace the benefits of incandescents, as these lights required less electrical power and less manpower than other forms of electrical lighting. It was widely predicted that their use could halve the cost of film lighting as well as significantly reduce the amount of time spent in setting up and operating lights during the film shoot. A further decisive factor in the wide adoption of incandescent lights was the temporary abandonment of arc lighting with the coming of sound. Filmmakers discovered that the humming noise emitted by arc lights was picked up by recording equipment. Only in the early 1930s, after a way was found to silence them, were arcs reintroduced as a supplement to the incandescents that had taken their place as standard studio equipment.

The wide range of easily governed incandescent spotlights introduced in the 1930s allowed an ever more precise control of lighting effects. Complex systems were designed to ensure that every detail of the image was carefully governed. In his 1949 textbook, *Painting with Light*, the Hollywood cinematographer John Alton (1901–1996) described an eight-point system for close-up lighting (p. 99). It was based on the three-point system described above but included some extra lights that helped to improve the aesthetic effect. Three were directed at the actors: an "eyelight," which brought out a sparkle in the actors' eyes; a "clothes light," which showed up the details of their costumes; and a "kicker light," which added further definition to their hair and cheekbones and was normally positioned between the backlight and the filler light. Additionally, a "fill light" provided diffused lighting for the entire set while a "background light" illuminated the set behind the actors.

Around 1947 a new lighting aesthetic was introduced that had arisen in response to the techniques used for shooting newsreels during World War II. Shooting combat footage did not allow filmmakers any opportunities to create complicated lighting setups; instead, they had to rely on daylight, or else on a handful of powerful lights that provided a general illumination. The photofloods first introduced in 1940 were ideal for this purpose. Some fictional films began to emulate this rough and ready aesthetic. A wave of documentary-like thrillers ensued, which eschewed such complicated schemes as the eight-point lighting system in the service of greater realism. Many of these, such as *Boomerang* (1947) and *Call Northside 777* (1948), were based on real events and filmed on location.

The 1950s saw a further erosion of the dominance of the lighting techniques that had characterized films of the

JOHN ALTON

b. Johann Altmann, Sopron, Hungary, 5 October 1901, d. 2 June 1996

Regarded as one of Hollywood's most eminent cinematographers, John Alton is best known for his work in film noir during the 1940s and 1950s. His contribution to more than a dozen noirs helped to define their characteristic style of high-contrast black-and-white photography. Alton was also responsible for some very fine work in color, and he received an Oscar® for the ballet sequence of the lavish musical *An American in Paris* (1951). His enduring reputation was cemented further by the publication of his classic textbook *Painting with Light* in 1949, the first book on lighting technique by a Hollywood professional and still one of the most revealing and readable.

Alton's work is characterized by a tendency to use as few lights as possible, an approach that allowed him to create arresting images both quickly and cheaply. The speed with which he worked and his refusal to follow in the established traditions of lighting technique reportedly made him extremely unpopular with other cinematographers and lighting crew members. Nevertheless, his economical working practices and the innovative effects he achieved made him the cinematographer of choice for such renowned directors as Anthony Mann, Vincente Minnelli, Richard Brooks, and Allan Dwan.

John Alton entered the film industry as an MGM lab technician and soon became a cameraman, working for some years in Europe and then in Argentina before returning to Hollywood. The film that first propelled him to the status of an A-list cinematographer was *T-Men* (1947), although he had previously racked up well over forty credits. *T-Men* was the first of his six collaborations with Mann, which would later include *Raw Deal* (1948) and *Border Incident* (1949). While it is considered one of the first "documentary-style" noirs, at times Alton's highly stylized lighting aesthetic anticipates his most famous work: *The Big Combo* (1955).

Like most of the films on which he worked, *The Big Combo* was a low-budget affair whose apparent production values were greatly elevated by the accomplished lighting technique. Alton's sparse lighting sources sometimes bathed faces in light against backdrops of blackness, or else concealed them in deep shadow. In the final shot, now seen as one of noir's most iconic images, he silhouetted the characters against a dazzling white haze. In this scene, as elsewhere, the set dressing is virtually insignificant since the players act out their parts in a world delimited by little other than darkness and light. For the seventeen-minute ballet sequence of *An American in Paris* Alton used some of the same techniques including silhouetting and deep shadows. These effects were sometimes used to draw attention away from cuts, producing dramatic results. Throughout the sequence, the rapid shifts between different lighting effects and colors within a single shot are dazzling.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

T-Men (1947), *Raw Deal* (1948), *He Walked by Night* (1948), *An American in Paris* (1951), *The Big Combo* (1955), *Visions of Light: The Art of Cinematography* (1992)

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Deborah Allison

1930s and 1940s. One reason for this was the growing popularity of color filmmaking. The range of different hues meant that fewer lights were needed to differentiate between one surface and another. The backlight, which had been used to separate figures from the background plane, passed into near redundancy for a time. It still had other uses, though, one of which was to illuminate rainfall, far more visible when lit from the rear than when lit frontally. Some of the other changes in lighting technique during the 1950s can be attributed to the rapid expansion of television production. Television relied heavily on the use of live, multi-camera shooting on a studio stage. The lighting style that best suited this mode of production was one that offered a bright, even illumination of the whole set. Even though theatrical films continued to light shots with greater individual care than did TV productions, the high-key style associated with television became a widely accepted norm.

John Alton on the set of* The Brothers Karamazov *(1958) with actress Maria Schell. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

In the 1960s and 1970s further changes in the dominant lighting styles of American cinema derived their main influences from trends in European filmmaking. The films of the French New Wave and, in particular, the work of the cinematographer Raoul Coutard (b. 1924), proved especially influential. Coutard first used his trademark technique of "bounced light" when photographing Jean-Luc Godard's *Le Petit Soldat* (1963). It entailed directing photoflood lights toward the ceilings of interiors so that a bright, even light was reflected down onto the scene. This technique came to be widely emulated. A contrasting trend of the late 1960s and 1970s saw many color films adopt a darker, more low-key style than had been used in earlier years. This aesthetic was integral to the somber and pessimistic tone of the narratives that flourished in this era, and Bruce Surtees's work for Eastwood can be seen to typify this vogue.

The most significant change of the late twentieth century was the introduction of HMI (hydrargyum medium arc-length iodide) lights. The HMI was a form of arc lamp that was centered on halogen gas enclosed within quartz and that had the same color temperature as sunlight. After some initial unreliability was solved, HMIs became increasingly popular throughout the 1980s. They remain one of the most popular forms of film lighting today, for both indoor and outdoor cinematography, as they are easy to use and consume relatively little power for the amount of light they produce.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the advent of digital cinema began to have a significant impact on the lighting requirements for certain types of filmmaking. While most theatrical features continue to be produced on 35mm film, which requires far higher levels of light than does the human eye, digital cameras are able to produce a clear image with a very low level of available light. This facility has proved especially popular with documentary filmmakers, as even indoor scenes can now be shot without additional lights. For compositional purposes, supplementary lighting is often preferred, however. Digital filmmaking using available light also has gained favor with filmmakers wishing to adopt a documentary style in the service of enhanced realism, as in the case of Michael Winterbottom's *9 Songs* (2004), a digital feature that was shot entirely on location using only available light.

Fashion in lighting style has varied considerably over the years. Nevertheless, in spite of this historical variation, certain conventions concerning lighting styles have developed.

In *Painting with Light*, John Alton identified three main lighting aesthetics that he designated "comedy," "drama," and "mystery." Comedies, he argued, should be brightly lit with low contrasts in order to create an overall mood of gaiety; dramas should vary their lighting schemes according to the tonalities of the narrative situation; while mystery lighting, used in thrillers and horror films, is characterized by a low-key approach that swathes much of the set in deep shadow. Countless films confirm the dominance of this way of thinking, from the cheerfully illuminated comedies, *Way Out West* (1937) and *Les vacances de Monsieur Hulot* (*Monsieur Hulot's Holiday*, 1953), to the moody chiaroscuro of horror movies like *The Black Cat* (1934) and *La Maschera del demonio* (*Black Sunday*, 1960). The continued relevance of this model is borne out by a project at the University of Central Florida where researchers in the Department of Computer Science have made significant headway in developing a computer system to identify film genres in contemporary American cinema. The programmers used lighting as one of the four formal criteria by which to differentiate genres (the others being color variance, average shot length, and the level of movement within the frame). Such a measurable relationship between lighting and different kinds of narrative shows the extent to which filmmakers have adopted lighting as an important narrational tool, and emphasizes the

Chiaroscuro lighting in* The Black Cat *(Edgar G. Ulmer, 1934), photographed by John J. Mescall. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

fundamental role that lighting plays in shaping the experience of films.

SEE ALSO *Camera; Cinematography; Crew; Film Stock; Production Process; Technology*

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Deborah Allison

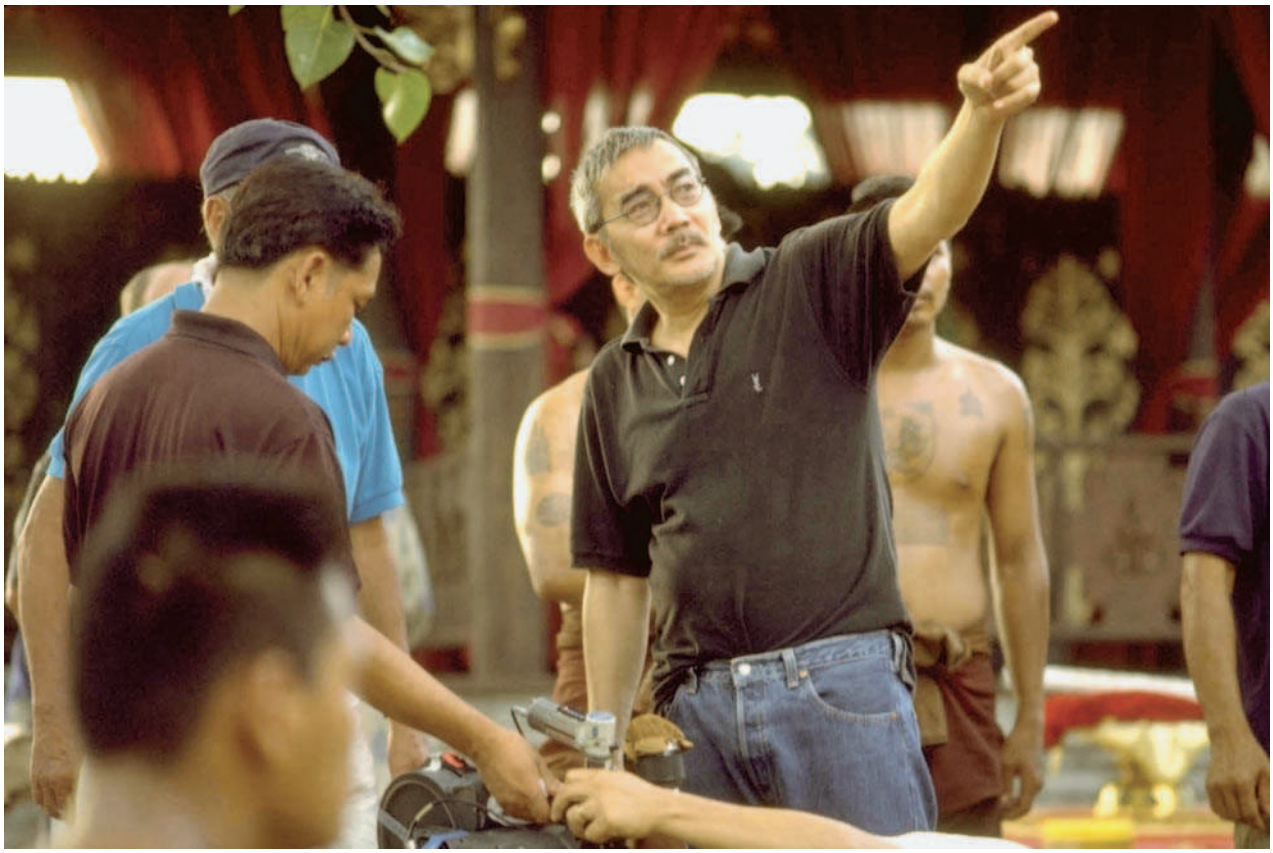
MAINLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA

While the film industries of the countries of mainland Southeast Asia (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, and Vietnam) are all distinct, their films and histories do have numerous points of contact, and can be partly understood in regional terms. For example, the films share reference to a common and often tumultuous regional history and a common terrain, and many of them possess themes that bespeak the regional sway of Theravada Buddhism, as well as the former influence of Western colonizers and/or allies. More recently, the industries have all partaken of international financing opportunities and have been influenced by the availability of new, lower-cost video technologies for production and distribution of films.

THAILAND

Within mainland Southeast Asia, the film industry with the most extensive history, as well as with the most activity at present, is that of Thailand. Film screenings put on by traveling foreign exhibitors have been present in Thailand since 1897. A Japanese businessman opened a permanent cinema in Bangkok in 1905, and others followed soon afterwards. Although broadly popular, film was not necessarily seen as a lower-class form of entertainment: not only did its foreign origins endow it with a certain cachet, but members of the royal family also took an interest in it from the time of its arrival. Indeed, it was a member of the royal family, Prince Sanphasat Suphakit, who is credited with being the first Thai filmmaker, shooting footage of royal ceremonies from early as 1900. While a number of filmmakers, both Thai and foreign, shot documentary footage in the silent era, records show only a modest number of fiction films made in Thailand at that time, including the American-produced *Suvarna of Siam* (1923). *Survana* was followed in 1927 by the Thai-produced fiction feature *Chok Sorng San* (*Double Luck*), followed by sixteen other silent features, none of them extant. In 1932 a Thai-produced sound film, *Long Thang* (*Going Astray*), was produced, and in the subsequent decade both films with recorded soundtracks and features with soundtracks performed live, Thai-produced and foreign-made, could be found in Bangkok cinemas.

Perhaps the most remarkable development of the post–World War II era was a turn to shooting feature films in economical 16mm, rather than 35mm, without recorded soundtracks. Just as in earlier decades, these films were presented with live performers offering dialogue and sound effects, and this remained the dominant mode of production through the 1960s. Film viewing took place in traditional film theaters as well as in temporary, open-air cinemas run by traveling exhibitors. Such screenings were commonplace through the 1970s and indeed can still occasionally be found. The most popular movie star in this era was undoubtedly the ever-suave Mitr Chaibancha, who appeared in hundreds of movies between 1956 and 1970 before he died while filming a helicopter stunt. A key director to emerge in this era was Rattana Pestonji, who tried to promote the use of 35mm through his own independent studio. Rattana produced the first Thai film to achieve international festival recognition (*Santi Weena*, 1954), then went on to direct and photograph a handful of stylish films considered key achievements in Thai cinema, including the comedy drama *Rong Raem Narok* (*Country Hotel*, 1957) and the crime film *Prae Dum* (*Black Silk*, 1961).



Prince Chatrichalerm Yukol on the set of* Suriyothai (The Legend of Suriyothai, *2001). © SONY PICTURES CLASSICS/ COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The 1970s were a time of substantial political and social unrest in Thailand: national power changed hands, sometimes violently, on a number of occasions, and the decade ended with a military-backed administration in power and many left-leaning activists forced into hiding. It is in part out of the turmoil of the decade and the resulting raised social consciousness that a significant new tendency toward making social-issue films arose in the Thai industry. One senior figure (who had worked in the industry since the 1950s) exemplifying this trend was director Vichit Kounavudhi (b. 1922), who distinguished himself with films examining the difficulties faced by women in Thai society (for example, in the melodrama *Mia Luang* [*First Wife*, 1978]) and the hardships of northern ethnic groups (*Luuk Isaan* [*Son of the Northeast*, 1982]). Among the newly emerging directors focusing on social woes at this time were Prince Chatrichalerm Yukol (b. 1942), Euthana Mukdasanit (*Thepthida Bar 21* [*The Angel of Bar 21*, 1978] and *Peesua Lae Dokmai* [*Butterfly and Flowers*, 1986]), and Manop Udomdej (*Prachachon Nok* [*On the Fringe of Society*, 1981] and *Ya Pror Me Chu* [*The Accusation*, 1985]). Though not equally focused on contemporary political issues, Cherd Songsri also distinguished himself at this time as a director concentrating on rural and historical dramas, especially with his highly successful film *Plae Kao* (*The Scar*, 1977).

The start of the 1990s was not, on the whole, a good time for Thai cinema (save perhaps for teen films), in part because of competition from both the video market and Hollywood films, which soon achieved even greater domination on the screens of the multiplexes that started to be built in mid-decade. From 1997, however, feature films from a group of new, younger directors, largely with backgrounds in the Thai advertising industry, began to achieve recognition at international festivals and attention from foreign critics. The first new director to appear on the scene was Nonzee Nimibutr, with his highly successful 1950s crime drama, *2499: Anthapan Krong Muang* (*Dang Bireley and the Young Gangsters*, 1997). He followed this with the box-office record-breaking period horror film *Nang Nak* (1999), which also proved a favorite with festival audiences and achieved some measure of international (especially pan-Asian) distribution. Penek Ratanaruang (b. 1962) made the first in a

PRINCE CHATRICHALERM YUKOL
b. Bangkok, Thailand, 29 November 1942

Prince Chatrichalerm Yukol's work exemplifies a number of trends in modern Thai cinema, such as the interest in social issues in the 1970s, teen-oriented drama in the mid-1990s, and historical drama in the early twenty-first century. At the same time, however, Chatrichalerm is an exception in the attention he has received abroad, his sustained and regular production of films, his films' characteristic use of stylistic flourish, and his willingness to embrace controversial subject matter and imagery (this last made possible in part because of the prince's exceptional social status as the nephew of a former king).

Chatrichalerm's exposure to film began early: his father was a sometime filmmaker, and the prince studied at the University of California–Los Angeles (UCLA), at which time he also worked as an assistant to Merian C. Cooper, the producer of such film classics as *King Kong* (1933) and *The Searchers* (1956). His knowledge of world film history is clear from his films themselves: his first feature, and Thailand's first science-fiction film, *Mun Ma Kab Kwam Mued* (*It Comes with the Darkness*, 1971), is clearly informed by the plots of classic 1950s US science-fiction films, while his *Thongpoon Khokepho* (*Citizen*, 1977), a feature about a taxi driver in search of his stolen vehicle, is a kind of Thai take on *Ladri di biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thieves*, 1948). *Issaraparb Kong Thongpoon Khokepho* (*Citizen II*, 1984) thematically recalls the films of John Ford, a favorite director of the prince.

These international inspirations, however, have been put in the service of distinctively Thai concerns—the second of Chatrichalerm's *Citizen* films, for example, concerns the difficulties of underclass existence in rapidly developing Bangkok, particularly for rural migrants. Before 2001, Prince Chatrichalerm was best known for his social-issue films, dating back to his *Khao Cheu Chan* (*Doctor Kan*, 1973), with its then daring theme of an idealistic young physician facing official corruption; his prostitution drama, *Thepthida Rong Raem* (*Angel*, 1974), with its memorable montage of an upcountry girl's sex work intercut with construction of the rural family home for which her work is paying; and the more recent, harrowingly graphic drama of teen drug abuse, *Sia Dai* (*Daughter*, 1995).

Suriyothai (2001) was unprecedented in both the prince's work and Thai cinema for the massiveness of its budget and scale. Based upon years of research and supported and bankrolled by the royal family, the film goes to great pains to authentically represent the times of the sixteenth-century queen of its title. The film was wildly successful in Thailand, but its international-release version, produced under the supervision of Prince Chatrichalerm's UCLA classmate, Francis Ford Coppola, did not fare as well. The prince subsequently began work on another big-budget historical epic, *King Naresuan*, scheduled for completion in 2006.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Thepthida Rong Raem (*Angel*, 1974), *Thongpoon Khokepho* (*Citizen*, 1977), *Khon Liang Chang* (*The Elephant Keeper*, 1987), *Sia Dai* (*Daughter*, 1995), *Suriyothai* (*The Legend of Suriyothai,* 2001)

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Adam Knee

series of quirky, highly stylized dramas of contemporary Thai life in 1997, *Fun Bar Karaoke*, following it up with the dark comedy *6ixtynin9* (1999). Both directors have continued to make films on a regular basis, and both have also been able to garner international co-financing for their films.

As Nonzee and Penek experienced success, producers gradually started investing in more local productions from more new directors. Yongyooth Thongkonthoon's comedy about a (real-life) transvestite volleyball team, *Satree Lek* (*Iron Ladies*, 2000), managed the up to then rare feat of garnering a theatrical release (albeit limited)

in the United States. The co-writer and cinematographer of that film, Jira Maligool, then had a terrific local success as director of a comedy of rural life, *15 Kham Duen 11* (*Mekhong Full Moon Party*, 2002), and went on to produce the even more successful comic-nostalgic childhood romance, *Fan Chan* (*My Girl*, 2003). Aside from comedy, other popular genres have included crime films, horror films, and historical dramas; most significant among the historical dramas has been Prince Chatrichalerm's *Suriyothai* (*The Legend of Suriyothai*, 2001) and Thanit Jitnakul's epic of eighteenth-century Thai-Burmese battles, *Bang Rajan* (2000). Since 2002, Thai producers have also started to release substantial numbers of new direct-to-video features on video compact disc (VCD) and DVD, primarily for the domestic market.

One recent film that seems to hold the potential to raise international awareness of Thai cinema is the martial-arts film *Ong-Bak* (Prachiya Pinkaew, 2003), which made substantial money in Asia and Europe and received a modest release in the United States. Some of the international festival and art-house favorites, however, have paradoxically garnered little interest in their home country. Wisit Sasanatieng's nostalgic, spaghetti-western inspired *Fah Talai Jone* (*Tears of the Black Tiger*, 2000), for example, while generating much interest at Cannes and getting released in DVDs in several markets, was a financial flop domestically. And the stylistically unconventional (and often sexually frank) feature films of Apichatpong Weerasethakul (b. 1970) (*Sud Sanaeha* [*Blissfully Yours*, 2002]; *Sud Pralad* [*Tropical Malady*, 2004]) received only limited play in Thailand until the director won repeated awards at Cannes.

FORMER SOUTHEAST ASIAN COLONIES

As a former colony of France—the country often credited with the invention of cinema—Vietnam was host to film screenings early in cinema history: even in 1898, screenings occurred regularly in metropolitan areas. By the 1920s, major Vietnamese cities had movie theaters showing foreign-produced films, among them films featuring Vietnamese actors and/or locales. A handful of feature films and documentaries were made by Vietnamese producers in the period immediately prior to the Japanese occupation of 1940, but this work was halted in the World War II years. In the subsequent years of war against the French occupiers (1945–1954), culminating in the partition of the country, some 16mm documentaries were made by the resistance, but the birth of modern Vietnamese cinema dates from Ho Chi Minh's establishment of a state-run film organization in 1953. In 1959 the first post-colonial Vietnamese feature, *Chung Mot Dong Song* (*On the Same River*, Nguyen Hong Nghi and Pham Ky Nam), the story of the hardships of a young couple living on opposite sides of the river separating North Vietnam from South, was completed. In North Vietnam in the decade following, various government-sponsored film groups produced a range of features emphasizing revolutionary themes (for example, the struggles against the French; postwar social and economic development), as well as documentaries and scientific films (on topics such as government, construction, and agriculture), and animated films. As fighting with American forces escalated, this struggle became a major theme, and the balance of production shifted more toward documentary, including some works shot on actual battlefields. Some film production was also carried out in the South at this time; among the films were administration-sponsored, anticommunist documentaries and nonpoliticized features, such as romances and comedies.

Within a few years of reunification in 1975, film production levels were on the rebound and filmmakers were increasingly able to address the hardships of wartime life and postwar readjustment in more complex and nuanced fashion. One of the most successful films of the time was *Canh dong hoang* (*The Wild Field*, 1979), a fiction feature by established documentary filmmaker Hong Sen, which closely follows a small family under attack by American soldiers. A key director to emerge during this period and one who has remained active ever since was Dang Nhat Minh, whose *Bao gio cho den thang muoi* (*When the Tenth Month Comes*, 1984) and *Co gai tren song* (*The Girl on the River*, 1987) detail the sacrifices made by women in the war and its aftermath. The latter film concerns a prostitute who is ultimately betrayed by the communist official she had saved during the war. In 1986 a shift in state policy encouraged development of a market economy, which in the case of film meant bringing an end to state subsidies. Given the dearth of available funding, the films that emerged in this context were commercial genre vehicles, often shot on video. Concern arose about the evident decline in the quality of locally produced films, and as a result, new policies were instituted from 1994 to once again subsidize filmmaking, a move that resulted in an increase in feature production. Among the new directors to gain attention in the 1990s for films dealing with contemporary social problems were Le Hoang, Vuong Duc (b. 1957), and Nguyen Thanh Van. But government concern over the low appeal of Vietnamese films locally led to another shift in policy in 2003, with censorship controls relaxed—preapproval is no longer required for scripts—and privately financed production permitted. That the first product of such policies, Le Hoang's *Gai nhay* (*Bar Girl*, 2003), broke all prior box-office records with its depiction of prostitution, drug use, and HIV infection suggests the extent to which

***Suppakit Tangthatswasd in Prince Chatrichalerm's epic* Suriyothai *(*The Legend of Suriyothai, *2001).* © SONY PICTURES CLASSICS/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

earlier films may have lacked appeal for popular audiences.

In spite of the substantial amount of production activity taking place in Vietnam, the name Western audiences would be most likely to associate with Vietnamese cinema is that of expatriate director-screenwriter Tran Anh Hung (b. 1962), whose skillfully crafted films, while starring Vietnamese actors, are French-financed productions filmed by French technicians. *Mui du du xanh* (*The Scent of Green Papaya*, 1993) was even shot in French studios standing in for Vietnam.

The most internationally visible exponents of Cambodian cinema are likewise those involved in internationally financed works. The best known, both at home and abroad, is the former king himself, Norodhom Sihanouk (b. 1922), a pivotal figure in Cambodia's mid-to-late twentieth-century history. Sihanouk's preferred modes have been documentary and melodrama, the latter generally based around specific events in contemporary Cambodian history; these films often take a tragic turn (as is the case, for example, in *My Village at Sunset*, 1992). His films celebrate traditional Khmer culture and heritage and Buddhist values, though Sihanouk also alludes to Western literature, and valorize those who have worked hard for the nation in times of strife. Another Cambodian filmmaker to whom international audiences have been exposed is the award-winning documentarian Rithy Panh (b. 1964), who fled the Khmer Rouge as a teenager and now resides in France. His work, such as the formally accomplished and unsettling *S21: The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine* (2003), often focuses on the lasting repercussions of the Khmer Rouge rule on Cambodian life.

Records indicate that film screenings first occurred in Cambodia, both in cinemas and in traveling exhibitions, in the 1910s. Sihanouk himself is the first Cambodian filmmaker, having had the means to acquire cinematographic equipment after being placed on the throne by French colonial authorities in 1941. Foreign features were shown in Cambodia with some regularity in the 1950s, in particular contemporary Thai films; these films continued to be a staple until 2003, when the (evidently spurious) reporting of a slight by a Thai actress precipitated anti-Thai riots. By the early 1960s, a few

enterprising filmmakers and producers (Ly Bun Yim being one of the first and most successful) found that locally produced films generated much interest among Cambodian audiences; this audience demand, along with government tax incentives, led to a quick rise in local production. However, many of these films were lost and the industry destroyed during the tumult of the early 1970s and the subsequent period of Khmer Rouge rule. An attempt to resurrect the industry was made in 2001 with the Thai co-production *Kuon Puos Keng Kang* (*Snaker*, Fai Sam Ang). This was a remake of a popular title from the earlier era of Cambodian feature production and based upon a local snake-woman legend similar to those that have been the source of a number of Asian horror films. The pan-Asian success of that film, along with the attention brought to Cambodian shooting locales by the international Hollywood blockbuster *Lara Croft: Tomb Raider* in the same year, helped spur a new boom in local production on digital video. While some have bemoaned the quality of these new, low-budget productions, their popularity has fostered the opening of more than a dozen cinemas since 2001.

Little scholarship has been produced on the cinemas of Laos or Myanmar, though in the case of Laos this is clearly in part because the country has seen only limited filmmaking. Information on the early years of cinema in Laos, a French colony until 1949, is sketchy; the oldest partially extant film is a documentary from 1956. In the period from 1960–1975, when there were internal battles between Western (especially American) and communist-backed regimes, various factions produced propagandistic documentaries supporting their causes. Ten features by independent filmmakers were reportedly produced in this period, but these films did not survive and little is known about them. Subsequently, the government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic (PDR), formed in late 1975, has provided minimal funding to support filmmaking. The most important film to emerge from the Lao PDR has been the 1988 35mm feature *Buadaeng* (*Red Lotus*), a love story focusing on the hardships of life during the civil war era, which has screened at a number of international festivals. That film's Czechoslovakian-trained director, Som Ock Southiphonh, subsequently worked on a number of independent, foreign-financed video documentaries.

Myanmar (formerly Burma), in contrast, has produced many films, but little is known about them. Films were being screened in what was then British-controlled Burma as early as 1910. The first Burmese-filmed documentary is attributed to U Ohn Maung in the 1910s; he went on to direct the first Burmese feature, *Myitta Nit Thuyar* (*Love and Liquor*) in 1920. The first "talkie" by a Burmese director, Toke Kyi's *Ngwee Pay Lo Maya* (*It Can't Be Paid with Money*), was made in 1932. During the 1930s, Burma had numerous independent film producers and screening venues; one estimate puts the number of Burmese films prior to 1941 at 600. While subject to British censorship, some of these films did deal with controversial topics or suggest nationalist sentiments opposed to British policy. Though production naturally fell during World War II, it picked up again following independence in 1948, with on the order of 80 films a year being produced during the 1950s. The industry suffered considerably, however, when a coup brought a socialist military government to power in 1962, after which production houses were nationalized and very strict censorship—which still exists—applied to films. Few contemporary Burmese films have been able to make their way to international festivals; a rare, recent exception is *Chit Chin Nye Paying* (*True Love*, Kyi Soe Tun, 2005), a Japanese co-production about Burmese expatriates living in Japan. A new phenomenon beginning in 2003 that may give a boost to the local industry is digital video, released to theaters on DVD, which offers both lower production costs and improvement in equipment quality over the aging film cameras generally available in the country.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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Adam Knee

MAKEUP

There are three kinds of makeup artists: straight makeup, sometimes called "street," which enhances an actor's features using cosmetics and corrective makeup; character makeup, which transforms an actor through facial prosthesis and other devices; and special effects (FX) makeup, employing mechanical devices such as robotic inserts. All three work closely with the director, cinematographer, and costume designer. Incorporating these three divisions, makeup's complex work can be loosely broken into the two categories of cosmetics and special effects. The former also radicalized the cosmetics industry. Often the two merge, but the makeup industry began with the need to accentuate the face and to deal with the drastic differences between stage and cinema.

Film makeup received no formal recognition until the 1940s and no Academy Award® recognition until 1981, although William Tuttle (b. 1911) was given an honorary Oscar® for *7 Faces of Dr. Lao* (1964) and John Chambers (1923–2001) received one for *Planet of the Apes* (1968). It is now a highly regarded art with a large fan base that follows the careers of artists like Rick Baker and Tom Savini. The craft began in the nascent film industry with stage techniques but quickly adapted to cinema's peculiar problems, especially those posed by film stock, cinematic lighting, and the close-up. The introduction of color in the 1930s caused more difficulties. Technicolor distorted complexion tones and registered color reflections from costumes, even those thrown from one actor's clothing onto another's. As makeup artists addressed a continuous parade of new challenges, makeup evolved by the early 1920s into an indispensable studio department that oversaw wigmakers; hair stylists; cosmetologists; harness makers; wood carvers; and sculptors in plaster, wax, metal, and wire. By the 1960s, science-driven special effects became a major part of makeup, and specialists in all kinds of prosthetics, latexes, rubbers, plastics, solvents, structures, and devices have come under makeup's jurisdiction ever since. Despite its artificial composition, makeup's constant challenge is to seem natural. If it is prosthetic it has to move as if real flesh; if it is historical, it has to conform to the period's look, whether involving heavy makeup or no makeup at all. It also must be remarkably durable, lasting through sweating, kissing, and fighting, under water or fierce lighting. In horror films, it must be powerful enough to scare an audience yet bearable for an actor to wear.

From the beginning, makeup artists have sought to draw out a character's psychology. To do this they have adapted (or contributed) to cosmetic and technological inventions, coped with color problems, and been experts on human anatomy and the potential effects of all varieties of artificial face, skin, and hair. Although makeup covers every kind of look—from well to ill, old to young, hip to demented, gorgeous to hideous—it is the latter two, the gorgeous and the ghastly, that have been emphasized throughout the history of cinema.

HISTORY

Makeup has a long theatrical history. The early film industry naturally looked to traditional stage techniques, but these proved inadequate almost immediately. One of makeup's first problems was with celluloid. Early filmmakers used orthochromatic film stock, which had a limited color-range sensitivity. It reacted to red pigmentation, darkening white skin and nullifying solid reds. To

counter the effect, Caucasian actors wore heavy pink greasepaint (Stein's #2) as well as black eyeliner and dark red lipstick (which, if applied too lightly, appeared white on screen), but these masklike cosmetics smeared as actors sweated under the intense lights. Furthermore, until the mid-teens, actors applied their own makeup and their image was rarely uniform from scene to scene. As the close-up became more common, makeup focused on the face, which had to be understood from a hugely magnified perspective, making refinements essential. In the pursuit of these radical changes, two names stand out as Hollywood's progenitor artists: Max Factor (1877–1938) and George Westmore (1879–1931). Both started as wigmakers and both recognized that the crucial difference between stage and screen was a lightness of touch. Both invented enduring cosmetics and makeup tricks for cinema and each, at times, took credit for the same invention (such as false eyelashes).

Factor (originally Firestein), a Russian émigré with a background in barbering, arrived in the United States in 1904 and moved to Los Angeles in 1908, where he set up a perfume, hair care, and cosmetics business catering to theatrical needs. He also distributed well-known greasepaints, which were too thick for screen use and photographed badly. By 1910, Factor had begun to divide the theatrical from the cinematic as he experimented to find appropriate cosmetics for film. His Greasepaint was the first makeup used in a screen test, for *Cleopatra* (1912), and by 1914 Factor had invented a twelve-toned cream version, which applied thinly, allowed for individual skin subtleties, and conformed more comfortably with celluloid. In the early 1920s panchromatic film began to replace orthochromatic, causing fewer color flaws, and in 1928 Factor completed work on Panchromatic Make-Up, which had a variety of hues. In 1937, the year before he died, he dealt with the new Technicolor problems by adapting theatrical "pancake" into a water-soluble powder, applicable with a sponge, excellent for film's and, eventually, television's needs. It photographed very well, eliminating the shine induced by Technicolor lighting, and its basic translucence imparted a delicate look. Known as Pancake makeup, it was first used in *Vogues of 1938* (1937) and *Goldwyn's Follies* (1938), quickly becoming not only the film industry norm but a public sensation. Once movie stars, delighting in its lightness, began to wear it offscreen, Pancake became de rigueur for fashion-conscious women. After Factor's death, his empire continued to set standards and still covers cinema's cosmetic needs, from fingernails to toupees.

The English wigmaker George Westmore, for whom the Makeup Artist and Hair Stylist Guild's George Westmore Lifetime Achievement Award is named, founded the first (and tiny) film makeup department, at Selig Studio in 1917. He also worked at Triangle but soon was freelancing across the major studios. Like Factor, he understood that cosmetic and hair needs were personal and would make up stars such as Mary Pickford (whom he relieved of having to curl her famous hair daily by making false ringlets) or the Talmadge sisters in their homes before they left for work in the morning.

He fathered three legendary and scandalous generations of movie makeup artists, beginning with his six sons—Monte (1902–1940), Perc (1904–1970), Ern (1904–1967), Wally (1906–1973), Bud (1918–1973), and Frank (1923–1985)—who soon eclipsed him in Hollywood. By 1926, Monte, Perc, Ern, and Bud had penetrated the industry to become the chief makeup artists at four major studios, and all continued to break ground in new beauty and horror illusions until the end of their careers. In 1921, after dishwashing at Famous Players-Lasky, Monte became Rudolph Valentino's sole makeup artist. (The actor had been doing his own.) When Valentino died in 1926, Monte went to Selznick International where, thirteen years later, he worked himself to death with the enormous makeup demands for *Gone With the Wind* (1939). In 1923 Perc established a blazing career at First National-Warner Bros. and, over twenty-seven years, initiated beauty trends and disguises including, in 1939, the faces of Charles Laughton's grotesque Hunchback of Notre Dame (for RKO) and Bette Davis's eyebrowless, almost bald, whitefaced Queen Elizabeth. In the early 1920s he blended Stein Pink greasepaint with eye shadow, preceding Factor's Panchromatic. Ern, at RKO from 1929 to 1931 and then at Fox from 1935, was adept at finding the right look for stars of the 1930s. Wally headed Paramount makeup from 1926, where he created, among others, Frederic March's gruesome transformation in *Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde* (1931). Frank followed him there. Bud led Universal's makeup department for twenty-three years, specializing in rubber prosthetics and body suits such as the one used in *Creature from the Black Lagoon* (1954). Together they built the House of Westmore salon, which served stars and public alike. Later generations have continued the name, including Bud's sons, Michael and Marvin Westmore, who began in television and have excelled in unusual makeup, such as in *Blade Runner* (1982).

MGM was the only studio that the Westmores did not rule. Cecil Holland (1887–1973) became its first makeup head in 1925 and remained there until the 1950s. Originally an English actor known as "The Man of a Thousand Faces" before Lon Chaney (1883–1930) inherited the title, his makeup abilities were pioneering on films such as *Grand Hotel* (1932) and *The Good Earth* (1937). Jack Dawn (1892–1961), who created makeup for *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), ran the department from the 1940s, by which time it was so huge that over a thousand actors could be made up in one hour. William

Lon Chaney did his own makeup for* Phantom of the Opera *(Rupert Julian, 1925). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Tuttle succeeded him and ran the department for twenty years. Like Holland, Chaney was another actor with supernal makeup skills whose horror and crime films became classics, notably for Chaney's menacing but realistically based disguises. He always created his own makeup, working with the materials of his day—greasepaint, putty, plasto (mortician's wax), fish skin, gutta percha (natural resin), collodian (liquid elastic), and crepe hair—and conjured characters unrivalled in their horrifying effect, including his gaunt, pig-nosed, black-eyed Phantom for *Phantom of the Opera* (1925) and his Hunchback in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1923), for which he constructed agonizingly heavy makeup and body harnesses.

AESTHETICS

Makeup helps express narrative elements, and a makeup artist decides how best to convey this information. A historical period's cosmetic oddities, or its lack of them, have to be plausibly recreated for a modern audience. The presentation can be faux-historical, as in *Satyricon* (*Fellini Satyricon*, 1969), which though set in ancient Rome, was conceived, on the director Federico Fellini's insistence, as dreamlike by the consummate costume designer, Piero Tosi (who did not create costumes for the film, only the makeup). Lois Burwell's and Peter Frampton's makeup for *Braveheart* (1995), set in about thirteenth-century Scotland, was accurate though it looked fantastical. Fantasy makeup, such as Benoît Lestang's for *La Cité des enfants perdus* (*City of Lost Children*, 1995) or John Caglione Jr.'s for *Dick Tracy* (1990), sets the mood for the film. Oppositely, Toni G's makeup for Charlize Theron as a hardened prostitute in *Monster* (2003) was a feat of realist metamorphosis that made her look like Aileen Wuornos, the convicted killer on whom the film was based.

Cinema makeup has been an unusual but very effective arena for issues around public prejudice, regarding women's social and sexual status. In the early twentieth century, women benefited from the new caché of stunningly made-up stars on screen. Though creams, powders, and rouges were widely used and advertised (endorsed by theatrical idols such as Gaby Deslys, Sarah Bernhardt, and Lillian Russell), overt makeup had been questioned as déclassé or degenerate by fashion mavens since the turn of the twentieth century. Film makeup revolutionized the social acceptance of cosmetics as early as 1915, making them increasingly respectable for women to wear, and in every decade since, trends in makeup have thoroughly altered society's aesthetic concept.

The makeup artist has at times launched new looks. In the late 1920s the style established by Greta Garbo's arched eyebrows, deep eyes with black-lined eyelid indents, and full mouth banished the tight, down-sloping eyebrows and bee-stung lips of Mary Pickford and the Gish sisters that had been popular in the 1910s. In 1930 Marlene Dietrich's face, already beautiful, was adapted for the top lighting favored by her frequent director, Josef von Sternberg. Paramount's Dottie Ponedel, the first woman in the Makeup Artists guild, plucked Dietrich's eyebrows into single elevated lines, which became the signature look of the 1930s. Shading under her cheekbones accented them until they were hollow enough to appear so on their own. A white stroke under her eyes made them appear bigger. A silver one down her nose diminished its curve. Dietrich passed this trick on to the Westmores, who used it frequently and, when eye shadow was still greasepaint smudges, she showed Ern Westmore how to make it from match soot and baby oil and apply it in the gradual upward motions still used today. Ponedel went to MGM in 1940 to work exclusively for Judy Garland. Ern Westmore gave Bette Davis her signature "slash" mouth (where her top lip's indent was covered by lipstick), and Perc remade her face in over sixty films. "I owe my entire career to Perc Westmore," Davis once stated. Perc Westmore also cut Bette Davis's and Claudette Colbert's trendsetting bangs and Colleen Moore's classic Dutch boy bob, twisted Katharine Hepburn's hair into her ubiquitous top knot, and introduced the red-haired Ann Sheridan to a perfect match of orange lipstick. Sydney Guilaroff (1907–1997), head of hairstyling at MGM from 1935, originated the signature haircuts of Louise Brooks and Marilyn Monroe. Some changes were more drastic. Helen Hunt, Columbia's key hairstylist, painfully raised Rita Hayworth's hairline by electrolysis. A scene in *A Star Is Born* (1954) satirizes these beautifications when Judy Garland accidentally goes through the makeup department's process to suddenly emerge with new features.

Another dimension to social change appears in the provocative use of makeup to disguise race. White men typically have pretended to be black or Asian, often as figures of fun or malice, but by the end of the twentieth century, social ambiguity or political comment underlay some of these representations. The trope of white (and even black) players "blacking up" as racial stereotypes for nineteenth-century minstrel shows passed into vaudeville and film. Though Bert Williams, one of the few black vaudevillians, wore blackface in *Darktown Jubilee* in 1914 because he did so in his stage act, the common character of a white with blackface appeared in such important films as *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *The Jazz Singer* (1927). This image has continued through the twentieth century into the twenty-first. Caucasians masqueraded as Asian in the Charlie Chan films of the 1930s and 1940s, and Boris Karloff's (1932) and Christopher Lee's (1965) characterizations as the arch villain Fu Manchu are especially well known. African Americans at times used makeup to modify their skin tones. In the films of African American director Oscar Micheaux from 1919 to 1948, a lightskinned black actor might wear makeup to appear even lighter. In other circumstances, a light-complexioned black actress such as Fredi Washington would wear dark makeup because she photographed too white. In the 1970s, whiteface on black actors began to appear, often to raise questions about racism. In *Watermelon Man* (1970), Ben Lane made up African American actor Godfrey Cambridge as a white man who suddenly becomes black. In the 1980s, 1990s, and early 2000s, "whiting up" appeared in films such as *Coming to America* (1988), where Rick Baker transformed young African American actors Eddie Murphy and Arsenio Hall into old white men; *The Associate* (1996), where Greg Cannom turned Whoopi Goldberg into a middle-aged white man; and *White Chicks* (2004), where Cannom transformed Shawn and Marlon Wayans into young, white, female twins.

Transvestism in films can also have a social dimension, and since the 1990s there has been a shift in its representational meaning as seen in Linda Grimes's transformation of Wesley Snipes, Patrick Swayze, and John Leguizamo into sexy transvestites in *To Wong Foo, Thanks for Everything, Julie Newmar* (1995) and Morag Ross's of Jaye Davidson in *The Crying Game* (1992). More conventional transvestitism appeared in the earlier *Some Like it Hot* (1959), where Emile LaVigne (1913–1990; makeup) and Agnes Flanagan (hair) transformed Tony Curtis and Jack Lemmon into cute women and in *Mrs. Doubtfire* (1993), where Greg Cannom changed the slight Robin Williams into a dowdy, overweight matron. Women have played men less often, but Katharine Hepburn, made up by Mel Berns (uncredited) in *Christopher Strong* (1933), and Hilary Swank, made up

JACK P. PIERCE

b. Janus Piccoulas, Greece, 5 May 1889, d. 19 July 1968

Jack P. Pierce (also known as Jack Pearce or Jack Piccolo) invented the iconic images of Frankenstein, Dracula, the Werewolf, the Mummy, and the Invisible Man during his twenty-one years at Universal Studios. Pierce emigrated to the United States, hoping to be a baseball player, but instead he found itinerant jobs as a nickelodeon manager, cameraman, actor, and stuntman. He entered the world of film makeup in 1910, working for various independent companies until the early 1920s, when he went to Vitagraph and then Fox. In 1926 he came to Universal and in 1928 became its head of makeup when Carl Laemmle Jr. took over the studio.

Pierce's first notable design was the silhouette for Bela Lugosi's Dracula in Tod Browning's *Dracula* (1931). Pierce's genius flourished on James Whale's 1931 version of *Frankenstein*, with Boris Karloff in the lead. For Karloff he made, arguably, the most famous face in cinema. Departing from previous monkeylike Frankenstein depictions (as in Thomas Edison's 1910 *Frankenstein*), Pierce imagined what a nineteenth-century scientist might have created. For months he made sketches and models while researching surgical procedures and electrical experiments of the time. It took Pierce four hours a day to apply Karloff's makeup, layering his head with padding, greasepaint, cotton, and collodian (a solvent that hardens into a shiny elastic), coloring it blue-green to photograph as dead gray, then covering it in paste and baking it to make a flaky appearance. Karloff's forty-pound costume (seventy including the cement shoes) was also made by Pierce. The effect was so successful, the opening credits did not include Karloff's name, only that The Monster was acted by "?" trying to give the impression that perhaps the monster was not an actor but real. The Mummy, also played by Karloff, in Karl Freund's *The Mummy* (1932), was Pierce's favorite. His research of Egyptian embalming and processes of decay brought him to make a crepelike, parchment skin that took eight hours a day to apply.

Pierce was an impeccable example of collaboration with the cinematographer, making lighting integral to his monsters' effect. Light on the Frankenstein visage, with its square head, ridged forehead, and heavy jawline, gave the monster's menace a necessary pathos. Lighting also malevolently animated the Mummy's crinkled skin.

Having never been given a contract, he was fired in 1947 when Universal downsized. Despite the 1950s surge in science-fiction subjects, Pierce never worked again on projects requiring his true ingenuity, only on low-budget films and television programs like *Mister Ed* (1961–1966). Although he died virtually forgotten in 1968, appreciation of Pierce's work was renewed in the first years of the twenty-first century with a DVD tribute, *Jack Pierce: The Man Behind the Monsters* (2002).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Dracula (1931), *Frankenstein* (1931), *The Mummy* (1932), *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1935)

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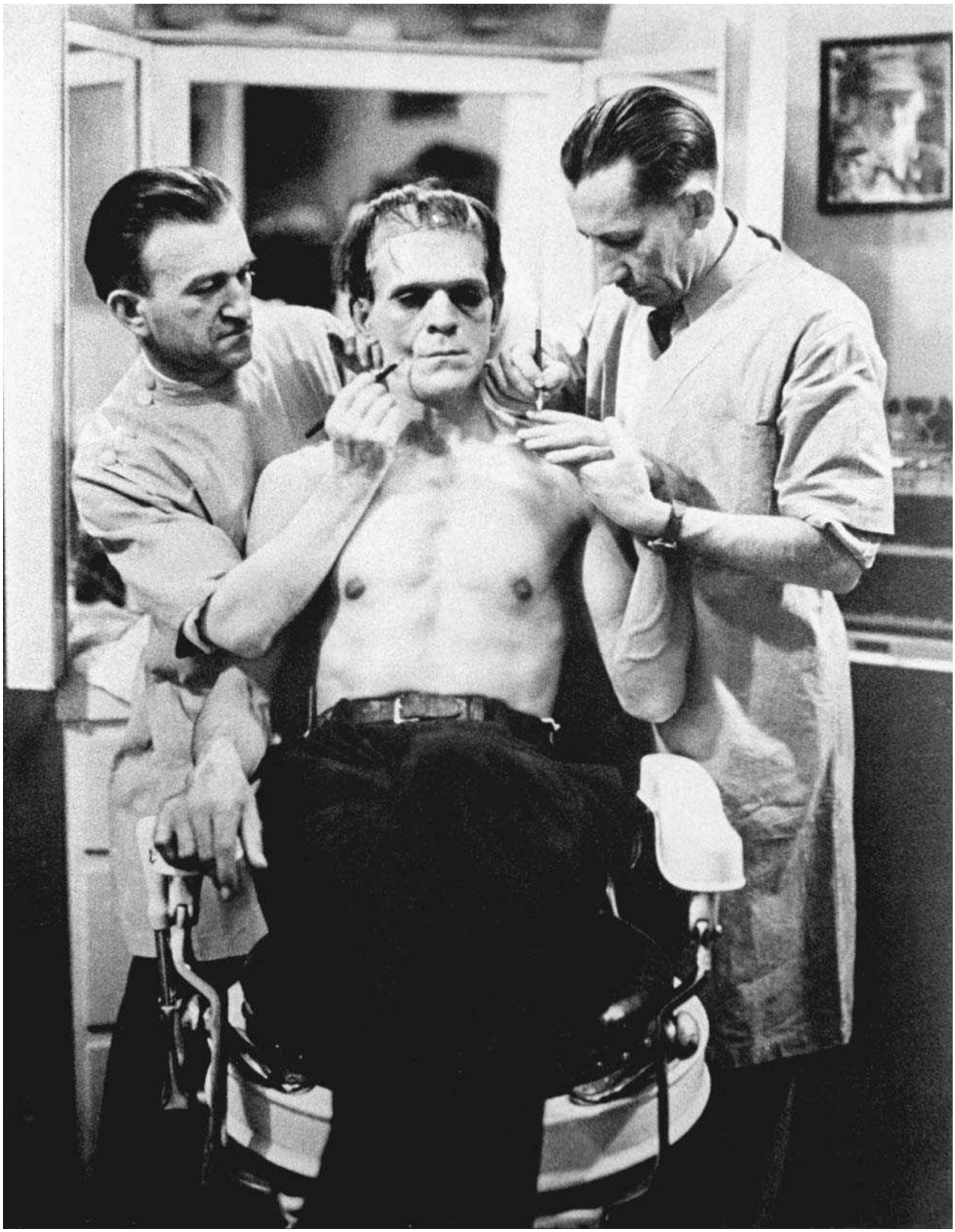
Drake Stutesman

by Kalen Hoyle in *Boys Don't Cry* (1999), made memorable attempts in films with political undertones.

From the outset, some lasting relationships have existed between stars or directors and their makeup artists. Maurice Seiderman (1907–1989), another Russian with a background in wigmaking, worked with Orson Welles on *Citizen Kane* (1941), *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942), and *Touch of Evil* (1958). Seiderman invented techniques for aging the Kane character and other principles, involving three-dimensional casts, which were painted in layers to achieve a striking realism. The director Clive Barker has often had FX makeup artist Bob Keen create his unusual villains, such as Pinhead in *Hellraiser* (1987). Chris Walas developed much of David Cronenberg's scare makeup and special effects (*Scanners*, 1981, and *The Fly*, 1986) and Rob Bottin, whose talents run from science fiction to the historical, has collaborated with John Carpenter (*The Thing*, 1982, and *The Fog*, 1980).

Modern FX—using materials such as latex, gelatine, and mechanization—can be traced to the ingenuities of Lon Chaney in the 1920s and those of Jack P. Pierce



Jack Pierce (left) and assistant putting makeup on Boris Karloff for* Frankenstein *(James Whale, 1931). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(1889–1968), who in the 1930s devised prototypical monsters in *Frankenstein* (1931), *The Mummy* (1932), and *The Werewolf of London* (1935) for Universal Studios. Pierce and Chaney not only defined the look of their monsters forever but made makeup a box-office draw.

The advent of violent films in the 1960s, including *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967) and *The Wild Bunch* (1969), led the way for the 1970s taste in not-for-the-squeamish horror, while monkey men in films like *Planet of the Apes* (1968), *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), and *Star Wars* (1977) brought a resurgence of the FX monster. With the popularity of special effects films, most late-twentieth-century FX makeup artists have made specialty careers. Beginning in television (for serials like *Dark Shadows*, 1966–1971), Dick Smith (b. 1922) changed prosthetic makeup forever when, to enable the actor greater mobility, he broke down the basic "mask" into components (nose, chin, eyes) with his groundbreaking work on *Little Big Man* (1970), where a young Dustin Hoffman ages into a very old man, and *The Exorcist* (1973). Rick Baker won the first Oscar® for Best Makeup for his *American Werewolf in London* (1981), considered another makeup landmark. His range of work is wide, from the hairstyles in *How the Grinch Stole Christmas* (2000) to the aging of Cicely Tyson into a one-hundred-year-old woman in *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* (1974), but he specializes in apelike beings. Stan Winston, who has a star on Hollywood Boulevard, is a master of mechanized human creatures such as the leads in *The Terminator* (1984) and *Edward Scissorhands* (1990). Tom Savini is known as the "King of Splatter" for his work on bloody films such as *Martin* (1977), *Friday the 13th* (1980), and *Dawn of the Dead* (2004).

The latest technological shift in the movie industry, which considerably affects makeup, is digital film. The digital enhancement process can do what was once the provenance of the makeup artist—manipulation of the actor's skin color, texture, and every other aspect of his or her experience. It remains to be seen, though, to what extent makeup's hands-on ability to camouflage, identify, and beautify will be superceded by this technology.

SEE ALSO *Production Process; Special Effects; Technology*

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MARTIAL ARTS FILMS

In common parlance, "martial arts" refers to Asian martial arts—judo, karate, kung fu, tae kwan do. Though the Occident may boast of fighting techniques, both armed and unarmed—boxing, fencing, archery—the term "martial arts" retains its association with Asia. Thus, the martial arts genre is derived from Asian films that focus on the skills, exploits, and philosophies revolving around these particular fighting styles when employed by various recurring figures. Yet if the martial arts as an all-encompassing rubric has come to be applied to any number of fighting styles within and outside of Asia, so, too, the martial arts film has made its way into global film culture. If the martial arts film was originally the specific product of Chinese cinema in the late 1920s, carried over into the Hong Kong cinema after World War II, and reaching its height in the early 1970s in the former British colony, then by the 1980s one could truly claim something like a transnational martial arts genre with films from Japan, Korea, Thailand, India, and the US (among others) clearly working with motifs, character types, and choreography inspired by or derived from the Chinese originals.

The ubiquity of martial arts in films since the 1970s—in the action, police thriller, comedy, war, and science fiction and fantasy genres—makes defining a separate genre difficult. Nevertheless, the genre relies upon a protagonist skilled, generally, in Asian martial arts, whose specific skills must be put to the test in bringing about the resolution of the plot. There are typical and recurring motifs such as an early defeat or setback, receiving further training in the martial arts (usually by an older Asian master), and then testing those skills on lesser opponents along the way to the climactic duel. As a specific genre, the martial arts film has given rise to numerous stories about the training for and participation in a climactic martial arts tournament—a motif derived from Hong Kong films, but one popular in Hollywood as well.

WU XIA PIAN

Chinese martial arts film came to be known as "*wu xia pian*," meaning "films of chivalrous combat." This genre may be said to begin in the popular Shanghai cinema with *Romance of the West Chamber* in 1927. Derived, like many early martial arts films, from a literary source, the film was a sophisticated entertainment in every respect, relying on fairly elaborate special effects and Beijing Opera–style fight choreography. The film's success spawned immediate imitators that drew upon the swashbuckling adventures of Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939), Chinese literary classics, and the popular martial arts fiction of the period to create a virtual tidal wave of stories of knights-errant and their derring-do. *The Burning of the Red Lotus Temple* (1928) set the pattern for the true martial arts genre with its story of warring martial arts factions, liberal use of special effects, and the presence of women warriors over the course of its (alleged) twenty-seven-hour running time. (The film was released serially.) Governmental dissatisfaction with the escapist and fantastic nature of the series put a hold on the production of martial arts movies in China, a situation further exacerbated by the Japanese occupation of Shanghai during the Pacific War.

The chivalric warrior re-entered Chinese cinema in postwar Hong Kong, with the unprecedented production

of dozens of films starring Kwan Tak-hing (1905–1996) as the legendary doctor–martial artist–Cantonese hero Wong Fei-hung. He is South China's national hero. A historical figure who died in 1924, his students taught students who then became many of the central martial arts directors in the Hong Kong cinema. Rejecting the fantastic, effects-driven, and Beijing Opera–style fight choreography of Republican-era Shanghai, these films featured actual kung fu fighting styles and set the tone for a certain strand of martial arts film—the trained martial artist fighting for the underdog in realistic, if unspectacular, fight scenes.

Made in the Cantonese dialect and with increasingly lower budgets, the Wong Fei-hung films of the 1950s and early 1960s gave way to the bigger-budget, high-intensity cinema developing at the Shaw Brothers studios in the mid-1960s. Turning away from their literary costume pictures, the Mandarin-language studio hit pay dirt with the New Style *wu xia pian* of directors King Hu (1931–1997) and Chang Cheh (1923–2002). King Hu's *Da zui xia* (*Come Drink with Me*, 1966) re-introduced the female knight-errant into Chinese cinema and, although it relied on Beijing Opera–style choreography, its level of violence and the dynamism of star Cheng Pei-pei (b. 1946) proved an immediate jolt to the genre. King Hu continued his career in Taiwan, making stylish swordplay movies like *Long men ke zhen* (*Dragon Gate Inn*, 1967) and *Hsia nu* (*Touch of Zen*, 1969), which slowly introduced acrobatics into the form, especially with the use of trampolines and a deft sense of eye-line matches and spatial contiguity. But it was the films of Chang Cheh, beginning with the Japanese-influenced *Bian cheng san xia* (*Magnificent Trio*, 1966), that revolutionized the genre. Japanese cinema was an important precursor to many of the motifs introduced by Chang Cheh. Akira Kurosawa's (1910–1998) *Sugata Sanshiro* (*Judo Saga*, 1943) pioneered the motif of warring martial arts factions, but it was banned after World War II by American authorities because of its nationalistic undertones. His *Shichinin no samurai* (*Seven Samurai*, 1954) introduced a kind of *wu xia*—gritty, realistic, sometimes grim—to international audiences with its story of heroic, self-sacrificing swordsmen. But it was the Zatoichi films, the Blind Swordsman series beginning in 1962, that set a standard for spectacular swordplay, not to mention the use of a hero with disabilities. Chang Cheh borrowed choreographic and visual motifs from the Japanese cinema and added to this mix a group of athletic young men with martial arts training to form a core of star players who appeared together in film after film featuring violent sword fights within stories of male camaraderie, brotherly revenge, and youthful rebellion. Wang Yu, Ti Lung, David Chiang, Chen Kwan-tai, and Fu Sheng lit up the screen with their intensity, fighting skills, and nascent sense of a new China on screen.

The previously understated sense of a new Chinese masculinity became overt with the appeal of Bruce Lee (1940–1973), whose success in the Hong Kong cinema outshone even that of Chang Cheh's hugely popular films. Rejecting the King Hu style of fight choreography and the big-budget aesthetics of Chang Cheh's Shaw Brothers epics, Lee brought a down-and-dirty look and a new fighting style to films like *Tang shan da xiong* (*The Big Boss*, aka *Fists of Fury*, 1971) and *Jing wu men* (*Fist of Fury*, aka *The Chinese Connection,* 1972). With both power and speed not seen before in martial arts cinema, and a magnetism comparable only to the likes of James Dean, Lee became an instant worldwide success that spread even to Hollywood and helped bring the genre to the fore with *Enter the Dragon* (1973).

EVERYBODY WAS KUNG FU FIGHTING

Early twentieth-century America certainly had its own "martial arts" cinema tradition. Douglas Fairbanks, whose films influenced the Shanghai martial arts movies of the 1920s, virtually invented the swashbuckling, action-adventure genre featuring acrobatic stunts and demonstrations of martial arts like fencing and archery (for example, *The Mark of Zorro*, 1920; *The Three Musketeers*, 1921; *Robin Hood*, 1922; *The Thief of Bagdad*, 1924; and *The Black Pirate*, 1926), setting the tone for the later swashbuckling careers of Errol Flynn, Tyrone Power, and Burt Lancaster.

Yet it was Asian martial arts that really caused a stir upon their introduction into American films in the post-war era. American GIs returning from Asia and the increased Asian presence in the US following the liberalization of the Immigration Act of 1965 began the spread of martial arts across the country. Films like *White Heat* (1949) and *The Crimson Kimono* (1959) drew the connection between the GIs' encounter with Asia and the importation of martial arts into the US. But it was *Bad Day at Black Rock* (1955) that clearly established both the Asian connection with martial arts and the image of a one-armed man easily dispatching opponents bigger and stronger than he. One might argue that this World War II veteran, so memorably portrayed by Spencer Tracy, in turn influenced the famous disabled warriors of the Japanese and Chinese martial arts cinema. Later, Bruce Lee, teaching Hollywood celebrities his evolving kung fu style in the 1960s, memorably introduced the Chinese martial arts through his co-starring role in TV's *The Green Hornet* (1966–1967) and through guest appearances in film and television. While working in Hong Kong for Golden Harvest, Lee expressed interest in starring in the made-for-TV movie *Kung Fu* (1972), but with David

BRUCE LEE

b. Li Xiaolong, San Francisco, California, 27 November 1940, d. 20 July 1973

Bruce Lee is to the martial arts film what Charlie Chaplin is to the silent comedy, what James Dean is to the teen film, and what John Wayne is to the Western, with something of all of them in his timeless screen persona. Decades after his death he remains an icon of international screen culture, still invoked in films the world over.

Lee's family moved to Hong Kong from San Francisco after World War II, and Bruce became a child star in the low-budget Cantonese cinema. Legend has it that he lost street brawls constantly, which inspired him to study Wing Chun kung fu from one of the local masters. Philosophy studies at the University of Washington helped Lee refine the connections between his martial arts and his way of life. His US show-business break came with the role of Kato in the 1966 television series *The Green Hornet*. Legend also has it that Lee's martial arts moves were too fast both for his co-stars to react to and for the broadcast image to reproduce. Lee also began to teach celebrity clients his evolving martial arts style. Hollywood, however, was not yet ready for him.

A trip to Hong Kong in 1971 revealed to Lee that he had become something of a major celebrity based on *The Green Hornet*, which was called "The Kato Show" in the territory. Former Shaw Brothers production chief Raymond Chow, building up his Golden Harvest Studio, offered Lee a much more flexible and lucrative deal than his former bosses, and they produced *Tang shan da xiong* (*The Big Boss*, 1971). More realistic, less polished, and more contemporary in attitude than anything the Shaw Brothers were making, *The Big Boss* was a smash success. It was quickly followed by Lee's most important film, *Jing wu men* (*Fist of Fury*, aka *The Chinese Connection*, 1972). Set against the background of the Japanese occupation of China, the film expresses Lee's rebellious spirit and the best demonstration yet of Lee's flexible martial arts style—including the spectacular use of a little-used weapon in previous martial arts films, the nunchaku, or nunchuks, which came to be as much associated with Lee as his bright yellow track suit.

Lee directed *Meng lon guojiang* (*Way of the Dragon*, aka *Return of the Dragon*, 1972), employing former karate champion and friend Chuck Norris for the film's famous climax in the Roman Colloseum. Then Hollywood called with *Enter the Dragon* (1973), and Lee had his first big-budget smash, but by the time it was released he had died of a cerebral edema. Lee's Hong Kong films show his spirit far better than the slick James Bond–inspired high jinks of *Enter the Dragon*, though arguably the film enabled Lee to reach a wide audience that he has never lost.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Jing wu men (*Fist of Fury*, aka *The Chinese Connection*, 1972), *Meng Lon Guojiang* (*Way of the Dragon*, aka *Return of the Dragon*, 1972), *Enter the Dragon* (1973)

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David Desser

Carradine in the starring role of the half-Chinese, half-American Shaolin priest may have demonstrated that if America was not ready for an Asian-American television star, it was ready for Asian martial arts. Its four-season run on network television gave American audiences a glimpse into many of the traditions of Shaolin kung fu while enabling the term "grasshopper" (the nickname Master Po gives the young Kwai Chang Caine) to enter comic parlance for a continuing source of humor across genre and media.

The independent smash success, *Billy Jack* (Tom Laughlin, 1971), further helped pave the way for the martial arts genre in the US. Billy Jack, a disillusioned Vietnam War veteran, is a master of the Korean martial art hap ki do, and he uses his deadly skills in the protection of a counterculture, racially mixed school. The theme of corrupt law enforcement running up against an alienated veteran highly trained not only by US Special Forces but also in traditional Asian martial arts set a pattern for a new generation of protagonists.

The *Kung Fu* film and TV series demonstrated American interest in Asian martial arts, and Bruce Lee's starring role in *Enter the Dragon* confirmed it, making Lee a star in Hollywood. Lee's film also set another trend

Bruce Lee in* Enter the Dragon *(Robert Clouse, 1973). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

in motion: the use of multinational, multiracial casts. White, black, and Asian characters in *Enter the Dragon* seemed calculated to bring in the widest possible audience. That all three actors were trained in the martial arts, especially Jim Kelly in his screen debut and, of course, Lee himself, brought a level of intensity and believability to this otherwise fanciful story, which also borrowed a common Hong Kong film structure: the martial arts tournament.

Alienated Vietnam veterans, real martial artists, and the tournament structure would help build a true American martial arts genre, but not before a reliable audience could be identified. Such an audience came from the African American community, which consumed both the Hong Kong imports in the wake of the success of films like *Five Fingers of Death* (1973) and Lee's early efforts. Kelly's stardom (for example, *Black Belt Jones*, 1974) and many low-budget co-productions with Hong Kong studios featuring black and Asian stars (the career of actor Ron Van Clief as "the Black Dragon" is exemplary) show the appeal of kung fu films to black audiences—audiences who would very much help the future careers of white stars like Cynthia Rothrock (whose career began in Hong Kong) and Steven Seagal beginning in the late 1980s.

The rise of the American martial arts film genre, whether through blaxploitation or the films of Chuck Norris in the late 1970s, kept Hong Kong martial arts films off American screens compared to their stunning success from 1973 to 1975. Norris's role in *Good Guys Wear Black* (1978) continued the theme of post–Vietnam era images of highly trained veterans using their violent skills to exorcise the ghosts of Vietnam and to display the cinematic suitability of martial arts. By the middle of the

1980s, martial arts had made its way so far into the mainstream that *Rocky* director John G. Avildsen could turn his attention to a far more unlikely action hero in the diminutive form of Ralph Macchio and turn *The Karate Kid* (1984) into a smash success and another iconic cultural marker. Its training sequences, clear differentiation between the right and wrong way to use martial arts, and climax at a martial arts tournament clearly confirmed that a definitively Asian form had claimed an American counterpart.

MARTIAL ARTS IN GLOBAL CONTEXT

The decline of Hong Kong kung fu cinema in the late 1970s turned out to be temporary. Forever looking for "the next Bruce Lee," Hong Kong cinema finally found him in Jackie Chan (b. 1954), a Beijing Opera–trained martial artist and acrobat whose everyman persona, stunt-happy performances, and Buster Keaton–like use of props returned martial arts to the forefront of Hong Kong cinema beginning with films like *Drunken Master* and *Snake in the Eagle's Shadow* (both 1978). Chan soon after emerged as the most popular star in Asia. Aborted attempts to break into the American market by co-starring in low-budget Hollywood films in the 1980s did not work out—fortunately for him, because when he had finally established a worldwide appeal his next Hollywood forays, like *Rush Hour* (1998) and *Shanghai Noon* (2000), were worthy of his talents.

Chan and Lee were not the last foreign martial artists to make their way into American martial arts film stardom. Jean-Claude Van Damme, "the muscles from Brussels," parlayed his karate champion background into a film career, bursting into stardom with a fairly routine yet extremely violent version of the standard tournament-style film, *Bloodsport* (1988). Films like *Kickboxer* (1989), *Lionheart* (1990), and *Streetfighter* (1994) continued to rely on the tournament structure, although Van Damme did help tie together science fiction with martial arts in successful films like *Cyborg* (1989) and *Universal Soldier* (1992). If Van Damme was a foreign import, Seagal was

Bruce Lee (left) in* The Big Boss *(Lo Wei, 1971). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

an American master of the Japanese martial art of aikido, and he showed it off to good form in a series of police and military actioners, especially *Above the Law* (1988), *Out for Justice* (1991), and his best film, *Under Siege* (1992). Both Van Damme and Seagal saw their careers decline by the turn of the century, but that may be the fate of all aging martial arts stars—even Jackie Chan's career saw a shift away from fighting to special effects stunts.

The popularity of martial arts films in America did not go unnoticed in Hong Kong where the likes of Tsui Hark (b. 1950), Tony Ching Siu-Tong (b. 1953), Johnnie To (b. 1955), and John Woo (b. 1946) revitalized the genre. This time it was the stylistics of King Hu that inspired them in the creation of literally fantastic swordplay films like the *Swordsman* trilogy (1990–1992), *New Dragon Inn* (1992), and *The Heroic Trio* (1993). Women stars like Brigitte Lin, Maggie Cheung, Anita Mui, and Michelle Yeoh—who would become the most important female martial arts star since Cheng Pei-pei—also helped revitalize the genre. Kung fu was kept alive with Jet Li's incarnation of Wong Fei-hung in the *Once Upon a Time in China* series (1991–1997), but in a form far different than anything Kwan Tak-hing would have recognized—though the ideology remained the same. The special effects, acrobatics, and wire work (leading some to call this "wire fu") culminated in the King Hu–inspired international blockbuster *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (Ang Lee, 2000). For audiences that disdained the likes of Jean-Claude Van Damme or Steven Seagal and who knew nothing of the wonders of *Touch of Zen*, Lee's film brought respectability, if not originality, to the genre. World-class filmmaker Zhang Yimou (b. 1951), anxious to bring a bit more "Chineseness" back to the decentered form, released *Hero* (2002) and *House of Flying Daggers* (2004)—both successful, indicating that for all its Chineseness, the martial arts genre belongs to the world.

SEE ALSO *Action and Adventure Films; China; Hong Kong; Japan*

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MARXISM

Karl Marx's three-volume study *Das Kapital* (1867, 1885, 1894), along with the earlier *Manifest der kommunistichen Partei* (*The Communist Manifesto*, 1848), which he co-wrote with Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), and other works, were important to the nineteenth and twentieth century's numerous class struggles and wars of national liberation. Marx (1818–1883) argued that capitalism, although responsible for technological development and some social achievements, was fundamentally defective in that it was based on profit and human exploitation. Marx believed that capitalism would necessarily become outmoded, although his writings, especially the exhortative *Manifesto*, expressed the conviction that communism—the public control of the means of production—would occur only through human agency, namely revolution; those who benefit from capitalism would not simply step aside and allow the system to be replaced by a system beneficial for workers, the enormous and most productive class that communism would assist. For Marx, who wanted to develop a scientific understanding of the impact of economic systems on humanity, reformism and acts of charity would do little to transform a fundamentally exploitative system such as capitalism into a more just one such as socialism.

Later Marxists such as Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924), Leon Trotsky (1879–1940), Mao Zedong (1893–1976), and Che Guevara (1928–1967) would develop programs of revolutionary action, as would numerous non-Marxists aligned with anticapitalist movements such as anarchism. After Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) established himself as dictator of the Soviet Union following Lenin's death, various Western Marxists such as Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937), György Lukács (1885–1971), Louis Althusser (1918–), Herbert Marcuse (1898–1979), Theodor Adorno (1903–1969), and Max Horkheimer (1895–1973) would rethink Marxism relative to the political issues of the twentieth century, often linking Marxism to such movements as Freudianism to bolster Marxism's radical essence and to challenge forms of social injustice beyond economic formulations of base and superstructure. By the mid-twentieth century Marxism had become connected to the defeat of racism and endorsement of gender equality and sexual liberation. Walter Benjamin (1892–1940), a member of the Frankfurt School of political and social thought, became important to film theory for his essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1935–1936), in which he argued that the "aura" of great works become diminished by the process of reproduction. Although this process had a democratizing aspect, it also tended to remove an artwork from its historical-political context. Benjamin followed a solidly Marxist argument that the artwork was very much conjoined to class assumptions.

MARXISM AND EARLY CINEMA

Marxist ideology is anathema to the business-driven film industry of the United States, but its outlook appears in one form or other in a variety of American films. Although the US government and business sector have been adamantly opposed to all forms of socialism, notions of class struggle have appeared in cinema from its inception. Filmmakers partaking of progressive discourse tend in general to appeal to notions of charity and social equality rather than to Marxist revolution. D. W. Griffith's (1875–1948) *Intolerance* (1916) can be

read as one long plea for social justice. One of the epic's highlights is the Jenkins Mill episode, a loose recreation of the Ludlow Massacre of 1914, during which Rockefeller financial interests hired National Guardsmen to assault and kill striking workers at a chemical plant in Colorado; this event outraged many, including conservatives such as Griffith. Early film comedy, especially the works of Charles Chaplin (1889–1977), have strong anti-authoritarian and socialist themes, from Chaplin's short farces such as *Easy Street* (1917), which portray in Dickensian fashion the life of the urban poor, to his feature-length spoof of industrial capitalism, *Modern Times* (1936).

Post–World War I European cinema, especially that of Germany, showed both the effects of the war and the alienated and helpless condition of people under the German class system. Expressionist horror films such as *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, Robert Weine, 1920) conveyed a modernist sense of humanity's twisted, tormented situation under the standing economic order. Fritz Lang's pioneering science-fiction masterpiece *Metropolis* (1927), with its seminal vision of an ornate city resting atop the underworld city of the workers who maintain it (a notion derived from H. G. Wells's 1895 novel *The Time Machine*), would foreground anxieties over the class struggle that had propelled Russia's October 1917 Revolution.

Indeed, the Soviet Union after the October Revolution would produce the key films extolling the virtues of socialism and communism; these films would also become landmark contributions to the development of the cinema. Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik revolution, saw cinema as "the most important art," a phrase often repeated in histories of film. Lenin thought that cinema's ability to communicate through images had an innately democratizing aspect, one crucial to the Soviet Union's numerous ethnicities and languages. This idea was intuited by the pioneers of the Soviet cinema, including Lev Kuleshov (1899–1970), whose famous "Kuleshov experiment" emphasized the importance of film editing by demonstrating how the interrelationship of images affected the consciousness of the spectator. The Soviet cinema for the decade following the October Revolution was among the most avant-garde in the world and established a place in artistic modernism. The key figure of the Soviet cinema, and a giant of film history, is Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948), who fused Marxist dialectics with art movements such as Cubism and Constructivism to produce a challenging, dynamic cinema that served the agitation purposes of the Soviet revolution. His major films, especially *Stachka* (*Strike*, 1925), *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925), and *Oktyabr* (*Ten Days that Shook the World* and *October*, 1927), broke cleanly with the static melodrama characteristic of early cinema—even the innovative films of Griffith—to create a style based on montage, or cinema built around rapidly cut sequences whose images were charged with symbolism and interacted with each other with remarkable sophistication.

Eisenstein's theory of montage became crucial to the cinema, owing its intellectual basis to Marxist dialectics. In contrast to his colleague Kuleshov, Eisenstein felt that images should "collide" rather than merely be "linked" through editing. Eisenstein applied classical dialectical thinking of thesis opposed by antithesis, leading to synthesis, borrowing from Marx the idea that the standing thesis (problem) of society was capital, its antithesis the worker, synthesis the revolution. Eisenstein translated this into an editing structure wherein the thesis is, for example, images of Czarist troops in the Odessa Steps sequence of *Battleship Potemkin*, the antithesis shots images of the population. The ultimate synthesis is not revolution, but rather the awakening of the spectator. Clearly Eisenstein's films, even before his famous montage theory was formulated, were focused on agitation (as is evident in *Strike*, his first major film).

Other important early Soviet directors included Dziga Vertov (1896–1954), whose *kino pravda* ("film truth") movies inspired the *cinema verité* movement first in France and then internationally. Vertov sought to change the style of the documentary and the notion of the real as depicted in bourgeois art. His most radical accomplishment was *Chelovek s kino-apparatom* (*The Man With a Movie Camera*, 1929), which recorded a day in the life of a Soviet city. What could have been a prosaic film was a radical departure for the documentary, embodying various forms of modernism along with the Marxist aesthetics of theorists such as Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956). Vertov used split screens, superimpositions, animation, and above all an attempt to incorporate the viewer into the very process of filmmaking by showing us the operation of the camera and including self-reflexive jokes such as an image of the filmmaker floating with his camera over the city. Vertov challenged bourgeois realism as well as conventional notions of perspective inherited from the Renaissance, which Vertov, like other Marxist artists, believed lulled the audience into a sense of self-satisfaction and consolation as it accepted the singular vision of one inspired "genius."

EUROPEAN CINEMA BEFORE AND AFTER WORLD WAR II

Other manifestations of a Marxist cinema in Europe include the work of the Spanish director Luis Buñuel (1900–1983). His early films *Un Chien Andalou* (*An Andalusian Dog*, 1929) and *L'Âge d'or* (*The Golden Age*, 1930), made in collaboration with the surrealist painter Salvador Dali (1904–1989), combined a Marxist slap at

the bourgeoisie with surrealism's contempt for all social norms. Deeply affected by European fascism, Buñuel, throughout his long career, continued to lambaste bourgeois society with extraordinarily witty satires, the most notable of which include *Belle de Jour* (1967), *Le charme discret de la bourgeoisie* (*The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie*, 1972), *Le Fantôme de la liberté* (*The Phantom of Liberty*, 1974), and *Cet obscur objet du désir* (*That Obscure Object of Desire*, 1977).

Surrealism, like many art movements of the post–World War I avant-garde, had a strong if conflicted Marxist orientation. Buñuel and his old schoolmate Dali had a falling out during their collaboration on *L'Age d'or*: Buñuel, who at the time had strong communist sympathies, meant the film as a deliberate undermining of all bourgeois institutions. Dali, who eventually supported the Spanish fascist dictator Francisco Franco (whose rule ran from 1936 to 1973) and various figures of the European aristocracy, wanted merely to cause a scandal through the use of various scatological and anti-Catholic images. André Breton (1896–1966), the author of the 1946 work *Manifestoes of Surrealism* and the movement's leading theoretician, visited Trotsky in Mexico during the Bolshevik leader's exile in the late 1930s from the Stalin-controlled Soviet Union. During that visit Breton had a brief association with Frida Kahlo, Diego Rivera, and other Mexican avant-garde painters. Breton's concern was to place surrealism as a movement in service of revolutionary action by creating works that would transform bourgeois consciousness. Yet many aspects of Breton were conservative and exclusionary, especially on the subjects of gender and the rendering of sexuality. Breton did not hesitate to "expel" surrealists whose works he deemed effete or gratuitously sexual.

Jean Renoir (1894–1979), perhaps the greatest figure of the French cinema, was a member of the French Communist Party, then a supporter of the Popular Front coalition of various leftist factions. He examined prewar French society from a sophisticated left perspective. His most acclaimed film, *La Règle du Jeu* (*The Rules of the Game*, 1939), offers a class critique in depicting the deceptions and self-deceptions of a marquis, his wife, and their circle of friends, servants, and hangers-on. The film, influenced by Pierre-Augustin Beaumarchais's *The Marriage of Figaro* (1784), presents a decaying bourgeois civilization in microcosm, showing how the facade and cavalier appetites of this society reflect the dominant assumptions that bring about both the horrors of war and the taken-for-granted forms of repression and denial that are the substance of capitalist life. In the 1930s Renoir directed films regarded by many to be his most self-consciously political, including *Boudu sauvé des eaux* (*Boudu Saved from Drowning*, 1932), about a derelict who disrupts a bourgeois household, and *Le Crime de Monsieur Lange* (*The Crime of Monsieur Lange*, 1936), in which a collectively owned comic book company becomes an allegory of communist society and its internal and external opposition.

The German filmmaker Max Ophuls (1902–1957), who worked in Germany, France, Italy, and the United States, is one of the first directors to introduce the ideas of the Marxist playwright and aesthetician Bertolt Brecht to the cinema. Ophuls, like Renoir, took as his subject the examination of bourgeois mores, especially assumptions pertaining to gender relations (which he saw as foundational to economic and all other relations). He used a high degree of camera artifice both to engage the audience and focus it, in the manner of Brecht's theories, on ideas rather than the melodramatic content of his films, from *Liebelei* (*Flirtation*, 1933) and *La Signora di Tutti* (*Everybody's Woman*, 1934) to *La Ronde* (Roundabout, 1950), *Madame de . . .* (*The Earrings of Madame de . . .*, 1953) and *Lola Montès* (1955), and even his American films. *The Reckless Moment* (1949) is a deceptively simple but comprehensive analysis of American postwar bourgeois society, especially its impact on the female. *Letter from an Unknown Woman* (1948) is one of the cinema's most perceptive meditations on gender relations under patriarchal capitalism, exemplifying the fusion of psychoanalysis and feminism with Marxism in artistic discourse.

Bertolt Brecht, the distinguished Marxist playwright and theorist, was influential on a host of left-oriented filmmakers beyond Ophuls. Brecht's notion of "distanciation," the idea that the illusionist tricks of the filmmaker or theater director should be revealed to the audience so that it might become fully engaged with the assumptions of the author, would influence a generation of artists on various continents. The cleverly anti-bourgeois Hollywood melodramas of Douglas Sirk (1897–1987), especially *All that Heaven Allows* (1954) and *Written on the Wind* (1956), show the Brechtian influence on the expatriated German director through his deliberately artificial-looking color and set design. The French New Wave filmmaker Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930) is Brechtian through most of his films in the 1960s and early 1970s, which invite the spectator to interrogate the conventions and codes of representational cinema.

In the postwar period the Italian cinema became noticeable for its strongly progressive, leftist sentiment as Italy became so strong a center of European communism that it was targeted for disruption by the US government. The neorealist movement represented by directors Vittorio De Sica (1902–1974) and Roberto Rossellini (1906–1977) (both of whom were Christian and humanist in their orientation—their works were nevertheless embraced by much of the left) became the

most influential style of the period, with its focus on the plight of the poor. De Sica's *Ladri di biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thieves*, 1948) is representative. Luchino Visconti (1906–1976), whose career began within the neorealist style, made *La Terra Trema* (*The Earth Trembles*, 1948), about the hardships of a Sicilian fisherman and his family, with funds from the Italian Communist Party. Visconti, an aristocrat with Marxist convictions, applied his analysis of class to two early-1960s masterpieces, *Rocco e i suoi fratelli* (*Rocco and His Brothers*, 1960) and *Il Gattopardo* (*The Leopard*, 1963). His later films, *La Caduta degli dei* (*The Damned*, 1969) and *Morte a Venezia* (*Death in Venice*, 1971), focused on the decadence and irredeemable nature of the bourgeoisie. *The Damned* drew a connection between industrial capitalism and the rise of fascism. Visconti's work was strongly influenced by Lukács, the Marxist literary theorist, who argued against avant-garde modernism, which he saw as metaphysical and obscurantist in nature, and in favor of realism, for the portrayal of class conflict in art. Visconti's "Lukacsian epics" stick close to the conventions of the nineteenth-century novel, with attention to material reality through period detail to portray the aristocracy and bourgeoisie in various states of decline.

Bernardo Bertolucci (b. 1940) was, until the 1980s, another identifiably political Italian director, whose best-remembered films were very much influenced by the political activity of the 1960s in Europe and the United States. From his first feature, *Before the Revolution* (1964), his films display nostalgia for the old order simultaneous with its denunciation. The disintegration of macho masculinity in the face of a (potentially) revolutionary Europe was central to *Ultimo tango a Parigi* (*Last Tango in Paris*, 1972), Bertolucci's most controversial film, rated "X" in the United States for its rather explicit sex acts and portrayal of sexual relations. Bertolucci's epic *1900* (1976), a portrayal of the rise of Italian communism and the struggle of the peasantry against the aristocracy, may be his defining political statement, after which he gradually abandoned many of his radical convictions.

Gillo Pontecorvo (b. 1919) is among the most prolific and committed of the Italian Marxist directors of the 1960s, his most stunning film being the Italian-Algerian co-production *La Battaglia di Algeri* (*The Battle of Algiers*, 1966), a documentary-like recreation of the Algerian revolt against French colonial occupation. A subsequent film, *Queimada* (*Burn!*, 1968), which gained brief notoriety in the United States because of Marlon Brando's starring role, is a meditation on imperialism in its colonial and neocolonial phases.

France's most radical filmmaker of the 1960s and 1970s is without question Jean-Luc Godard, the central figure of the French New Wave, who combined Brechtian aesthetics with a love of American genre cinema to challenge traditional representational practices and their ideological underpinnings. A writer for the influential French film journal *Cahiers du Cinéma*, Godard was among the critics who championed a reevaluation of the American cinema. *Le Mépris* (*Contempt*, 1963) is Godard's Brechtian reflection on the film industry, for which he had both nostalgic sentiment and considerable revulsion. *Les Carabiniers* (*The Carabineers*, 1963) is Godard's radical condemnation of warfare and imperialism. His most political, antirealist gesture appeared in *Weekend* (1967), an apocalyptic agit-prop collage of events suggesting the decline of capitalist society into barbarism. After the events of May 1968, Godard, by then a committed Maoist, along with Jean-Pierre Gorin (b. 1943), formed the Dziga Vertov Group, a loose filmmaker cooperative that rejected all forms of conventional representation and hierarchal film practices. *Le Vent d'est* (*Wind from the East*, 1970) was the group's anti-Western, a Maoist parable tied to the genre in part through the presence of Gian Maria Volonte (1933–1994), a leading figure of the Italian Communist Party who made an international reputation as the star of Italian Westerns. *Tout va bien* (*All's Well*, 1972) is Godard and Gorin's exploration, done in non-narrative, declamatory style, of events in post-1968 France through a satiric portrayal of a strike in a sausage factory. Although termed Maoist, *Tout va bien*, like other Godard–Gorin films, owed more to Brecht and the early Soviet avant-garde than the socialist-realist works of Maoist China. The film's companion piece, *Letter to Jane* (1972), is composed of one still of the radicalized actress Jane Fonda (featured in *Tout va bien*), her star image and radical posture deconstructed in a voice-over analysis. Since the 1970s, Godard's radical politics have greatly receded, his recent films, such as *Notre Musique* (*Our Music*, 2004), concerned with issues of representation and human conflict, but from a humanist rather than Marxist perspective.

A key filmmaker of the 1960s Marxist tradition is Jean-Marie Straub (b. 1933), who worked for much of his career in Germany. With his wife and colleague Danièle Huillet (b. 1936), Straub created a Marxist aesthetic far closer to minimalism and structural-materialist film than the montage aesthetic of Eisenstein and the Soviet avant-garde. In fact, Straub sought to do away with montage altogether along with most forms of representationalism as he made films composed almost exclusively of prolonged static shots so as to engage the spectator with the material phenomenon of the image, as well as with their own experience of watching the screen. Among the more famous Straub–Huillet films are *Chronik der Anna Magdalena Bach* (*The Chronicle of Anna Magdalena Bach*, 1968) and *Moses und Aron* (*Moses and*

PIER PAOLO PASOLINI

b. Bologna, Italy, 5 March 1922, d. 2 November 1975

Pier Paolo Pasolini is among the most challenging and important directors of the postwar European Marxist cinema. A prolific poet and essayist, Pasolini was sometimes confusing in his ideological convictions. His open homosexuality and support of the Vatican's views on abortion caused his expulsion from the Italian Communist Party. His belief in a progressive reading of Christianity motivated his reverential, multicultural film about the life of Jesus, *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo* (*The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 1964). Yet his Marxism was caustic, complex but uncompromised.

Accattone (*The Scrounger*, 1961) is Pasolini's tribute to neorealism, with its grim story of a young homeless man begging for money in an urban slum. *Edipo Re* (*Oedipus Rex*, 1967) updates Sophocles's play with a framing device featuring a young soldier's jealous rivalry with an infant boy, making concrete Freud's ideas about the structures of power within the male group. *Teorema* (*Theorem*, 1968) breaks entirely with neorealism in its story—often seen as a radical *Shane* (1953)—of an angelic young stranger who arrives in a bourgeois household, the mere presence of his androgynous countenance tearing the family to bits, suggesting Pasolini's view of the fragility of heterosexual capitalist life. *Porcile* (*Pigsty*, 1969) is a neo-Brechtian film combining a story about a young barbarian in a medieval wasteland with an inter-cut narrative about the machinations of fascist industrialists determining the fate of a perverse son from their palatial neoclassical chateau.

Pasolini's "celebration of life" films, *Il Decameron* (*The Decameron*, 1971), *I Racconti di Canterbury* (*The Canterbury Tales*, 1972), and *Il Fiore delle mille e una notte* (*Arabian Nights*, 1974), exemplified his belief, common to postwar Marxism, in fusing sexual liberation to class struggle, as well as his insistence on narrative experimentation. His final film, *Salò o le 120 giornate di Sodoma* (*Salo, or The 120 Days of Sodom*, 1975), is one of the most controversial works in cinema history. The film recreates the four protagonists of the Marquis de Sade's novel as representatives of the church and state under fascism. They stage an orgy at Mussolini's final outpost in northern Italy, during which they subject a group of captured young people to all manner of sexual degradation, torture, and murder. The film has no specific basis in historical events but is Pasolini's meditation on the psychology of the fascist mind. Through this exploration of sexual libertinage, Pasolini questions the relative sexual freedom of the present world and whether any authentic liberation can exist in a society based on consumerism and exploitation.

Pasolini was brutally murdered on a highway in 1975, ostensibly by a gay hustler, although the case remains open as of this writing. His work remains a milestone for radical cinema. With Godard, he set a standard for innovative, critical uses of Marxism in art.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Accattone (*The Scrounger*, 1961), *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo* (*The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 1964), *Uccellacci e uccellini* (*The Hawks and the Sparrows*, 1966), *Edipo Re* (*Oedipus Rex*, 1967), *Teorema* (*Theorem*), 1968, *Porcile* (*Pigpen*, 1969), *Salò o le 120 giornate di Sodoma* (*Salo, or The 120 Days of Sodom*, 1975)

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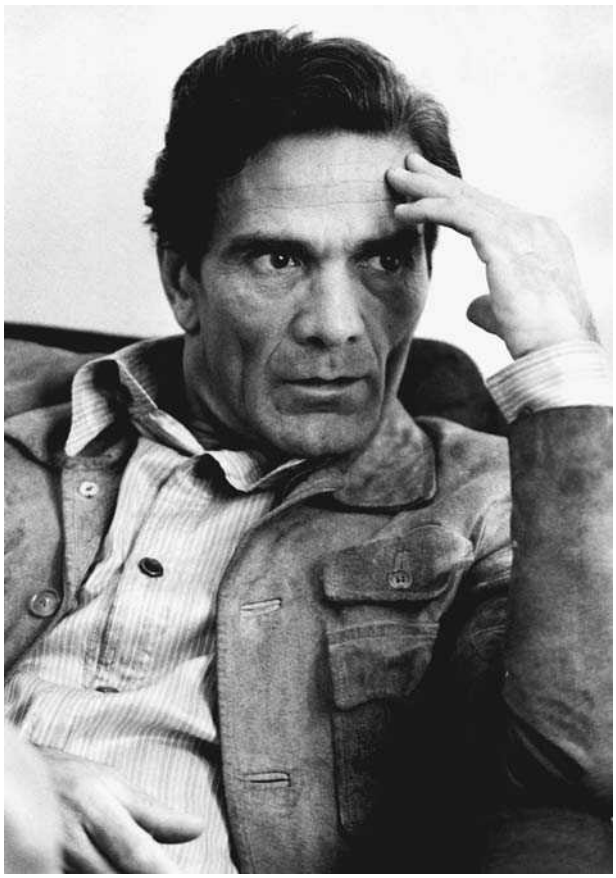
Christopher Sharrett

Aaron, 1975). Straub's films were and are infuriating even to committed radicals because of their extremely slow, non-narrative style and apparently apolitical content—Godard was upset with *The Chronicle of Anna Magdalena Bach* for its refusal to engage with the events of the late 1960s, although Straub responded that the film was his contribution to the people of Vietnam in support of their struggle against the United States invasion.



Pier Paolo Pasolini. **© HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/ CORBIS.**

Constantin Costa-Gavras (b. 1933) might be seen as a crossover figure in the international leftist cinema, working in the United States and France as well as his native Greece. Costa-Gavras made an impression with his 1968 film *Z*, about a coup in Greece that brought a military dictatorship in the 1960s. *Z* resonates with various events of the 1960s, including the assassination of John F. Kennedy. His 1982 film *Missing* was a fictionalized account of the 1972 United States–sponsored coup against Chilean president Salvador Allende and its consequences on a meek American businessman and his family. Since the 1980s Costa-Gavras's political commitments and artistic achievements have been inconsistent.

HOLLYWOOD AND THE LEFT

Marxist and other radical ideologies tended to find their way into the United States cinema following the devastating impact of the Great Depression of the 1930s on American capitalism. Some films embraced a point of view reflecting merely the liberal social policies and outlook of President Franklin Roosevelt (1933–1945), whose New Deal defined the social worldview of several generations. Liberalism, designed to co-opt and diffuse a rising tide of Marxist and socialist activity in the United States during the 1930s, appeared in the films of conservative directors, including John Ford's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), and the various populist films of the less reactionary Frank Capra (1897–1991), such as *Meet John Doe* (1941) and *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939). Films such as *Our Daily Bread* (King Vidor, 1934) celebrated the collectivist spirit that accompanied phases of the New Deal and seemed to invoke the stylistics of the Soviet cinema.

World War II caused Hollywood to take complex political turns. Because the Soviet Union was allied with the United States in fighting Nazism, the film industry, working with the Office of War Information, made films that burnished Stalin's image and even helped justify his purges of many of the original supporters of the October Revolution. The most famous and rather bizarre example is *Mission to Moscow* (Michael Curtiz, 1943), about the globetrotting of Ambassador Joseph Davies that becomes a paean to Stalin as ally. After World War II, the Hollywood studios would renounce such films while helping the government condemn various directors, screenwriters, and producers as part of an international communist plot. In the climate of the Cold War, members of the film community were called before the House Un-American Activities Committee, which aimed to root out suspected communists but also to roll back the pro-union, pro-socialist activity of the Great Depression as well as delegitimate Roosevelt's progressive social programs. A "blacklist" was created to purge communists and "fellow travelers" from the cinema. The most notorious phase of this process was the case of the Hollywood Ten, a group of writers and directors including Ring Lardner Jr. (1915–2000), Alvah Bessie (1904–1985), John Howard Lawson (1894–1977), Herbert Biberman (1900–1971), Dalton Trumbo (1905–1976), Albert Maltz (1908–1985), Samuel Ornitz (1890–1957), Edward Dmytrk (1908–1999), Adrian Scott (1912–1973), and Lester Cole (1904–1985), who were sent to prison for refusing to tell HUAC their political sympathies or to "name names" of suspected communists within the industry. Dmytrk and others cooperated with HUAC when released from prison and were therefore allowed to return to work. Others were kept on the blacklist and forced either out of or to the margins of the industry. HUAC activity continued well into the 1950s, gaining new momentum with the activity of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, a late-coming opportunist to the anti-left crusade.

By the late 1950s the hold of the Cold War on Hollywood tended to loosen somewhat with the censuring and early death, in 1957, of McCarthy, and the attempt by high-profile stars and producers to break the

Yves Montand and Jane Fonda in the midst of a workers' strike in* Tout va bien *(*All's Well, *Jean-Luc Godard and Jean-Pierre Gorin, 1972). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

blacklist. Kirk Douglas hired Dalton Trumbo to write the screenplay for his epic *Spartacus* (1960); at approximately the same time, Otto Preminger hired Trumbo to write *Exodus* (1960). Some of the blacklisted filmmakers worked on low-profile projects that received little distribution in their day, such as Herbert Biberman's *Salt of the Earth* (1954), with a screenplay by Michael Wilson (1914–1978; also blacklisted—he would write *Lawrence of Arabia* [1962] but did not gain screen credit for it until years after the film's release), produced by Paul Jarrico (1915–1997), another victim of the witch hunt. *Salt of the Earth*, which recreates a strike by white and Hispanic mine workers in New Mexico, cannot be termed Marxist since it does not challenge the mine owners' right to control resources; but the film has powerful left sentiments and is rather pioneering in its views of race and gender liberation as necessary to class struggle.

American cinema in the postwar period, though rarely explicitly Marxist, often contained powerful condemnations of the intellectual and spiritual bankruptcy of the bourgeois life extolled by 1950s conservatism. Sirk's melodramas are perceptive comments, made by a European émigré observing the scene, on the limits of American middle- and upper-class life, with its social and economic contradictions and forms of repression. The melodrama is, in fact, the filmic site that seems to show, in the context of the 1950s, deep skepticism toward the American ideological program of restoring a sense of normality shattered by the Great Depression. *Picnic* (Joshua Logan, 1955), *Rebel Without a Cause* (Nicholas Ray, 1955), *Bigger than Life* (Ray, 1956), *Some Came Running* (Vincente Minnelli, 1958), *Home from the Hill* (Minnelli, 1960), and *Strangers When We Meet* (Richard Quine, 1960) are all stunning rebukes of American patriarchal bourgeois civilization. Even the Western, Hollywood's traditionally conservative genre, showed the cracks in the postwar ideological facade in films such as *High Noon* (Fred Zinneman, 1952) and *Man of the*

West (Anthony Mann, 1958). Rather like the films of Renoir, Buñuel, and Pasolini, these films and later works of Hollywood seem less involved in offering a revolutionary solution than diagnosing the maladies of life under the capitalist social order.

THE THIRD WORLD

The cinema of Latin America, Asia, and Africa has produced what many critics argue to be the most radical cinema, despite often meager production resources of the overexploited nations interested in participating in cinematic discourse about Western imperialism. Many Third World films of a radical orientation enjoy little if any distribution within the United States; as a consequence, the work of Marxist directors from Latin America or Africa are often lost to all but the most diligent radical scholars. A key example of the problem is *Hora de los hornos* (*The Hour of the Furnaces*, 1967), by the Argentine director Fernando Solanas (b. 1936), with Octavio Getino (b. 1935) and Santiago Alvarez (1919–1998), one of the most radical condemnations, in agitprop form, of American and European imperialism ever filmed, which has yet to appear in the United States in a serviceable video or DVD version. The Cuban filmmaker Santiago Alvarez is perhaps the most renowned documentarian working in a communist country. His rather modest, often satirical agitprop films, such as *LBJ* (1968), and the tributes to Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh, *Hasta la victoria siempre* (Until the Victory Always, 1967), and *79 primaveras* (*79 Springs*, 1969), are remarkable works partaking fully of the avant-garde tradition in their satirical montage, their caustic condemnation of imperialism, and their celebration of the international struggle for liberation. Another Cuban filmmaker, Tomás Gutiérrez Alea (1928–1996), offers a sophisticated meditation on liberalism and its hypocritical equivocations in *Memorias del subdesarrollo* (*Memories of Underdevelopment*, 1968).

Africa's most renowned radical director is perhaps the Senegalese filmmaker Ousmane Sembene (b. 1923), whose films offer sublime, understated challenges to Western imperialism in a career spanning almost forty years. His *Emitai* (God of Thunder, 1971) is representative of his project of reclaiming African identity as it forces the Western viewer to understand her or his own imagination, and the ways by which this imagination has been projected on Africa. Concerned with the French occupation of Senegal during World War II and a resultant massacre, the film is among the most important postwar challenges by an African filmmaker. Sembene's film *Xala* (*The Curse*, 1975) deconstructs the colonialist mindset as internalized by the colonized—as such, *Xala* is a kind of cinema reflection on the essential thesis of Frantz Fanon's pivotal 1961 study *The Wretched of the Earth*. *Guelwaar* (1992) is an especially relevant comment on conflicts between the Muslim and Christian worlds in contemporary Africa, as it foregrounds the ongoing struggle for freedom from colonialism.

In the Middle East, Iran at the beginning of the twenty-first century seems to have the strongest potential for the production of a radical cinema despite its theocratic government. Dariush Mehrjui (b. 1939) appears an heir to Buñuel in such films as *Baanoo* (*The Lady*, 1999) and *Dayereh mina* (*The Cycle*, 1978). The prolific filmmaker Abbas Kiarostami (b. 1940) has enjoyed much acclaim in recent years for his largely humanist films.

THE 1960s AND AFTER

During the Vietnam War, which by the late 1960s brought a major wave of dissent in the United States, the Hollywood cinema tended to portray a society on the verge of disintegration: Arthur Penn's *The Chase* (1965) and *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), Dennis Hopper's *Easy Rider* (1969), and Sam Peckinpah's *The Wild Bunch* (1969). Penn's *Alice's Restaurant* (1969) showed sympathy for the youth counterculture of the 1960s. During the 1970s audiences that had witnessed the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal were drawn to disaster films such as *Earthquake* and *The Towering Inferno* (1974), whose pleasures resided in watching the destruction of symbols of mainstream society. In the horror genre, *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* (1974) and *Dawn of the Dead* (1978) portrayed the monstrousness of post-Vietnam America. Several films examined the war and its consequences, the most famous of which are *The Deer Hunter* (1978) and *Apocalypse Now* (1979). In the late 1980s, Oliver Stone (b. 1946) made two films about the war, *Platoon* (1986) and *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989), showing the coming-apart of American myth and the social confidence that permitted the war to occur. A common critical view of Marxist film scholars is that few if any Vietnam films examine the role of imperialism and colonialism in shaping war policy.

The Hollywood cinema from the 1960s until the presidency of Ronald Reagan (1981–1989) tended to offer challenges to the American ideological system that sometimes had obvious Marxist aspects. This was due in part to the collapse of the studio system, the rise of independent cinema, and the American crisis in ideological confidence. The tendencies of this new cinema may be best represented in *Heaven's Gate* (Michael Cimino, 1980), an epic rethinking of the Western that saw the winning of the West as class struggle. A new, corporatized studio system developed in the 1980s and 1990s, and adversarial cinema saw a gradual demise simultaneous with the public embrace of the status quo following

the collapse of the Soviet Union. Still, challenges to the political-economic-social order, sometimes of a limited or compromised nature, occasionally appear in the commercial cinema of the new century, including, among others, the films of Todd Haynes, David O. Russell's *Three Kings* (1997), and David Fincher's *Fight Club* (1999).

SEE ALSO *Class; Ideology; Russia and Soviet Union*

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MELODRAMA

Few artistic movements have provoked such strong emotions as has melodrama over the years. From sneers of derision to tears of empathy, melodrama has the peculiar facility to divide and polarize popular and critical opinion. The study of the origin and influence of melodrama in cinema has likewise generated more heated and contradictory debate than perhaps any other area of enquiry within film scholarship and criticism. Melodrama cannot be defined simply as a genre, as it frequently defies attempts at generic classification. Rather, the history of the term's use in film scholarship demonstrates many of the debates and limitations of genre theory.

MELODRAMA AND MEANING

Melodrama is a word with at least three distinct meanings and there has been a tendency in critical debate to slip from one context to another in using the term.

First, melodrama refers to a specific theatrical genre that emerged in Europe, especially France and England, during the late eighteenth century and became extremely popular during the nineteenth century. The term was originally used by Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) to describe his play *Pygmalion* (1770). Rousseau wished to distinguish between the staging of his own production and the popular Italian opera, using the term "mélodrame" to describe a form of drama where music would accompany the spoken word to embellish and accentuate the emotional content of the dialogue. While Rousseau's dramatic innovation was a short-lived phenomenon, it eventually provided the name for a new and popular theatrical genre that emerged as a consequence of licensing legislation introduced for the regulation of theater in the two countries. A further distinction began to be made during the late eighteenth century between the licensed, "legitimate" theater that was legally able to stage plays and the "illegitimate," popular theaters where the spoken word was not permitted. It was in such theaters that a new form of entertainment started to emerge that combined music, dance, drama, and older folk entertainment forms such as pantomime, circus, and harlequinade in ever more sophisticated and spectacular forms. Thus the melodrama was born.

At a narrative level, the melodrama of the period was marked by its concern with complex and sensational narratives involving devices such as mistaken identities, twins separated at birth, stolen inheritances, star-crossed lovers, and the eternal struggle between good and evil, often represented by the virtuous poor being oppressed by decadent aristocrats and, increasingly during the nineteenth century, by the heartless industrialist. Although the licensing acts that contributed to the emergence of melodrama were repealed during the final years of the eighteenth century in France and the early nineteenth century in England, melodrama's popularity was such that it became perhaps the most ubiquitous of theatrical forms during the nineteenth century, developing, during the course of that century, an increasingly sophisticated formal language. Elaborate staging techniques, including the development of technological innovations that enabled rapid scene changes, the use of revolves and pulleys (to produce the effect of parallel action and scenes) and, above all, the use of spectacle became central features of theatrical melodrama. All of these narrative, stylistic, and technical devices,

well established by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, clearly influenced the development of early narrative cinema, which drew very clearly on the established and popular theatrical genre of melodrama. The work of D. W. Griffith (1875–1948), for example, is clearly indebted to theatrical melodrama; indeed, several of his films, most notably *Orphans of the Storm* (1921), were adaptations of popular theatrical melodramas.

Second, melodrama and "melodramatic" are terms that have a popular, common-sense usage as pejorative descriptions usually relating to a specific performance or narrative style regarded as artificial, excessively emotional, unrealistic, or anachronistic. This use of the term sees melodrama as formulaic, sentimental, old-fashioned, and inferior to "serious" drama; it is often equated with soap opera. This value judgment regarding melodrama has frequently been applied to cinema aimed at a female audience and/or films featuring female protagonists. There is a clear yet problematic link made in such usage between excessive emotion, sentimentality, and the feminine or feminine concerns. This is an issue that many feminist film scholars have discussed, most notably Christine Gledhill, Pam Cook, and Laura Mulvey, all of whom have noted that ostensibly male critics and directors have designated the many so-called "woman's films" of Classical Hollywood as melodrama and as a consequence have diminished the female point of view and the concerns that such films attempt to address. *Stella Dallas* (1937), for example, and *Mildred Pierce* (1945), both regarded as "maternal melodramas," tell stories of mothers who struggle to achieve financial and social acceptance and security primarily for the sake of less than grateful children. *Now, Voyager* (1942), *Dark Victory* (1939), and *Letter from an Unknown Woman* (1948) are archetypical examples of the woman's film as melodrama, with their suffering heroines, themes of lost or unrequited love, and overt emotional appeal. While such films at points perhaps have lacked critical respectability, they have been consistently popular with audiences and closely associated with a group of female stars who continue to epitomize a very particular stylized and emotional performance style associated with film melodrama. Successful actresses such as Joan Crawford (1904–1977), Bette Davis (1908–1989), Barbara Stanwyck (1907–1990), Lana Turner (1921–1995), and Jane Wyman (b. 1914) consolidated their careers starring in such films. Likewise, a succession of directors became associated with the woman's film, including George Cukor (1899–1983), Max Ophuls (1907–1957), Irving Rapper (1898–1999), John Stahl (1886–1950), King Vidor (1894–1982), William Wyler (1902–1981), and Mervin LeRoy (1900–1987).

MELODRAMA AND FILM STUDIES

Melodrama is also a term that has currency within film studies debate that has a sometimes uncomfortable connection with the two understandings of the term already discussed.

The term entered the lexicon of film studies initially through auteurist interests in the work of European émigré directors working in Hollywood during the 1950s, particularly a group of films made by Douglas Sirk (1897–1987) during his years as a contract director at Universal, among them *Magnificent Obsession* (1954), *All That Heaven Allows* (1955), *Written on the Wind* (1956), and *Imitation of Life* (1959). Sirk used the term melodrama to describe a form of drama characterized by high emotion and its affective qualities in an unambiguous and rather ironic manner in order to articulate his own distaste for their overtly sentimental plots. Melodrama at this point was seized upon by a generation of scholars to describe this "rediscovered" form of cinema, and Sirk's films were regarded as the epitome of a newly identified, though far from clearly defined, genre that was more complex ideologically than previously had been thought.

In 1971 Thomas Elsaesser, taking Sirk's lead, argued that the focus of film melodrama of 1950s Hollywood is the bourgeois family and that it is distinguished by a strong sense of ideological contradiction reflecting wider uncertainties, fears, and neuroses prevalent in postwar Eisenhower America. For Elsaesser, this ideological contradiction is expressed in the family melodrama primarily through *mise-en-scène*, music, and performance. From this perspective, *mise-en-scène* is perhaps the most important melodramatic device, filling in the gaps, as it were, between what the characters are unable or unwilling to express. For Elsaesser and other scholars such as Paul Willemen and, later, Thomas Schatz, the *mise-en-scène* in melodrama becomes overburdened with meaning. Anxieties and contradictions not explicitly expressed within the narrative are displaced onto objects, constructing the bourgeois home as a stifling environment for its inhabitants, as in Sirk's and Vincente Minnelli's films. Later in the 1970s Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and Laura Mulvey expanded on this argument, suggesting that the ideological contradictions contained in the family melodrama were so marked that at moments of high tension, narrative coherence breaks down. In effect, they claimed, these contradictions become so intense that they actually ruptured the cohesiveness of the classical narrative structure. As Nowell-Smith notes, "The undischarged emotion which cannot be accommodated in the action, subordinated as it is to the demands of family/lineage/inheritance is traditionally expressed in the music and in

DOUGLAS SIRK

b. Detlef Sierck, Hamburg, Germany, 26 April 1897, d. 14 January 1987

No other director has been more closely associated with the concept of melodrama in cinema than Douglas Sirk. His best known and most financially successful films, produced by Ross Hunter for Universal Studios during the mid-1950s, have become for critics and scholars the archetypical examples of what Thomas Elsaesser describes as family melodrama.

Born into a middle-class family in Hamburg at the turn of the century, Detlef Sierck began his career in the German theater during the years of the Weimar Republic, directing plays by Bertolt Brecht, Georg Kaiser, and Kurt Weill, among others. He became involved in the cinema working as a director for the state-run studio Ufa, directing such notable works as *Zu neuen Ufern* (*To New Shores*, 1937) and *La Habanera* (1937). While many of his contemporaries fled Germany under the Nazi regime, Sierck did not leave until the end of the 1930s. Arriving in Hollywood at the start of the 1940s, Sierck (now known as Douglas Sirk) initially worked for Columbia before becoming a contract director for Universal in 1946. As one of Universal's house directors, he worked on a diverse range of projects ranging from war films and thrillers to westerns, comedies, and musicals, but it was the films he made with Hunter in the 1950s that established Sirk's reputation as the quintessential director of Hollywood melodrama. *Magnificent Obsession* (1954), *All That Heaven Allows* (1955), *Written on the Wind* (1956), and *Imitation of Life* (1959), featuring lavish production design and convoluted narratives concerning doomed romances, improbable coincidences, and tear-jerking denouements, made stars of Rock Hudson, Robert Stack, and Dorothy Malone as well as consolidating the careers of Jane Wyman and Lana Turner.

While popular with audiences, Sirk's films were often condemned by contemporary film critics as examples of the sensationalism and sentimentality of popular cinema. However, in France, the critics of the influential *Cahiers du Cinèma*, notably François Truffaut and Jean-Luc Godard, praised Sirk's distinctive visual style. In the early 1970s a new generation of film scholars, notably Thomas Elsaesser, Paul Willemen, Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, and Fred Camper, "rediscovered" Sirk's films, hailing them as supreme examples of a subversive critique of postwar American society expressed through stylized *mise-en-scène* drawing on irony and Brechtian alienating devices. Sirk's work has influenced many subsequent filmmakers including Rainer Werner Fassbinder, Martin Scorsese, John Waters, Pedro Almodóvar, Jonathan Demme, and Todd Haynes.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Zu neuen Ufern (*To New Shores*, 1937, as Detlef Sierck), *La Habanera* (1937, as Detlef Sierck), *Hitler's Madman* (1943), *Magnificent Obsession* (1954), *All That Heaven Allows* (1955), *There's Always Tomorrow* (1956), *Written on the Wind* (1956), *The Tarnished Angels* (1958), *A Time to Love and a Time to Die* (1958), *Imitation of Life* (1959)

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John Mercer

the case of film in certain elements of the *mise-en-scène*" (Nowell-Smith, p. 73).

Throughout the 1970s and well into the 1980s, critical discussion of film melodrama was constrained by two theoretical paradigms, psychoanalysis and neo-Marxist ideology, framing debate around the terms of reference, concerns, and generic features of melodrama for nearly thirty years, as well as Sirk's preeminent place as director. This critical view of melodrama has additionally had a significant influence on a generation of filmmakers who emerged during the period when film theorists were rediscovering Sirk's work. The most prominent figure to have been influenced by this theoretically informed notion of melodrama was the German New Wave director, writer, and actor, Rainer Werner Fassbinder (1945–1982). Legend has it that Fassbinder first saw a retrospective of Sirk's Hollywood films at a festival in Berlin in 1971 and was so inspired that he instantly drove to

Douglas Sirk. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Switzerland to speak with the retired director in person at his home in Lugano. It is certainly true to say that Fassbinder's work demonstrates some degree of debt to the stylization, alienating devices, and subversive social critique that critics attribute to Sirk's films. This influence is very apparent in films such as *Angst essen Seele auf* (*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*, 1974) often, incorrectly, seen as a remake of Sirk's *All That Heaven Allows*, in which a socially unacceptable relationship between an older woman and a younger man causes disruption. However, in Fassbinder's film the older woman is an elderly cleaner (Brigitte Mira) who falls in love with a Moroccan laborer (El Hedi ben Salem) rather than Jane Wyman's glamorous widow falling for Rock Hudson's brooding, free-spirited gardener, as in Sirk's film. Throughout Fassbinder's short but extremely prolific career (he made nearly forty films in less than ten years), Sirk's Hollywood melodramas were to become stylistic touchstones that provided a rich source of inspiration. Sirk's use of reflections and onscreen space, for example, are apparent in Fassbinder's *Die Bitteren Tränen der Petra von Kant* (*The Bitter Tears of Petra Von Kant*, 1972) and *Chinesisches Roulette* (*Chinese Roulette*, 1976), the garish use of color is evident in *Lola* (1981) and *Querelle* (1982), ironic social criticism is evident in *Händler der vier Jahreszeiten* (*The Merchant of Four Seasons*, 1972) and *Faustrecht der Freiheit* (*Fox and His Friends*, 1975) and the suffering female protagonist in *Sehnsucht der Veronika Voss* (*Veronika Voss*, 1982) and *Die Ehe der Maria Braun* (*The Marriage of Maria Braun*, 1979).

Sirk's melodramas have also been cited as influences on the work of an even more disparate range of directors, from Martin Scorsese (b. 1942) to John Waters (b. 1946). In recent years the work of the internationally acclaimed Spanish director Pedro Almodóvar (b. 1949) clearly demonstrates the influence of Sirk's films through the use of lavish stylization, lurid color schemes, convoluted narratives, and mannered performances. In films such as *Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios* (*Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown*, 1988), *La flor de mi secreto* (*The Flower of My Secret*, 1995), and *All About My Mother* (1999), Almodóvar shows himself to be the natural successor to both Sirk and Fassbinder through his interest in female protagonists and highly emotionally charged and lavishly mounted productions. Todd Haynes (b. 1961), one of the leading figures of the so-called New Queer Cinema and another figure inspired by both Sirk and Fassbinder, gained commercial and critical success with his own revision of Sirk's *All That Heaven Allows* with *Far from Heaven* (2003). For the problem of class, the obstacle that faces the lovers in Sirk's original film, the film substitutes the even more problematic and inflammatory issues of race and sexuality, subjects that the production code would have made it impossible for Sirk's source text to discuss.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN FILM THEORY

Christine Gledhill's forensic introduction to her 1987 edited collection of essays on melodrama, *Home is Where the Heart Is*, outlined the range of debate on the subject until that point and began to open up the possibility for a reconsideration of film melodrama. Primarily, Gledhill discussed the feminist intervention in the debate and pointed to the largely unsuccessful attempts to reconnect film theory with the historical roots of theatrical melodrama. She noted that film studies' notion of melodrama, which is concerned primarily with the domestic and the feminine, has little in common with the theatrical genre of melodrama, which is focused on action, incident, and jeopardy. She called for a more progressive and encompassing engagement with what melodrama is and does in cinema, a call that initially remained largely unanswered, as the model of family melodrama remained entrenched.

By the late 1980s and 1990s, however, such theorists as Linda Williams, Steve Neale, and Rick Altman, as well as Gledhill herself, revisited melodrama to examine these generic assumptions. Steve Neale, for example,

Douglas Sirk's mise-en-scène reveals entrapment and oppresssion in* All that Heaven Allows *(1955). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

investigated the uses of the term melodrama in the trade press during the Classical Hollywood period in order to find evidence of the term being used to describe the same films that scholars now identified as melodrama. His findings suggested that the term usually was not applied to films set in the domestic environment, with feminine concerns, as it is today. In fact, when the term was used it was typically to describe action-orientated films such as those that would now be called gangster films or thrillers. Second, Neale noted that the so-called "woman's films" of Classical Hollywood were not, as had been suggested, considered inferior to male-oriented genres but often were regarded as serious, high-quality dramas in contemporary reviews. Neale thus called the Film Studies account of melodrama as a genre into question, an issue that he expanded upon more fully in a chapter dealing with the problems of identifying melodrama and the "woman's film" as genres in *Genre and Hollywood* (2000). There Neale called fundamental debates around the notion of genre into question by arguing that film scholars should return to industry-based genere definitions and categorization. While the issues that Neale raised are of considerable importance for the development of film scholarship, their implications seem to be opposed to equally important scholarship.

This point was made by Rick Altman, who questions Neale's approach to genre and suggests that his reliance on industrial classification limits the ways in which films can be read and understood. Altman notes that Neale's research is based on a study of the trade press and not of the film industry itself, which Neale seems to regard as interchangeable. Rejecting Neale's idea of relying on industrial classification as the way to identify genre, Altman argues that film scholarship should open up cinema to interpretations that are not limited by industrial factors. For Altman, melodrama is one of the best

VINCENTE MINNELLI

b. Lester Anthony Minnelli, Chicago, Illinois, 28 February 1903, d. 25 July 1986

Minnelli began his career in the 1930s as a theater costume and set designer in Chicago and on Broadway. The exuberant love of theatrical spectacle, evident in all of Minnelli's work, led to his early employment as a set designer for Busby Berkeley and others before he gained his first chance to direct with the musical *Cabin in the Sky* (1943). Minnelli is perhaps best known to a wide audience as a director of some of the most successful Hollywood musicals of the 1940s and 1950s, including *An American in Paris* (1951), *Ziegfeld Follies* (1946), *The Pirate* (1948), *The Band Wagon* (1953), *Kismet* (1955), *Gigi* (1958), and *Meet Me in St Louis* (1944), the most famous of several creative collaborations with his wife, Judy Garland.

In addition to his considerable popular reputation and commercial success as MGM's premier director of musicals, Minnelli also made a series of dramas that many critics have seen as typifying Hollywood melodrama, including the sensationally lurid *The Bad and the Beautiful* (1952). *Two Weeks in Another Town* (1962) is an overheated depiction of of the Hollywood film industry, while *The Cobweb* (1955) is set in a mental institution and stars Richard Widmark, Gloria Grahame, and Lauren Bacall in a complex love triangle. Others include the family melodrama *Home From the Hill* (1960); *Some Came Running* (1958), with Frank Sinatra as a disillusioned writer returning to his hometown following the war; and the notorious *Tea and Sympathy* (1956), a tellingly repressed and neurotic depiction of homosexual confusion in a boys' school.

Minnelli's films, especially his melodramas, have been the focus of attention for film theorists for a variety of reasons. For some, the rhetoric of Minnelli's musicals exemplifies the stylistic and narrative strategies of the genre; while for others the filmic devices of both Minnelli's musicals and his melodramas demonstrate repressed ideological conflicts and tensions that erupt at moments of high drama through music and *mise-en-scène*. From this perspective, the films may be read through recourse to the psychoanalytic concept of conversion hysteria, which accounts for the excessive and stylized quality of Minnelli's work. For still others, Minnelli stands as a good example of the distinction between the auteur, whose work possesses and is governed by a consistency of artistic vision, and the stylist or metteur en scène, the category that Andrew Sarris claims Minnelli typifies.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Cabin in the Sky (1943), *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), *The Clock* (1945), *The Pirate* (1948), *Madame Bovary* (1949), *Father of the Bride* (1950), *An American in Paris* (1951), *The Bad and the Beautiful* (1952), *The Band Wagon* (1953), *Brigadoon* (1954), *The Cobweb* (1955), *Lust for Life* (1956), *Tea and Sympathy* (1957), *Some Came Running* (1958), *Home from the Hill* (1960), *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1962), *Two Weeks in Another Town* (1962)

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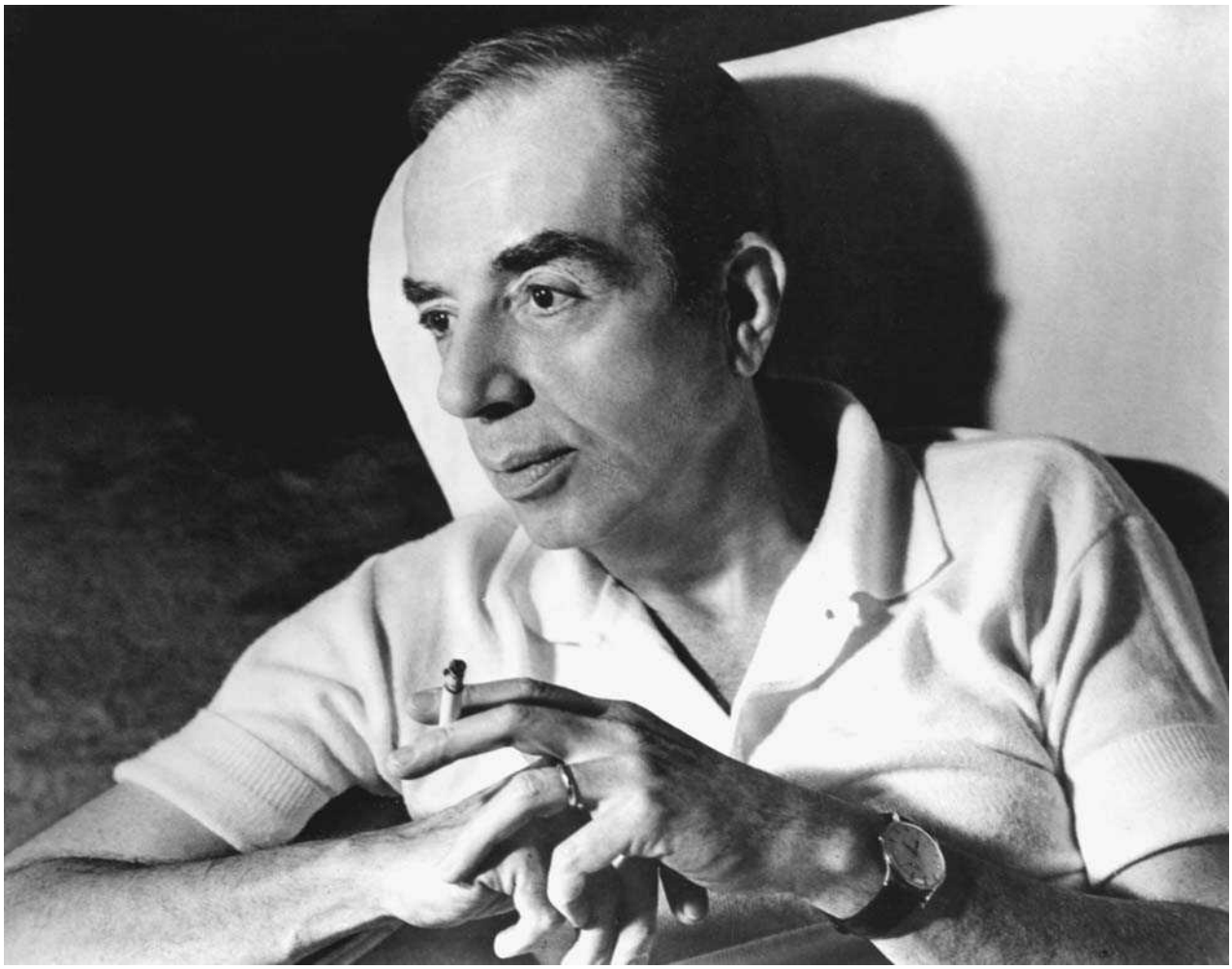
John Mercer

examples of a category largely constructed through film scholarship that has enabled critics to discuss a range of otherwise disparate films. Altman also usefully argues that while film theorists may have formulated the notion of the family melodrama, this idea is not antithetical to the more traditional notion of melodrama based on high drama and action that Neale notes was the industry-based classification. Altman's arguments about melodrama and questions of genre more generally open up a far more inclusive and sophisticated notion of both theoretical terms, which acknowledge that different groups (the film industry, film critics, scholars, audiences) have different conceptions of genre and that specific film genres can be understood only by recognizing them all. Barbara Klinger builds upon this idea in an analysis of Sirk's "classic" melodramas (1993). She suggests that



Vincente Minnelli. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

there is no single definitive meaning to any film or group of films, that in fact all films operate in a "network of meaning" based on the discourses within the film industry and among scholars, film critics, and audiences alike.

The most significant contemporary developments in the melodrama debate have been offered by Linda Williams and Christine Gledhill, both of whom have made an invaluable contribution to understanding of the form, particularly as it relates to issues of feminism. The work of both theorists is informed by Peter Brooks's important study of theatrical and literary melodrama, *The Melodramatic Imagination* (1976), which argues that melodrama is a rhetorical strategy that articulates the struggle between moral forces in the modern world. For Gledhill and Williams, as for Brooks, melodrama is primarily concerned with morality and uses a heightened emotional, visual, and stylistic language to convey and articulate moral dilemmas. Both Gledhill (in *Reinventing Film Studies*, 2000) and Williams argue that it is necessary to look beyond generic boundaries to discuss melodrama and suggest that it is more useful to think about melodrama as a "modality" or an "expressive code." Melodrama is thus more than a genre and is not confined to the established categories of the "woman's film" or the family melodrama, but is a narrative and stylistic register that appears across a wide range of cinematic texts. Williams (1998) goes even further by claiming that melodrama is not merely one of a range of rhetorical devices, but is in fact the dominant mode of American filmmaking.

Williams argues that melodrama is a central feature of American cinema and American culture more generally and can be traced from its roots in the theater through nineteenth-century sentimental and romantic literature, through early cinema in the work of Cecil B. De Mille (1881–1959) and D. W. Griffith and Classical

Hollywood, to the contemporary work of directors such as Francis Copolla and Steven Spielberg. As examples, Williams analyzes Vietnam films such as *The Deer Hunter* (1978) and *Platoon* (1986) as contemporary articulations of the melodramatic mode. This encompassing notion of melodrama opens up a far wider range of texts for analysis as examples of melodrama, enabling the discussion of action films such as *Die Hard* (1988) and *Gladiator* (2000) with their male protagonists and seemingly masculine concerns, within this context. This wider view of melodrama also makes it possible to look outside mainstream Hollywood cinema to find melodrama in, for example, popular Hindi cinema, Chinese cinema, and cinema aimed at marginalized groups in society such as gays and lesbians, testifying to the form's continuing influence and relevance as a distinctive form of cinematic expression.

SEE ALSO *Feminism; Film Studies; Genre; Ideology; Psychoanalysis; Woman's Pictures*

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John Mercer

MERCHANDISING

While there has been merchandise associated with Hollywood films since at least the 1930s, the deliberate production of additional commodities associated with motion pictures has become more common since the 1970s, and accelerated tremendously during the last few decades of the twentieth century. For some films, merchandise provides a lucrative source of additional profits for film companies, sometimes even contributing production funds.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND DEFINITIONS

Until the 1960s and 1970s, relatively little merchandising activity took place in Hollywood, except by the Walt Disney Company. Merchandising started for the Disney brothers with the tremendous success of Mickey Mouse's *Steamboat Willie* (1928). In 1929 the company was offered $300 to put Mickey Mouse on writing tablets. The extra income helped to finance expensive production at the Disney studio. Thus, during the 1930s, a wide range of Disney products appeared in markets around the world, everything from soap to ice cream to Cartier diamond bracelets. Mickey Mouse is often claimed to be the most popular licensed character in the world and still appears on thousands of merchandise items and publications.

Disney continued to develop merchandise connected with its films and film characters over the years. But the Disney Company was the exception, rather than the rule. Though the motion picture industry may have been relatively slow to pick up on merchandising, this type of activity accelerated dramatically during the 1990s and early twenty-first century. The current phase of film-based licensing can be traced back specifically to the merchandising successes of *Star Wars* (1977) and *E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial* (1982), but has continued with the blockbuster, action-figure based films of the 1990s (for instance, *Batman* [1989] and *Spider-Man* [2002]), as well as the successful franchise films in the early twenty-first century (such as *The Lord of the Rings* [2001–2003] and *Harry Potter* [beginning in 2001]). Further merchandising opportunities and close relationships between products and films are presented in films such as *A Bug's Life* (1998) and *Toy Story* (1995), where the film is about toys or characters particularly suitable for toys.

The distinction between tie-ins and merchandise is often blurred, as some merchandise is produced for tie-ins. Merchandise can be defined as commodities based on movie themes, characters or images that are designed, produced, and marketed for direct sale, and not connected to established products or services, as is the case with tie-ins. An example of a tie-in is represented by the promotion of Disney films at McDonald's restaurants, even though there may be some merchandise items involved in such activities. Licensing is the legal act or process of selling or buying rights to produce commodities using specific copyrighted properties. Merchandising can be thought of as the mechanical act of making or selling a product based on a copyrighted property.

There is an extremely wide variety of movie-based merchandise, including items based on a specific movie, character, or theme, or ongoing movie characters and themes. While there has been a strong emphasis on children's toys, games and other items (lunch boxes, school supplies, and so forth), and on video games, other movie-based merchandise includes home furnishings (clocks, towels, bedding, mugs, telephones), clothing, jewelry, stationery items, print material (novelizations

A Star Wars fan dressed as Darth Vader waits for a midnight sale of toys from the new Star Wars movie at Toys 'R' Us in New York City (2 April 2005). © SETH WENIG/REUTERS/CORBIS.

and posters, for example), food (especially cereals and candy), and decorations (such as Christmas ornaments). There are also other, more unusual, less mass-produced items that sometimes accompany (or follow) movie releases, including "art objects" such as prints, sculptures, ceramic figures, and animation sets. For instance, in 2005 one could purchase sculptures of most of the characters from *Lord of the Rings*, including a bronze statue of Gandalf for around $6,500. Other merchandise is based on the celebrity status of Hollywood stars (for instance, products with images with Marilyn Monroe and James Dean are plentiful), or generic movie or studio themes. Indeed, many of the majors feature studio tours, complete with well-stocked gift shops offering a wide range of merchandise featuring their familiar corporate logos.

Movie-based merchandising can be viewed as part of the proliferation of commercialization in Hollywood, the increase in animated features, and the rerelease and remaking of films with readily identifiable, ongoing characters and themes (or franchises). However, this type of activity also is part of a larger, more general merchandising and licensing trend. For instance, entire TV programs and characters—especially those aimed at children—are an obvious and prevalent form of merchandising, while sports teams and players, rock stars, and musical groups have long histories of licensing and merchandising activities.

Licensed products represented $66.5 billion in retail sales in North America in 1990, but had grown to around $110 billion by 2003, according to the International Licensing Industry Merchandisers' Association (LIMA). While exact statistics on the film industry's merchandising revenue are nearly impossible to find, LIMA's *Licensing Letter* estimates that $16 billion is derived annually from sales of entertainment merchandise; another estimate cites $2.5 billion in royalties from entertainment properties in 2001 (Goldsmith, 2002, p. 7).

It is especially difficult to measure the precise revenue from movie licensing accurately due to the move toward

long-term relationship agreements between licensors and licensees. Although entertainment licensing in the merchandising industry has been influenced by the emergence of merchandise based on other types of properties, there is little question, according to many experts, that film licensing continues to dominate the licensing market. Entertainment licensing is also the most concentrated type of merchandise business, with just a few large players (the major movie studios and broadcasting companies, such as Disney, Fox, and Viacom) dominating the licensing activity.

THE MERCHANDISING PROCESS

Film producers and distributors rarely manufacture film-related products themselves, but license the right to sell these products to other companies (called licensees). In most instances there is no risk to the producer or distributor (the licensor) because the licensee incurs all manufacturing and distribution expenses. The producer/distributor typically receives an advance payment for each product, as well as royalty payments, often between 5 and 10 percent of gross revenues from sales to retailers (in other words, the wholesale price). If the movie does not succeed and the products do not sell, the manufacturer is responsible for the loss (Cones, 1992).

The owners of licensable film properties are most often the major film studios. Special licensing divisions often are organized to handle the company's own copyrighted properties, and sometimes those owned by others as well, for example, Warner's Licensing Corporation of America (LCA) and Disney's Consumer Products division. But even smaller successful film producers sometimes become involved in licensing, as represented by Lucasfilm Licensing. Studios' revenues from merchandise vary greatly depending on the films released in any one year. However, these companies have serious interests in merchandising and consumer goods, as indicated by the $2.5 billion revenues reported by Disney's Consumer Products division in 2004, and the 3,700 active licensees handled by Warner Bros. Consumer Products division.

The major studios realize that not only can the sale of movie-related products generate substantial revenue, but the presales of merchandising rights can sometimes contribute to a film's production budget, as in the case of *Lord of the Rings*, when 10 percent of the budget for the trilogy was apparently raised by selling rights to video games, toys, and merchandise companies. In addition, these products can be useful in promoting films and thus movie-based merchandise is often part of the massive, coordinated promotional campaigns often started months before a film's release. Typically, 40 percent of movie merchandise is sold before a film is released.

Although movie-related merchandise often is common, products based on films are sometimes considered risky for merchandisers, as they ultimately may not be successful and often have short life-spans. Licensees may have to take further risks initially by sinking money into a film that is not completed (or sometimes not even started). On the other hand, a studio may need to change a release date, especially to coincide with the lucrative Christmas season or to avoid other competing films.

In addition, studios and licensees have been cautious after some significant losses in the past. For instance, most agree that the huge number of products associated with *Star Wars: Episode I—The Phantom Menace* (1999) was ultimately unproductive. One problem is that Hollywood-related merchandise has a relatively short time to prove itself on retail shelves before the next big property arrives. As Andrea Hein, Viacom's president of consumer products, explains: "Licensing is all about wanting a piece of something. You've got to have the time and place for that property to be nurtured" (Goldsmith, 2000). Evidently, the success of the merchandise is tied directly to the success of the film. A representative of LIMA states that, "... marketing and merchandising is [sic] never the major driving force behind a film. If a film's no good, no one will buy the product" (Monahan).

It might be noted as well, that many, if not most, movies do not translate well into merchandise and thus have limited merchandising potential. While the *Star Wars* and *Harry Potter* films produce additional revenues from a seemingly endless stream of merchandise, films like *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) and *Life is Beautiful* (1997) have much less merchandising potential. Musicals such as *Saturday Night Fever* (1977), *Grease* (1978), and *Dirty Dancing* (1987) can earn substantial revenues from soundtrack recordings. Moreover, a hit song can promote a film. In fact, music videos have become important marketing tools. The ideals, of course, are film franchises such as *Star Wars*, *Harry Potter*, and other similar films that continue to inspire additional commodities, and thus, additional profits.

Thus, for many films, licensing represents a potential source of income to film companies and merchandisers. The potential merchandising bonanza represents sizable profits as sales of merchandise licensed from movies continue to grow. While the first *Batman* in 1989 grossed $250 million at the box-office and earned $50 million in licensing fees, subsequent films have generated even more products and produced even more revenues. Recently, the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy is said to have attracted over $1.2 billion thus far in merchandising revenues.

CASE STUDY: *SPIDER-MAN*

The first *Spider-Man* film, released in spring 2002, represents an interesting case of movie merchandising. The character of Spider-Man has existed for almost 40 years,

GEORGE LUCAS

b. George Walton Lucas Jr., Modesto, California, 14 May 1944

Early in his life, George Lucas was interested in car racing; however, a serious accident changed his plans. He studied film at the University of Southern California film school, where he made several student films, including the prize-winning *THX–1138: 4EB* (1967). In 1969, Lucas and Francis Ford Coppola formed American Zoetrope, which produced the full-length version of *THX 1138* (1971).

Lucas went on to form his own company, Lucasfilm Ltd., and in 1973 released *American Graffiti* (written and directed by Lucas). The widely acclaimed and innovative *Star Wars* was released in 1977, after Lucas had established ILM (Industrial Light & Magic) to produce the visual effects. The movie had been turned down by several studios before Twentieth Century Fox agreed to distribute it. In a fortuitous move, Lucas agreed to forgo his directing salary in exchange for 40 percent of the film's box office and all merchandising rights. The movie broke box office records and earned seven Academy Awards®, as well as selling so much merchandise that the *Star Wars* series is credited with influencing the growing trend of merchandise accompanying blockbuster films, and has created huge profits for Lucas.

In 1979, Lucas Licensing was formed to oversee the licensing of products and characters from Lucas's films and claims to be one of the most successful film-based merchandising programs in history. Lucas was also involved with Steven Spielberg in creating the *Indiana Jones* series, another blockbuster series accompanied by merchandising handled by Lucas Licensing. The company claims over $8 billion in consumer sales worldwide, including, according to its website, the best-selling boys' action toys of all time, 60 million books in prints, and more than 60 *New York Times* best sellers, and merchandise sold in over 100 countries. In recent years, Lucasfilm has emphasized entertainment software (a Lucasfilm term commonly applied to video games), which is developed and published by LucasArts, formed in 1982.

Lucasfilm, Ltd. handles the business affairs of the companies in George Lucas's empire, including THX, Ltd., Skywalker Sound, Industrial Light & Magic, and Lucas Productions. It not only produces film and television products, but is also involved with visual effects, sound, video games, licensing, and online activity. Important technical developments from Lucas's companies have included the THX System for motion picture sound, plus many developments in visual effects. The company's creative and administrative headquarters is located at Skywalker Ranch in Northern California.

Lucas is considered one of the most successful directors in the industry, and Lucasfilm can arguably be called one of the most successful Hollywood production companies, with five of the twenty highest-grossing films of all time and seventeen Academy Awards®. The company is estimated to have received $1.5 billion in sales in 2001.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

THX 1138 (1971), *American Graffiti* (1973), *Star Wars* (1977), *Star Wars: Episode III—Revenge of the Sith* (2005)

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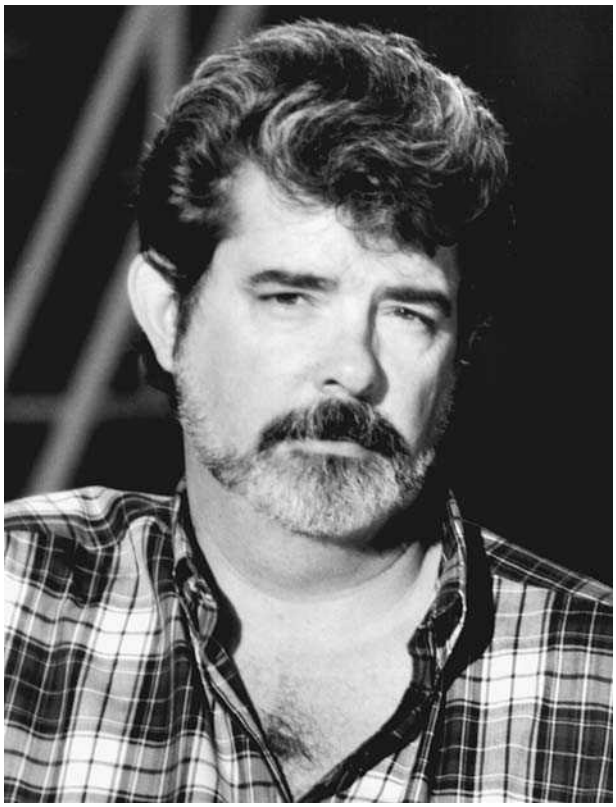
Janet Wasko

created at Marvel Comics in the early 1960s. Prior to its film debut in 2002, the character had been featured in comic books, multiple cartoons, and briefly, a live-action television show. The comics alone are sold in more than 75 countries and in 22 different languages. In spite of this, it took more than fifteen years for a movie on the character to be made. After a complex history, *Variety* reported that Columbia/Sony acquired the rights to produce a feature (including sequels) and rights to produce a live-action TV series for a cash advance of $10–15 million.

With such a long history, it is not surprising that the film was so highly anticipated. Sony Pictures arranged extensive promotion and planned wide-ranging merchandise for the $139 million blockbuster. *Spider-Man* was to be, as the *Business Week*'s Hollywood reporter put it, "the



George Lucas. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

holy grail'' for Sony: a film that would create opportunities for endless tie-ins in the form of fast food, video games, toys, and sequels. The film debuted in May 2002, earning almost $115 million in its opening weekend and over $400 million by the end of November 2002, making it the highest grossing comic book adaptation as well as the highest grossing movie of the summer. Such numbers are particularly impressive in light of estimates that as much as 80 percent of a film's revenue now comes from the sale and rental of videos and DVDs, as well as other merchandising opportunities.

Not surprisingly considering the long, convoluted history that brought Spider-Man to the big screen, the licensing deals for the film were complex as well, with Marvel Enterprises and Sony sharing the royalties in a 50/50 deal managed by the newly formed Spider-Man Merchandising L.P., created in early 2002 to manage the character. In a separate deal, Marvel Enterprises—the publisher of the *Spider Man* comics—also granted the company rights to the comic book version of the hero.

And, so, the merchandising began. The rights to produce every kind of product imaginable were licensed to hundreds of different companies: everything from action figures, games, and dolls to skateboards, bicycles, and birthday party supplies. Spider-Man costumes became the odds-on favorites around Halloween, and ''Spidey'' images adorned everything from boxer shorts to sheets and comforters. The video game rights were sold to Activision, which produces games not only for Sony's Playstation 2, but also for the Microsoft-owned rival X-Box system and for home computers as well. Sony, Marvel, and the various licensees have benefited greatly from the merchandise bonanza, which continues to attract revenues (as well as prompting lawsuits over the dispersal of these revenues). For instance, a company spokesman reported that toys from Spider-Man (the movie) generated over $100 million in total revenue for Marvel in 2002. Subsequently, *Spider-Man 2* appeared in 2004, generating huge box-office returns and additional merchandise, as well as reinvigorating the market for previous Spider-Man products generally. *Spider-Man 3* began filming in 2005 for planned release in 2007.

SEE ALSO *Publicity and Promotion; Video Games; Walt Disney Company*

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Janet Wasko

MEXICO

The history of Mexican cinema parallels and is inexorably connected to the social and political history of twentieth-century Mexico. Emerging during the modernization project of President Porfirio Díaz (1898–1910), Mexican cinema documented the pomp and circumstance of that dictatorship. It followed the various armies of the Mexican Revolution of 1910–1917 into battle and participated in the post-Revolutionary construction of the nation. Since 1930, the industry's national and international successes and failures have been dependent on the state's ever-changing relations with the United States and on the loyalty and support of its domestic audience. Recently, a number of films have experienced unprecedented international critical and economic success. Yet production levels remain historically low and the bulk of financing is dependent on cautious private investors. Like many national film industries, Mexican cinema faces an uncertain future in the face of the increased globalization of Hollywood.

SILENT CINEMA

As soon as the technology of cinema reached Mexico City in 1896, Mexican entrepreneurs were shooting their own versions of the Lumière brothers' "documentary views" and exhibiting them in theatrical venues to upper-class audiences and in hastily erected tents in isolated villages spread out around the vast rural expanse of Mexico. Mexican film historians have remarked on the itinerant nature of these first film entrepreneurs who traveled across the nation to bring this new cinema of attractions to the Mexican people.

By the end of 1899, there were over twenty-two venues in Mexico City where films were exhibited, and new theaters devoted exclusively to film projection were being constructed. In 1911 the number of motion picture theaters in the capital had jumped to forty. Although the nonfiction genre dominated Mexican cinema during these first two decades, a significant number of fiction films were also produced. The production of narrative films ceased during the Mexican Revolution, but documentaries about strategic encounters between Revolutionary factions and government forces proved very popular with Mexican audiences.

Feature filmmaking resumed after the end of the military phase of the Revolution. In 1917 the actress Mimí Derba (1888–1953) and the producer Enrique Rosas (1877–1920) established Azteca Films and produced five films in that one year. Two years later, Azteca Films released the film—based on a famous public incident—that was to go down in history as the first feature-length "specifically Mexican" narrative film, Rosas's *El automovil gris* (*The Grey Automobile*, 1919). But while Mexican filmmakers produced over one hundred silent features and documentaries between 1898 and 1928, the combination of American control over distribution and lack of state support threatened the future of the Mexican film industry. By 1928, 90 percent of all films exhibited throughout Mexico (as well as the rest of Latin America) were produced in the United States.

SOUND AND THE GOLDEN AGE OF MEXICAN CINEMA

The introduction of sound and the ensuing development of well-equipped film production studios in the 1930s (bankrolled by private investment, government loans, and US money) fostered the Golden Age of the

Mexican film industry. In 1929 and 1930, a total of approximately ten feature films along with numerous shorts and newsreels accompanied by some form of synchronized sound were released. The ultimate success of the industry was made possible with the support of President Lázaro Cárdenas (served 1934–1940). Cárdenas established a protectionist policy that included tax exemptions for domestic film production, and his administration created the Financiadora de Películas, a state institution charged with finding private financing. He also instituted a system of loans for the establishment of modern film studios.

Two major types of films emerged during this period: first, a state-supported cinema that promoted the ambitions of Cárdenas and projected a nationalistic aesthetic and ideology exemplified by films such as *Redes* (*The Waves*, 1936) and *Vamanos con Pancho Villa!* (*Let's Go with Pancho Villa*, 1936), and second, films produced primarily for commercial reasons that resembled Hollywood films in terms of narrative strategies, cinematic aesthetics, and modes of production but drew on Mexican literature, theatrical traditions, and contemporary Mexican themes. Measured in terms of box-office receipts, it was the commercial cinema that proved to be the most popular among Mexican audiences in the 1930s. In 1936 the wildly successful film by Fernando de Fuentes (1894–1958), *Allá en el Rancho Grande* (*Out on the Big Ranch*), was filmed in Mexico City. *Allá en el Rancho Grande* introduced one of the most popular genres in Mexican film history, the *comedia ranchera*, a Mexican version of a cowboy musical that incorporated elements of comedy, tragedy, popular music, and folkloric or nationalistic themes. While the *comedia ranchera* became the most popular genre (in 1937 over half of the thirty-eight films released were modeled on de Fuentes's film), other Mexican genres also enjoyed relative success, including the historical epic, the family melodrama, the urban melodrama, and the comedies of Tin Tan (1915–1973) and Cantinflas (1911–1993).

Despite foreign control of exhibition, domestic film production managed to increase from forty-one films in 1941 to seventy films in 1943. What is more important, Mexico's share of its own domestic market grew from 6.2 percent in 1941 to 18.4 percent in 1945. This period was marked by the emergence of an auteurist cinema practice represented by directors such as Emilio Fernández (1903–1986), whose films included *Flor silvestre* (*Wild Flower*, 1943), a revolutionary melodrama, and *Salón México* (*The Mexican Ballroom*, 1949), an example of the *cabaretera* or dancehall film set in the poor urban barrios (neighborhoods) of Mexico City. Another auteur was Luis Buñuel (1900–1983), who made over twenty films in Mexico between 1939 and 1960, including *Los Olvidados* (*The Young and the Damned*, 1950), *Abismos de passion* (*Wuthering Heights*, 1954), and *Susana* (*The Devil and the Flesh*, 1951).

In 1948 the most popular Mexican film of the Golden Age was released. *Nosotros los pobres* (*We the Poor*), directed by Ismael Rodríguez (1917–2004), starred Pedro Infante (1917–1957) as Pepe el Toro, a widowed carpenter raising his sister's daughter, Chachita, as his own, and caring for his invalid mother in the poor, sprawling neighborhoods of Mexico City. Incorporating elements of comedy and tragedy as well as popular music, Rodriguez's film romanticizes the position of the urban underclass at the same time that it reveals many of the adverse conditions they encounter on a daily basis: prostitution, alcoholism and drug addiction, violence, and disease.

Under Miguel Alemán (1946–1952), Mexico established the Crédito Cinematográfica Mexicano (CCM), whose purpose was to help finance the nation's largest film producers. The CCM quickly moved into production and distribution, buying up studios and movie theaters, challenging the exhibition monopoly held by the American financier William O. Jenkins (1878–1963). The government also instituted a number of protectionist measures that nationalized the Banco Cinematográfico and the CCM and exempted the industry from paying state taxes. In addition, it supported the establishment of state distribution with the institutionalization of Películas Nacionales, S.A., in 1947.

These actions were not enough, however, to prevent the subsequent decline of Mexican cinema in the early 1950s, both in terms of quality and quantity. It became very difficult after World War II for small countries like Mexico to enforce import quotas on foreign films. Hollywood's European markets reopened and the United States withdrew its wartime support of the Mexican film industry. Because all sectors of the industry were either owned or capitalized by foreign investors, this removal of support had an immediate, although temporary, effect on Mexican cinema. Film production dropped from seventy-two films in 1946 to fifty-seven in 1947 while, at the same time, producers turned to tried-and-true formula pictures to draw audiences and ensure profits.

The Banco Cinematográfico became fully nationalized by the 1960s and was responsible for generating most of the financing for feature film production in Mexico. Financing was restricted to those producers who could turn the highest profits, and thus low-budget "quickies" became the films of choice in the industry. Producers who were businessmen rather than filmmakers restricted their product to genres such as soft porn, *rancheros*, and the masked wrestler films that appealed to a largely urban, lower-class audience. In the end, the government's measures did nothing to further the

ARTURO RIPSTEIN

b. Mexico City, Mexico, 13 December 1943

Arturo Ripstein, the son of film producer Alfredo Ripstein Jr., studied filmmaking at Mexico's first film school, the Centro Universitario de Estudios Cinematográficos (CUEC), which opened in 1963 at the National Autonomous University in Mexico City (UNAM). A new generation of filmmakers, including Ripstein, was influenced by Grupo Nuevo Cine, a group of young Mexican film critics who published a journal by the same name in the 1960s, and the films of the French New Wave. According to Ripstein, he decided to be a film director after seeing Luis Buñuel's *Nazarín* (*Nazarin*, 1959). In 1962 Ripstein worked as an assistant to Buñuel on *El Ángel exterminador* (*The Exterminating Angel*), and fours years later he directed his first film, *Tiempo de morir* (*Time to Die*, 1966). One of the most prolific and influential directors of the 1970s and 1980s, Ripstein has directed over twenty-five feature films as well as documentaries and shorts. His films have been screened at many international film festivals, including Cannes, and five of them have been awarded "Best Film" at Mexico's version of the Oscars®.

Ripstein's early films, such as *El Castillo de la pureza* (*Castle of Purity*, 1973), *El Lugar sin límites* (*The Place without Limits*, 1978), and *Cadena perpetua* (In for Life, 1979), introduced two themes that would dominate his films over the next twenty years: the repressive nature of the nuclear family and the destructive nature of Mexican codes of masculinity. His films explore central social and cultural topics such as state and familial authoritarianism and homophobia and feature characters doomed by jealousy, guilt, and a nihilistic worldview.

In 1985, with *El Imperio de la fortuna* (*The Realm of Fortune*), Ripstein began a fruitful collaboration with the screenwriter Paz Alicia Garciadiego. One of their most successful collaborations, *Profundo carmesí* (*Deep Crimson*, 1996), which narrates the love story of an aging gigolo and a homely nurse who embark on a killing spree, is based upon a well-known series of murders that took place in the United States during the late 1940s. *Principio y fin* (*The Beginning and the End*, 1993), also written by Garciadiego, and adapted from the novel by the Egyptian author Naguib Mahfouz, returns to Ripstein's earlier themes as it traces the disintegration of a family following the death of the father. His most recent films include *El Evangelio de las maravillas* (*Divine*, 1998), a Buñuelian-influenced work, and an adaptation of Gabriel García Márquez's novella, *El Coronel no tiene quien le escriba* (*No One Writes to the Colonel*, 1999).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

El Castillo de la pureza (*Castle of Purity*, 1973), *El Lugar sin limites* (*Place Without Limits*, 1978), *Cadena perpetua* (In for Life, 1979), *Profundo carmesí* (*Deep Crimson*, 1996)

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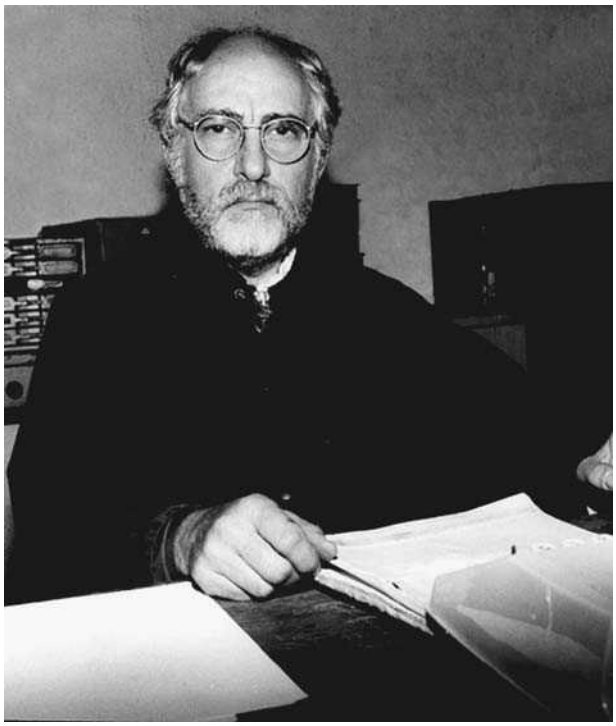
Joanne Hershfield

development of Mexican cinema. Jenkins's monopoly ultimately bought out new distributors and the import quotas were never carried out. Out of 4,346 films screened in Mexico between 1950 and 1959, over half were North American and only 894 were Mexican. This situation continued through the 1960s.

President Luís Echeverría Alvarez (served 1970–1976), who campaigned on a platform of populism and reform, superficially promoted the development of a strong film industry devoted to "national cinema." He supported younger filmmakers who had been left out of the equation during the previous decade and advocated an opening up of Mexican cinema to new ideas. Echeverría oversaw the creation of a national film archive, the Cineteca Nacionál, and the establishment of three state-supported production companies,



Arturo Ripstein. **© IMCINE/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

CONACINE, CONACITE I, and CONACITE II. He encouraged co-productions among these studios, private investors, film workers, and foreign companies. Between 1971 and 1976 the number of state-funded feature films increased from five to thirty-five, while privately funded films dropped from seventy-seven to fifteen as private investors refused to invest their money in "socially conscious films" that had little box-office attraction. In 1974 Echeverría oversaw the establishment of the first national film production school, the Centro de Capacitación Cinematográfica, which facilitated the emergence of a new generation of film directors.

However, the next president, José López Portillo (served 1976–1982), reactivated a policy of privatization, thus reversing Echeverría's successes. The Banco Cinematográfica was formally dissolved, and its functions were transferred to a new state agency. López Portillo appointed his sister, Margarita López Portillo, to head the agency. She immediately reduced state financing of films and closed down CONACITE I and II. Again, the Mexican film industry was dominated by low-budget and lucrative comedies, soft porn, and *narcotráfico* (drug traffic) films.

Miguel de la Madrid assumed the presidency in 1982. The creation in 1983 of the Instituto Mexicano de la Cinematografía (IMCINE), whose role it was to manage Mexico's film policy, was hailed as a significant breakthrough for Mexican cinema. However, while IMCINE helped to finance and promote a few independent films, it had a very small budget and could only support one or two films per year. The Institute's first director, filmmaker Alberto Isaac, reorganized the state-run production and distribution companies and the state film school but proved to be a poor manager, and the tenure of his successor, Enrique Soto Izquierdo, was riddled with corruption. Soto Izquierdo failed to implement a workable state film policy and, as a result, most of the films that saw any kind of fiscal success were low-budget "quickies" funded by private investors.

The election in 1988 of Carlos Salinas de Gortari, a Harvard-educated economist, signaled a profound change in the direction of the Mexican economy. Salinas was committed to a free-market ideology, and in 1990 he began negotiating the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with the United States. Ignacio Durán Loera, the new director of IMCINE, attempted to increase state financing of production through the creation of the Fondo para el Fomento de la Calidad Cinematográfica (Fund for the Promotion of Quality Film Production). While Durán was able to solicit co-production financing from Spain and other foreign investors, it was not enough to keep the industry afloat as state-owned studios and movie houses shut down at the same time that private investors withdrew from the industry. Film production dropped from one hundred films in 1989 to thirty-four in 1991.

However, the international success of IMCINE-financed films such as *Como agua para chocolate* (*Like Water for Chocolate*, 1992), *Amores perros* (*Love's a Bitch*, 2000), and *Y tu mamá también* (*And Your Mother, Too*, 2001) gave Mexican filmmakers recognition and thus access to international financing. (*Amores perros* won numerous awards and grossed $10.2 million in Mexico and $4.7 million in the United States alone.) Perhaps in response to these successes, the Mexican government in 2003 set up a permanent fund with a preliminary budget of $7 million that aims to attract co-production money to support film production. However, today, most of the films and videos in Mexico are still imported from Hollywood. In addition, the Mexican film industry is not just competing with American films or French films, but with multinational co-productions that can generate products with a guaranteed international appeal. It seems that the future of a viable Mexican film industry is dependent on its ability to produce films that appeal to a global audience.

SEE ALSO *Latinos and Cinema; National Cinema*

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Joanne Hershfield

MGM (METRO-GOLDWYN-MAYER)

Created via merger in 1924, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) was in many ways the consummate studio during Hollywood's classical era. With superb resources, top filmmaking talent, and "all the stars in the heavens," MGM factory-produced quality films on a scale unmatched in the industry. The key operatives in that factory system were MGM's producer corps—easily the biggest and the best in the industry—and its studio executives, Louis B. Mayer (1882–1957) and Irving Thalberg (1899–1936), who translated the economic policies and market strategies of parent company Loew's, Incorporated, into a steady output of A-class star vehicles that enabled MGM to dominate and effectively define Hollywood's "Golden Age."

MGM's dominion faded in the postwar era, however, when it failed to meet the monumental challenges facing Hollywood in the 1950s and 1960s. Thus MGM was prey to takeover, and like Paramount, Warners, and United Artists, it was acquired by another firm during the industry-wide recession of the late 1960s. Whereas the other studios were bought by diversified, deep-pocketed conglomerates that enabled them to keep producing and distributing films, MGM had the misfortune to be acquired by real estate tycoon Kirk Kerkorian (b. 1917), who exploited the MGM library and brand name but let the studio languish. Kerkorian would buy and sell MGM three times over a thirty-five-year span, steadily dismantling the studio in the process. A consummate irony of recent film history, in fact, has been the long, slow death of MGM from the 1970s onward, while the industry at large underwent a massive resurgence. Equally ironic in the longer view is MGM's utter collapse in the "New Hollywood," in stark contrast to its dominion over the industry during the classical era.

THE RISE OF METRO-GOLDWYN-MAYER

The creation of MGM was orchestrated by Marcus Loew (1870–1927), who began building a chain of vaudeville and nickelodeon theaters in 1904 and 1905; by 1919, when it became Loew's, Incorporated, it was the leading chain of first-class theaters in the United States, concentrated in the New York area. Loew began to expand beyond film exhibition with the 1920 purchase of Metro Pictures, a nationwide distribution company with modest production facilities in Los Angeles. Two major acquisitions in 1924 completed Loew's expansion into full-scale, vertically integrated operation. The first was Goldwyn Pictures, an integrated company whose major component was its sizable production plant in Culver City. Built in 1915 by studio pioneer Thomas Ince (1882–1924) as the home of Triangle Pictures, the forty-acre expanse featured glass-enclosed stages, a three-story office building, and a full complement of labs, workshops, dressing rooms, storage facilities, and staff bungalows. Cofounder Sam Goldwyn (1882–1974) had been forced out in an earlier power struggle, so Loew was in need of top executives to manage the studio. Thus the second acquisition involved Louis B. Mayer Productions, a small company that focused on A-class pictures and was capably run by Mayer and his young production supervisor, Irving Thalberg (then age twenty-five), who had already supervised production at Universal.

Metro-Goldwyn, as it was initially termed, was run out of New York by Nicholas Schenck (pronounced

LOUIS B. MAYER

b. Eliezer Meir, Minsk, Russia (now Belarus), 4 July 1885 (or possibly 1882), d. 29 October 1957

Mayer was dubbed "Hollywood Rajah" by his biographer, *New York Times* film critic Bosley Crowther, and indeed he was the consummate power not only at MGM but throughout Hollywood during its vaunted Golden Age. Perhaps less creative than the other studio moguls and lacking their passion for movies, Mayer was nevertheless a shrewd administrator with a knack for surrounding himself with top talent—including production executives like Irving Thalberg and his son-in-law David Selznick—and also for maintaining a factory operation that consistently produced quality pictures. He rarely read a script (for that he relied on Kate Corbaley, his personal reader and "storyteller"), nor did he bother with MGM's filmmaking operations. And yet Mayer's taste for high-gloss, wholesome, escapist entertainment, his conservative values, and his naive sentimentality permeated MGM's pictures. He regarded the studio as one big family and himself as its beneficent patriarch, and although he could be a ruthless, quick-tempered tyrant, those within the MGM fold were rewarded with the highest salaries and the best filmmaking resources in Hollywood.

Born in Russia, Mayer migrated to the United States via Canada as a boy, and he broke into the film business with the 1907 purchase of a nickelodeon. He later moved into distribution and eventually went west to start his own production company. Louis B. Mayer Productions was a minor ingredient in the 1924 Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer merger, and it was Mayer's management skills and his capacity to turn out first-class pictures that secured him the role of vice president and general manager. While Mayer ran the studio and managed its legions of contract talent, his protégé Thalberg supervised filmmaking. Together they engineered MGM's rapid rise, with Mayer's administrative acumen, fiscal and ideological conservatism, and predilection for star-studded glamour effectively countered by Thalberg's creative instincts, penchant for risk-taking, cynical romanticism, and confident rapport with writers and directors.

By the 1930s MGM ruled the industry and Mayer was, without question, Hollywood's most powerful figure. MGM's dominance began to slip after Thalberg's death, however, particularly in the 1940s as Mayer relied on an ever-expanding staff of producers and refused to modify the studio's entrenched but increasingly untenable factory operation. The postwar arrival of Dore Schary to oversee production signaled the beginning of the end for Mayer. The two quarreled bitterly, and in 1951, twenty-seven years after presiding over its inauguration, Mayer left the MGM lot without a trace of fanfare. He tried his hand at independent production, without success, and also tried to regain control of a struggling MGM in 1957, but the effort failed and he died a few months later.

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Thomas Schatz

"skenk"), the chief executive of Loew's, while all production operations were managed by the "Mayer Group"—Mayer, Thalberg, and attorney Robert Rubin—whose value was underscored by an exceptional merger agreement giving them 20 percent of the studio's profits, and also by the addition of "Mayer" to the official studio title in 1925. MGM made an immediate impression with two major hits that year, *Ben-Hur* and *The Big Parade*, and it began a rapid rise to industry dominance in the late 1920s alongside Paramount, Fox, and the equally fast-rising Warner Bros. Key to that rise were its astute management and efficient production operations, its well-stocked star stable and savvy exploitation of the star system, and its effective coordination of production and marketing strategies.

The entire MGM operation was designed to deliver a steady output of A-class star vehicles to the first-run (major metropolitan) market, and particularly to Loew's theaters. The merger brought a few established stars like Lon Chaney (1883–1930), Lillian Gish (1893–1993),

Louis B. Mayer. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Ramon Novarro (1899–1968), and Marion Davies (1897–1961) to MGM, which quickly developed a crop of new stars including John Gilbert (1899–1936), Joan Crawford (1904–1977), Norma Shearer (1902–1983) (who wed Thalberg in 1927), and Greta Garbo (1905–1990). MGM also signed New York stage stars Marie Dressler (1868–1934) and brothers John (1882–1942) and Lionel Barrymore (1878–1954), enhancing the prestige value of its films while also appealing to Loew's predominantly New York–based clientele. During the 1920s, Mayer and Thalberg developed a dual strategy of lavish spectacles and more modest star vehicles, with the latter frequently centered on romantic costarring teams. After Gilbert burst to stardom in the downbeat war drama *The Big Parade* and rapidly developed into a romantic lead, for instance, MGM successfully teamed him with Swedish import Greta Garbo in *Flesh and the Devil* (1926), *Love* (1927), and *A Woman of Affairs* (1928).

MGM was among a group of leading studios that resisted the move to sound—Thalberg in particular deemed it a passing fad—but it had the resources and capital to convert rapidly once the talkie boom exploded. By mid-1928 sound effects and musical scores were added to its films (along with three roars from trademark Leo the Lion before the opening credits), and a year later MGM's full conversion was punctuated with its "All Talking! All Singing! All Singing!" musical, *Broadway Melody*, a huge hit that won the 1928–1929 Academy Award® for best picture—the first of many top Oscars® for the studio during the classical era. Other early sound hits included *Anna Christie* ("Garbo Talks!"), Greta Garbo's 1930 sound debut opposite sixty-year-old Marie Dressler playing a hard-drinking waterfront floozy, and *Min and Bill* (1930), a waterfront fable costarring the unlikely team of Dressler and Wallace Beery (1885–1949), which carried them both to top stardom.

By 1929 MGM was on a par with Paramount, Fox, and Warner Bros. in terms of revenues and resources, but with one notable exception: Loew's theater chain, which was crucial to MGM's domination of the industry during the Depression. In the early 1920s, Loew and Schenck had decided against wholesale theater expansion, holding the number to about 150 first-class downtown theaters while Warner and Fox pushed their totals above 500 and Paramount to well over 1,000. The decision to maintain a relatively small theater chain meant that the cost of sound conversion was considerably lower and, even more importantly, Loew's/MGM was not saddled with the enormous mortgage debt that devastated its chief competitors when the Depression hit.

RULING 1930s HOLLYWOOD: DEPRESSION-ERA DOMINANCE

MGM's domination of the movie industry in the 1930s was simply staggering, fueled by both the consistent quality of its films and the economic travails of its rivals. Three of the five integrated majors, Fox, Paramount, and RKO, declared bankruptcy, and Warners forestalled that same fate only by siphoning off a sizable portion of its assets. Loew's/MGM, meanwhile, turned a profit every year during the 1930s while its assets actually increased. From 1931 to 1940, the combined profits of Hollywood's Big Eight studios totaled $128.2 million; MGM's profits were $93.2 million, nearly three-quarters of the total. Equally impressive was the consistent quality and critical recognition of MGM's films. During the 1930s, MGM accounted for nearly one-third of the Academy nominees for Best Picture (27 of 87 pictures), winning four times; its actors drew roughly one-third of the best actor and best actress nominations as well, with six male and five female winners. During the first ten years of the Motion Picture Herald's Exhibitors Poll of top box-office stars (1932–1941), just under one-half (47 percent) of those listed were under contract to MGM—including Clark Gable (1901–1960), the only actor listed all ten years.

GRETA GARBO

b. Greta Lovisa Gustafsson, Stockholm, Sweden, 18 September 1905, d. 15 April 1990

The first and most important of MGM's remarkable pool of female stars during the classical era, Greta Garbo personified the studio's notion of glamour and style. A beautiful but large and ungainly woman, she was most often photographed either from a distance or in close-up—the better to display the elegance of her surroundings (she often appeared in costume dramas or in exotic locales) or, more importantly, to capture her exquisite face and ethereal personality. She appeared in only two dozen Hollywood films, all of them at MGM, before her sudden retirement in 1942. By then she was already a living legend whose myth had transcended her stardom—a myth that only intensified after her retirement.

Born and raised in poverty in Stockholm, Garbo stumbled into film acting, enjoyed early success (as Greta Gustafsson) in Sweden and Germany, and in 1925 was recruited by Mayer while he was scouting talent in Europe. She became Greta Garbo at MGM and was an immediate success in *The Torrent* (1926), and then broke through to top stardom teamed with John Gilbert in *Flesh and the Devil* (1926). The two reteamed in several huge hits, although Gilbert's star faded while Garbo's rose even higher in the sound era—beginning with *Anna Christie* (1930), in which MGM announced "Garbo Talks!"—as her husky Swedish intonations added to her exotic, aloof mystique.

Garbo was MGM's most valuable (and highest paid) star in the 1930s, and her films were virtually assured of box-office success not only in the United States but overseas as well, particularly in Europe. Her forte was lavish dramas of ill-fated romance that emphasized her remote, enigmatic beauty. Indeed, Garbo herself was a larger-than-life figure who excelled playing legendary historical and literary heroines in films like *Mata Hari* (1931), *Queen Christina* (1933), *Anna Karenina* (1935), *Camille* (1936), and *Conquest* (1937). She worked with a wide range of leading directors, including Clarence Brown in a half-dozen films, but her key MGM collaborators were those responsible for the "look" of her films, notably cinematographer William Daniels, costume designer Adrian, and art director Cedric Gibbons, all of whom worked on nearly every one of them.

Garbo's career took two significant, unexpected turns during the prewar era: first in her successful shift to romantic comedy ("Garbo Laughs!") in *Ninotchka* (1939), and then her sudden retirement after another comedy, *Two-Faced Woman* (1941). The latter was a rare box-office disappointment, due largely to cuts demanded by the Catholic Legion of Decency. Garbo spurned repeated efforts to coax her out of retirement in later years, living out her signature entreaty, "I want to be alone."

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Torrent (1926), *Flesh and the Devil* (1926), *A Woman of Affairs* (1928), *Anna Christie* (1931), *Susan Lenox (Her Fall and Rise)* (1931), *Mata Hari* (1931), *Queen Christina* (1933), *Anna Karenina* (1935), *Camille* (1936), *Conquest* (1937), *Ninotchka* (1939), *Two-Faced Woman* (1941)

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Thomas Schatz

A prime example of MGM's house style in the 1930s was *Grand Hotel*, an all-star ensemble drama featuring Garbo, John Barrymore, Joan Crawford, Wallace Beery, and Lionel Barrymore; it was a solid commercial hit and won the Oscar® for Best Picture of 1932. The film emphasized glamour, grace, and beauty in its polished settings as well as its civilized characters—all of whom are doomed or desperate, but suffer life's misfortunes with style. Indeed, *Grand Hotel* in many ways was about the triumph of style, expressed not only by its characters but also by cinematographer William Daniels (1901–1970), editor Blanche Sewell (1898–1949), recording engineer Douglas Shearer (1899–1971), art director Cedric Gibbons (1893–1960), and costume designer Adrian (1903–1959). Each was singled out, along with director Edmund Goulding (1891–1959) and playwright William Drake (1899–1965), in the opening credits of the film, aptly enough, because they were in fact the key artisans of the distinctive MGM style, vintage 1932.

Greta Garbo in* Anna Karenina *(Clarence Brown, 1935).
EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The one individual whose name did not appear was Irving Thalberg, who disdained screen credit but was, without question, the chief architect of the MGM house style. In the 1920s and early 1930s, the studio exemplified the "central producer system" that dominated Hollywood at the time. While Louis Mayer handled studio operations and contract negotiations, Thalberg and his half-dozen supervisors (chief among them Harry Rapf [1882–1949], Hunt Stromberg [1894–1968], and Bernie Hyman [1897–1942]) oversaw the actual filmmaking. And although Thalberg eschewed screen credit, his importance to the studio was widely recognized. A 1932 *Fortune* magazine profile of MGM flatly stated: "For the past five years, M-G-M has made the best and most successful motion pictures in the United States," and that success was directly attributed to Thalberg. "He is what Hollywood means by M-G-M, ... he is now called a genius more often than anyone else in Hollywood." The studio's success was due in part to "Mr. Thalberg's heavy but sagacious spending," noted *Fortune*, which ensured "the glamour of M-G-M personalities" and the "general finish and glossiness which characterizes M-G-M pictures."

There were other subtler components as well. Thalberg was obsessed with "story values," taking an active role in story and script conferences, and assigning up to a dozen staff writers to a film. He also relied heavily on preview screenings to decide whether a picture required rewrites, retakes, and reediting, and thought nothing of assigning different writers and even a different director to the task. This evinced an ethos of "teamwork" at MGM and generated remarkably few complaints, since the contract talent was so well compensated and so deftly handled by Thalberg and Mayer. Thalberg also had a penchant for "romance" in the form of love stories or male-oriented adventure—or preferably both, as in costarring ventures like *Red Dust* (1932) and *China Seas* (1935) with Gable and Jean Harlow (1911–1937). Another important factor was Thalberg's impeccable and oft-noted "taste," which was evident not only in his inclination for the occasional highbrow prestige picture but also in his ability to render frankly erotic stories and situations (as in the Gable–Harlow pictures just mentioned) palatable to Hollywood's Production Code and to mainstream audiences.

While many of these qualities remained essential to MGM's house style well into the 1940s, Thalberg's overall control of production diminished by the mid-1930s. His ill health and an internal power struggle at Loew's/MGM, spurred by both Mayer's and Schenck's growing resentment of Thalberg's authority, led to a shake-up in studio management in 1933 and a steady shift to a unit-producer system, whereby a few top executive producers—principally Thalberg, David Selznick (1902–1965) (Mayer's son-in-law), and Hunt Stromberg—supervised high-end features, while Harry Rapf and a few others handled the studio's second-rank films. Thalberg went along with the change, and both he and Selznick thrived under the new setup, particularly in the realm of prestige-level costume dramas and literary adaptations—Thalberg's productions of *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935), *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Camille* (both 1936), for instance, and Selznick's *David Copperfield* (1934), *Anna Karenina*, and *A Tale of Two Cities* (both 1935). Stromberg proved especially adept at launching and maintaining successful star-genre cycles, as with the Jeanette MacDonald–Nelson Eddy operettas (for example, *Naughty Marietta*, 1935, and *Rose Marie*, 1936) and the Thin Man series with William Powell (1892–1984) and Myrna Loy (1905–1993). Many of Stromberg's productions were directed by the prolific W. S. (Woody) Van Dyke (1889–1943), including the first four Thin Man films and six MacDonald–Eddy musicals; Van Dyke's thirty Depression-era credits also included *Tarzan the Ape Man* (1932), *San Francisco* (1935), and *Andy Hardy Gets Spring Fever* (1939).

MGM's success continued under this new production regimen, and in fact its profits in 1936–1937 returned to the record levels enjoyed before the

Greta Garbo and John Barrymore in* Grand Hotel *(Edmund Goulding, 1932), a showcase for MGM's stars.
EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Depression. But the studio was severely shaken by Selznick's departure for independent production and, far more importantly, by Thalberg's sudden, untimely death (at age 37) in September 1936, which marked the end of an era for MGM and a far more radical change in both the production operations and the studio's distinctive style.

THE MAYER REGIME

Mayer assumed complete control of MGM after Thalberg's death, managing the studio as well as production through a committee system that swelled rapidly in the late 1930s, adding several levels of bureaucracy to the filmmaking machinery. Where Thalberg had managed production with a "staff" of a half-dozen supervisors, Mayer by 1940–1941 required forty highly paid producers and production executives. This was a disparate lot, including some with no filmmaking experience, although it also included some of Hollywood's premier producers and hyphenates—Joe Mankiewicz (1909–1993) and Dore Schary (1905–1980), who rose through the screenwriting ranks, for instance, or Robert Z. Leonard (1889–1968) and Mervyn LeRoy (1900–1987), who came up as directors (LeRoy at Warner Bros.). Despite the freedom and authority being enjoyed by top directors at other studios, not to mention the growing ranks of independents, MGM remained a producer's studio where even top directors like King Vidor (1894–1982), George Cukor (1899–1983), and Victor Fleming (1889–1949) had very little authority over their pictures. And under Mayer's production-by-committee system, the producers themselves enjoyed little creative leeway as MGM's output became increasingly conservative and predictable. There were occasional exceptions, like LeRoy's first MGM project *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), an ambitious, innovative, and costly film that was distinctly out of character for MGM at the time. In fact, the studio's only other notable high-risk project was David Selznick's independent production, *Gone with the Wind* (1939), which MGM partially financed and distributed.

The clearest indication of the conservative turn and risk-averse market strategy under Mayer was MGM's increasing reliance on upbeat film series like the Hardy Family films that rolled off its assembly line at a remarkable rate—one every three to four months from 1938 to 1941—and vaulted Mickey Rooney (b. 1920) to the top position on the Exhibitors Poll of box-office stars, just ahead of MGM's Clark Gable and Spencer Tracy. The Hardy films, along with the Dr. Kildaire, Thin Man, Tarzan, and Maisie series, were produced by Joe Cohn's low-budget unit. Mayer prohibited any use of the term "B film" on the lot, and in fact the casts, budgets, running times, and access to the first-run market of MGM's series films qualified them as "near-A's" by industry standards. Mayer let Dore Schary create a unit to produce high-quality, moderately budgeted films, and its two biggest hits, *Journey for Margaret* (1942) and *Lassie Come Home* (1943), developed two new child stars—Margaret O'Brien (b. 1937) and Elizabeth Taylor (b. 1932), respectively—and reinforced the wholesome family values espoused by the Hardy films.

Mayer also favored more wholesome depictions of love, marriage, and motherhood, as seen in the rapid wartime rise of Greer Garson (1904–1996) and her frequent costar, Walter Pidgeon (1897–1984), in *Mrs. Miniver* (1942), *Madame Curie* (1943), and *Mrs. Parkington* (1944). Garson and Pidgeon were among several costarring teams that embodied Mayer's idealized version of on-screen coupling—a far cry from the hard-drinking, wise-cracking Nick and Nora Charles of the early Thin Man films, let alone the openly sexual (and adulterous) Gable and Harlow in films like *Red Dust* and *China Seas*. As Rooney began to outgrow his Andy Hardy role, he teamed with Judy Garland (1922–1969) in a cycle of energetic show-musicals—*Babes in Arms* (1939),

Vivian Leigh and Hatti McDaniel in* Gone with the Wind *(Victor Fleming, 1939), distributed by MGM. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Strike Up the Band (1940), *Babes on Broadway* (1941), and *Girl Crazy* (1943)—directed by Busby Berkeley (1895–1976) and produced by Arthur Freed (1894–1973). A more mature and far more credible couple, Katharine Hepburn (1907–2003) and Spencer Tracy (1900–1967), began their long-time partnership in *Woman of the Year* (1942), the first of six teamings for MGM in the 1940s.

During the war, MGM reduced its output by about 30 percent and benefited from the surging movie business along with other major studios, but to a lesser extent due to its continued output of high-gloss, high-cost productions and its smaller theater chain. In fact, Loew's/MGM revenues during the war years were not significantly higher than in the peak Depression years, and in 1946, the height of the war boom, MGM's profits of $18 million were dwarfed by Paramount's $39.2 million. MGM continued to spend lavishly, but its dominion over the industry clearly was ending, as its profits lagged far behind Fox and Warners as well as Paramount in the late 1940s, and its critical cachet faded as well. Oscar® nominations and critical hits became rare, and the MGM house style looked increasingly anachronistic in the postwar era of film noir and social-problem dramas.

One bright spot for MGM was its musical output, which during the postwar decade comprised one-quarter of its releases (81 of 316 films) and more than half of Hollywood's overall musical production. Several staff producers specialized in musicals, including Joe Pasternak (1901–1991) and Jack Cummings (1900–1989), but the individual most responsible for MGM's "musical golden age" was Arthur Freed, who after the Rooney–Garland cycle had a breakthrough with *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), an ambitious Technicolor production starring Garland and directed by Vincente Minnelli

(1903–1983). That film's success enabled Freed to assemble his own unit whose distinctive emphasis on dance utilized the talents of choreographers Gene Kelly (1912–1996), Stanley Donen (b. 1924), and Charles Walters (1911–1982), all of whom Freed developed into directors.

The currency of the Freed unit's "dance musicals" was established in late-1940s films like Minnelli's *The Pirate* (1948), Walters's *Easter Parade* (1948), and Donen-Kelly's first co-directing effort, *On the Town* (1949), and the cycle reached a sustained peak in the 1950s with such classics as *An American in Paris* (Minnelli, 1951), *Singin' in the Rain* (Donen-Kelly, 1952), *The Band Wagon* (Minnelli, 1953), *It's Always Fair Weather* (Donen-Kelly, 1955), and *Gigi* (Minnelli, 1958). Freed's musicals were critically and commercially successful, but they also were symptomatic of the profligate production operations that were squeezing MGM's profit margins. The studio could scarcely afford *not* to produce them as its postwar fortunes ebbed, however, and thus the cycle became, in effect, the last bastion of MGM's classical-era operations and house style, the last manifestation of its fading industry rule.

Mayer was a major advocate of Freed and the lavish musical cycle, predictably enough, and one of the acute ironies of MGM's postwar era is that the Freed unit far outlasted the Mayer regime—and subsequent regimes as well. By 1948 Nick Schenck realized that Mayer was fundamentally incapable of adjusting to the rapidly changing postwar conditions. He stubbornly adhered to the studio's entrenched production policies and bloated management setup, he openly criticized the industry trends toward realism and social drama, and he was reluctant to work with the growing ranks of independent filmmaking talent. Schenck was equally concerned about other developments, particularly declining theater attendance, the government's antitrust campaign, and the emergence of television, which threatened the studio system at large. In an effort to cut costs and bring MGM in sync with the changing industry, Schenck demanded that Mayer "find another Thalberg." Thus Dore Schary, the RKO production chief and former MGM writer-producer, was hired in 1948 as MGM's vice president in charge of production.

The Mayer–Schary union was troubled from the start, due to Mayer's adherence to the studio's entrenched operations and the two executives' very different sensibilities. Schary's liberal politics irked the arch-conservative Mayer—no small matter in the age of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), Senator Joseph McCarthy, and the nascent Cold War—but even worse, in Mayer's view, was Schary's taste in films and his proclivity for freelance talent. The rancor reached a flashpoint over Schary's support of two projects with freelance writer-director John Huston (1906–1987), *The Asphalt Jungle* (1950) and *The Red Badge of Courage* (1951). The former was a downbeat, realistic crime thriller with an all-male ensemble cast that Mayer publicly castigated. But the film was a hit, prompting Schary to approve *The Red Badge of Courage*, an adaptation of Stephen Crane's bleak Civil War novel. Mayer refused to finance production, forcing Schary to go to Schenck for approval, and when the film ran over budget and then died at the box office, Mayer demanded Schary's ouster. Schenck backed Schary, however, and in May 1951 Mayer was forced out of the studio that bore his name.

STRUGGLE, DECLINE, AND DISMEMBERMENT

Mayer's departure scarcely improved MGM's fortunes. Schenck and Schary were both out by the mid-1950s, leading to a quick succession of top executives at both Loew's and MGM. Mayer himself attempted to regain control in 1957, but the effort failed and he died late that year—just before MGM announced the first annual net loss in its history. The studio moved very tentatively into TV series production and was among the last to open its vault to television syndication, although MGM did lease *The Wizard of Oz* to CBS for a color broadcast in October 1956, making it the first Hollywood film to air on prime-time network television. The program was a ratings hit, and another signal of an industry transformation that was leaving MGM behind. Loew's/MGM fought the Supreme Court's 1948 *Paramount* decree, the anti-trust ruling that mandated theater divorcement, to the bitter end, with Loew's finally divesting of MGM in 1959. The studio enjoyed one of biggest hits ever that year in *Ben-Hur*, but subsequent big-budget remakes of *Cimarron* (1960), *King of Kings* (1961), and *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1962) were disappointments.

MGM produced a few major hits in the 1960s, notably *Dr. Zhivago* (1965) and *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968). The latter, directed by Stanley Kubrick (1928–1999), provided major impetus to the auteur-driven New American Cinema of the late 1960s, as did MGM's earlier release of Michelangelo Antonioni's (b. 1912) *Blow-Up* (1966). But the studio had no real stake in this movement, nor did it pursue any other production or marketing trends during the late 1960s, when it was plagued by frequent changes in leadership and struggles for corporate control. These struggles culminated in 1969, a year in which MGM posted its biggest loss ever ($35 million) and was taken over by Las Vegas mega-developer Kirk Kerkorian. Though Paramount, Warner Bros., and United Artists were acquisition targets as well, they were bought by diversified conglomerates, which

allowed them to continue operations despite the industry-wide recession. Kerkorian, conversely, was a financier and real-estate tycoon who was primarily interested in MGM for its brand name and the value of its library, and had no inclination to underwrite its failing movie production–distribution operation.

Kerkorian immediately installed former CBS president James T. Aubrey (1918–1994) to run the studio, with instructions to cut costs and reduce output. One result was MGM's successful run of low-budget "blaxploitation" films, notably *Shaft* (1970) and its various sequels and television spinoffs. But soon Aubrey began to dismantle the studio, auctioning off a treasure trove of memorabilia and archival material, and selling the MGM backlot for real-estate development. The most drastic move came in 1973, the year that Kerkorian opened his MGM Grand Hotel and Casino in Las Vegas (then the largest hotel in the world), when Aubrey sold MGM's distribution operation to United Artists, which had been acquired in 1967 by Transamerica, and announced that MGM would produce only a few pictures per year.

Thus, just as the movie industry began its economic recovery, MGM ceased operating as a major Hollywood producer-distributor. Its most successful pictures at the time, aptly enough, were *That's Entertainment!* in 1974 and its 1976 sequel, documentary celebrations of MGM's past glories. While MGM foundered in the late 1970s, Kerkorian's real estate business thrived, enabling him to purchase United Artists in 1981 when that studio was reeling after the *Heaven's Gate* debacle, as huge cost overruns on an unreleasable film forced UA into bankruptcy. Returning to active distribution, Kerkorian ramped up production at "MGM/UA" after the merger, although few films of any real note were produced by the company until 1986, when it was purchased by Ted Turner (b. 1938)—who then promptly sold UA and the MGM trademark back to Kerkorian, and sold the MGM lot to Lorimar, a major television producer.

Thus began an even more intense period of chaos, confusion, and legal wrangling for MGM, during which time the company repeatedly changed hands, was in continual litigation over the ownership of its library and several of its key movie franchises, and was increasingly difficult to define as a "studio"—particularly after Lorimar sold the lot (in 1989) to Warner Bros. MGM produced a few hits like *Thelma & Louise* (1991) and was involved in the theatrical or home-video distribution of many others, including United Artists' James Bond films (*Golden Eye*, 1995; *Die Another Day*, 2002). After ownership passed from Turner to Kerkorian and then in the early 1990s to Italian financier Giancarlo Parretti (then owner of Pathé's film operation) and to Credit Lyonnais (which foreclosed on Parretti), Kerkorian put together a consortium to repurchase MGM in 1996. That led to further acquisitions, particularly in MGM's library holdings, which became sufficiently robust to attract multiple offers. In 2004 Kerkorian sold MGM to a media consortium whose principals included Sony (which bought Columbia Pictures in 1989) and the cable giant Comcast for $4.8 billion.

This acquisition finally aligned MGM with a global media conglomerate, but it scarcely signaled a return to active motion picture production. Sony and Comcast clearly were interested in MGM for much the same reason as Kerkorian had been previously—that is, for its brand name and library holdings (along with the James Bond and Pink Panther franchises that MGM acquired via UA). And the amount the new owners paid well indicates the value of "branding" and "software" in the current media era. Thus, even as the Sony group announced plans to reduce MGM's output to only a few films per year, it is quite likely that the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer name (and logo), along with its classic films, will maintain their currency, and will serve too as constant reminders of Hollywood's Golden Age.

SEE ALSO *Star System; Studio System; United Artists*

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Thomas Schatz

MISE-EN-SCÈNE

Mise-en-scène is what we see in a film; editing is what we do not. These are simplified definitions, but they emphasize two essential things: the basic building blocks of a film—the shot and the cut—and the complexities of each that allow a film to achieve its texture and resonance. Mise-en-scène concerns the shot, though we need to keep in the back of our minds that editing—putting two shots together—affects not only how a film's narrative is structured but how the shots are subsequently understood by viewers.

The term "mise-en-scène" developed in the theater, where it literally meant "put into the scene" and referred to the design and direction of the entire production, or, as "metteur-en-scène," to the director's work. The term was brought into film by a group of French film critics in the 1950s, many of whom would become directors and constitute the French New Wave in the 1960s. One of these critics-turned-directors, François Truffaut, used the term negatively to describe the directors of the French "Tradition of Quality," the rather stodgy French films that appeared after World War II. New Wave theorists felt that these films merely translated novels into movies. André Bazin, perhaps the most influential film critic since Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948) (the revolutionary Russian filmmaker who, despite his theoretical focus on a particular form of editing called montage, was a master of mise-en-scène), was much more positive in his use of the phrase, and the discussion of mise-en-scène here flows from his observations.

ELEMENTS OF MISE-EN-SCÈNE

Mise-en-scène is generated by the construction of shots and the ways that they lead to visual coherence, across the edits from shot to shot. It includes all the elements in front of the camera that compose a shot: lighting; use of black and white or color; placement of characters in the scene; design of elements within the shot (part of the process of production design); placement of camera vis-à-vis characters in the set; movement of camera and/or actors; composition of the shot as a whole—how it is framed and what is in the frame. Even music may be considered part of mise-en-scène. While not seen, at its best music enhances the visual and narrative construction of the shot.

Cinematic mise-en-scène refers to how directors, working in concert with their cinematographers and production designers, articulate—indeed, create—the spatial elements and coordinates in the shot and succeed in composing well-defined, coherent, fictional worlds. Composition and the articulation of space within a film carry as much narrative power and meaning as its characters' dialogue. Mise-en-scène is thus part of a film's narrative, but it can tell a larger story, indicating things about the events and characters that go beyond any words they utter.

Mise-en-scène can also be an evaluative term. Critics may claim a film does or does not possess mise-en-scène. For example, if a film depends entirely on dialogue to tell its story, if its visual structure is made up primarily of a static camera held at eye level on characters who are speaking in any given scene, if its lighting is bright, even, and shadowless, it lacks mise-en-scène. On a more subjective level, if a viewer's eyes drift away from the screen because there isn't much of interest to look at, the film lacks mise-en-scène. Such a film may succeed on other levels, but not visually; it is constructed not in the camera

but in the editing room, where the process is much cheaper because actors are absent. Films with good dialogue, well-constructed narrative, and scant mise-en-scène can still be quite effective. But these are rare—as rare as well-written films.

Journalistic reviewers may care little about mise-en-scène. They are rarely concerned with the look of films and focus mostly on whether or not the story or characters seem "real." They may term visually centered works "arty" or say they have interesting "camera angles." Filmgoers may simply want to be entertained and not care about how a film is constructed. But dedicated filmmakers and filmgoers, like talented novelists and readers, want complete, self-contained, detailed cinematic worlds that are at the time open to the viewers' own worlds and experiences. Such people will find satisfaction in the visual complexity of mise-en-scène.

FILMMAKERS AND MISE-EN-SCÈNE

Mise-en-scène has preoccupied filmmakers in several countries and periods. German expressionism developed immediately following World War I. In painting, writing, and filmmaking, expressionism was a mise-en-scène cinema, expressing the psychological turmoil of the characters in terms of the space inhabited by its characters. Major representatives of German expressionism in film include Robert Wiene's *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, 1920) and F. W. Murnau's *Nosferatu, eine Symphonie des Grauens*, the first Dracula movie (1922). These and many others created a dark and anxious visual field, uneasy and frightening. German expressionism had enormous influence when its practitioners moved to the United States: Murnau's *Sunrise* (1927); Universal Studio's horror films of the early 1930s such as *Frankenstein* (1931), *Dracula* (1931), and their sequels; *Citizen Kane* (1941); the film noir genre of the 1940s; *Psycho* (1960); and *Taxi Driver* (1976). These, among others, borrowed their idea of mise-en-scène from German expressionism, though it was not the only influence on these films.

Later directors developed highly individualized mise-en-scènes. Michelangelo Antonioni (b. 1912), for example, created an extremely intricate and eloquent mise-en-scène in films such as *Il Grido* (*The Cry*, 1957), *L'Avventura* (*The Adventure*, 1960), *La Notte* (*The Night*, 1961), *L'eclisse* (*The Eclipse*, 1962), *Il deserto rosso* (*Red Desert*, 1964), *Blow-Up* (1966), and *Professione: reporter* (*The Passenger*, 1975). As Rosalind Krauss has noted in *The Optical Unconscious*, Antonioni, like the American abstract expressionist painters of the time (Jackson Pollock and Mark Rothko, for example) reversed the usual conventions of foregrounding the human figure against a background (pp. 2–27). Antonioni believed that the background—or, in his case, the character's environment—should be foregrounded, the characters constituting only one part of the mise-en-scène, which defined them by where they were, what was around them, and how they were observed by the camera.

Architecture is Antonioni's essential point of reference; the themes of his films were not reducible to plot but rather explore how the spaces inhabited by his characters explain their predicaments—something they themselves cannot adequately do in words. Antonioni framed characters in windows and often composed them among buildings that loomed strangely over them. In his color films, color itself defined situations. The belching yellow smoke from factories in *Red Desert*, the camera that unexpectedly drifts away from a character to follow a blue line running along the ceiling in the same film, create moods that allow viewers to understand the characters visually in ways that they don't understand themselves. Like an abstract expressionist painter, Antonioni worked to rid his work of the individual human figure. At the end of *The Eclipse*, the two central characters promise to meet at a certain location. They do not, and the last ten minutes of the film are composed of a collage of almost abstract cityscapes peopled, when at all, by anonymous faces. The camera's attention, however, focuses on things: water dripping from a drain; sprinklers watering a field; a horse-drawn sulky carrying a man across the street; a building wrapped completely in mats. This is an abstract vision of unexplained, anxiety-producing images. A hint is offered in a newspaper headline that reads "Atomic Bomb." Free-floating anxieties of the post-atomic world diminish the human figure in light of events not under the control of individuals.

HITCHCOCK

Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) was a master of suspense achieved through mise-en-scène. In his best films, the actors were part of a greater visual plan. *Psycho* (1960) is a perfect example. It holds an almost involuntary, hypnotic grip on viewers because it touches on a primal fear of unknown terror and seemingly unstoppable madness. It works profoundly and economically because Hitchcock makes a convincing visual case for a claustrophobic world of fear and psychosis communicated not merely through action but through the visual construction of that world.

Hitchcock built his mise-en-scène with abstract visual pattern of verticals and horizontals—like Antonioni, he drew upon modern techniques of painting. The pattern is prefigured in the credit sequence and provides a blueprint for almost every shot that follows, culminating in the horizontal presence of the motel against the verticality of the old dark house. This rigid pattern is partly responsible for the shock that occurs when the pattern is

Expressionist mise-en-scène in F. W. Murnau's American film,* Sunrise *(1927). ® ™ AND COPYRIGHT © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

broken, as in the arcing thrusting of the knife, or Marion Crane's blood flowing in circles down the drain in the shower. Visual rhymes abound throughout the film: movements up and down the stairs; the famous parlor scene where Norman Bates and his stuffed birds silently expose the "surprise" of the film's climax. The entire film is shot within a tightly controlled gray scale—a dull, oppressive world in which the normal, "outside" world barely existed. Sequences like the opening one in the hotel room, Marion's office, and her road trip to the Bates motel were composed to make Marion seem entrapped. When Hitchcock's camera creeps up the steps or tracks from Marion's dead eye to the money on the table, it does not open out space but further closed it down. Everything is of a visual piece; the film's puzzle gets pulled together before our eyes.

In *Vertigo* (1958), Hitchcock, like many mise-en-scène filmmakers, created a careful color scheme and situated characters in the frame so that viewers knew what was happening to them by the way they were seen. The characters were part of the larger, carefully articulated spatial configurations that Hitchcock developed in order to indicate to the audience what was not said outright. The main character of the film, James Stewart's Scottie, reacts during the first half of the film under the influence of a lie and his infatuation based on that lie; in the second half, he responds through a kind of psychosis caused partly by having being fooled. This crucial narrative information is presented to us through spatial placement: the way he is seen in the frame, what he looks at, who looks at him. He is not an actor as much as he is part of the mise-en-scène.

MOVING CAMERAS AND LONG TAKES

The moving camera is a major factor in the creation of mise-en-scène, because it opens up space, traversing and

***Characters are only part of the mise-en-scène in Michelangelo Antonioni's* La Notte (The Night, *1961*).** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

redefining it. The camera can pursue characters or precede them, show them as powerful, or reduce their power. The moving camera does what cutting cannot do: make space whole. Orson Welles (1915–1985) and Stanley Kubrick (1928–1999) were masters of the moving camera. Welles's *Touch of Evil* (1958) and his adaptation of Kafka's *The Trial* (in the film *Le procès* [*The Trial*, 1962]) created dark, nightmarish worlds through which his camera snaked and insinuated itself, allowing nothing to escape the viewer's gaze, while at the same time creating confusing spaces that seemed to be unconnected. Both Welles and Kubrick created labyrinthine spaces—literally: in Kubrick's *The Shining* (1980), the camera snakes its way through the hedge maze, where Jack becomes trapped and freezes; figuratively, in *The Trial*, Joseph K. wanders through the dark maze of the Law. Movement in both of these directors' films creates a mise-en-scène of ultimate entrapment; their characters are swallowed up in the world the camera creates for them.

Along with the moving camera, another important element of mise-en-scène is the long take. Nowhere is the opposition between shot and cut more apparent than when a filmmaker allows a scene to continue unedited, actors acting, viewers observing. The long take can be used for sheer technical brilliance, as in the over-four-minute take in the Copacabana sequence of Martin Scorsese's *GoodFellas* (1990), where the camera moves with the characters down the stairs, through the kitchen, and into the club, all kinds of action and dialogue occurring along the way. It can be deadly serious, as in the tracks through the trenches in Kubrick's *Paths of Glory* (1957) or the extraordinary movement with the jogging astronaut in the centrifugal hall of the spaceship in *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968). Neither of these sequences is especially long, though the track through the trenches is

persistent, intercutting shots of Col. Dax's intent face moving through the line of soldiers with his view of them. But these and all moving-camera long takes are marked by intensity and energy—visual signs of their character's purpose and ultimate failure, not to mention their director's creativity.

LATER USES OF MISE-EN-SCÈNE

Mise-en-scène remains somewhat rare in Hollywood filmmaking, because it is expensive, and worst of all (in the studio's eyes), it calls attention to itself rather than allowing the screen to become a transparent space in which a story gets told. But some contemporary directors are emerging with a recognizable visual style that is all but synonymous with mise-en-scène. David Fincher (b. 1962) is one. *Se7en* (*Seven*, 1995), *The Game* (1997), and *Fight Club* (1999) set up consistent visual palettes and compositional structures for their fictional worlds. *Seven* was filmed in color, but Fincher and his cinematographer, Darius Khondji, manipulated it so that almost every shot is washed with a yellow-green tint—an unpleasant look that, along with the darkness and unending rain, express the grimness of the film's universe. Fincher also used a pattern to control his mise-en-scène: here and in other of his films, he constructed his shots along a horizontal line to complement the wide-screen format he used. As in *Psycho*, everything was bound: composition and camera movements occur along the line that set boundaries for an otherwise unlocalized world. *Seven* is set in an unnamed city, gray and always raining. At the end of the film, after a relatively short drive, the characters find themselves in a desert strung with power lines. Like an expressionist film, *Seven* creates a state of mind, but not an individual one. Instead, like *Psycho*, its mood is one of universal anxiety.

The most important reason to emphasize mise-en-scène was and remains a director's sense of opposition to the largely anonymous style of Hollywood filmmaking and its rapid, invisible editing. The creation of a coherent and articulate mise-en-scène is a means to personal expression. From the quiet domestic spaces of the Japanese director Yasujiro Ozu (1903–1963), who defines his characters by what surrounds them, to the vertiginous, shadowy spaces of the worlds created by Orson Welles, to the abstract cityscapes of Antonioni and the imprisoning interiors of the German filmmaker Werner Rainer Fassbinder (1945–1982), to the expressive compositions and camera movements created by Martin Scorsese (who uses Fassbinder's cinematographer, Michael Ballhaus), creative filmmakers have developed alternatives to Hollywood's illusory realism through mise-en-scène. The technique, like other modernist ones, foregrounds rather than hides the medium's processes. Choosing angles, moving a camera, deciding how the camera should be positioned and the scene dressed and lighted are among the things that cinema, and no other single art, can do. These cumulative aesthetic decisions are the marks of great filmmakers as they create complete and coherent fictional worlds.

SEE ALSO *Auteur Theory and Authorship; Direction*

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Robert Kolker

MUSIC

"Film music" as a term has come to refer to music composed or expressly chosen to accompany motion pictures. The practice of pairing music and image is as old as cinema itself. In fact, Thomas Edison imagined motion pictures as visual accompaniment to the music produced by his phonographs. From the first motion pictures projected to Paris audiences in 1895 to the widescreen, Dolby Digital Surround Sound films of today, music has been a persistent element in the filmic experience. It has been improvised and it has been scored; it has been experienced as live and as recorded performance; it has consisted of both original and previously composed music; and it operates differently from country to country, culture to culture, and genre to genre. The musical, for instance, like the concert film and the musical biopic, has a set of conventions that foreground music. Through all of its various guises, however, film music can be characterized by its expressive power to shape the meaning of the image and to connect the audience to the film.

Film music serves many purposes: it grounds a film in a particular time and place; creates mood and heightens atmosphere; characterizes the people on-screen and helps to define their psychology; delineates abstract ideas; relays the film's theme; and interacts with the images to sell a film economically. Film music engages with the deepest and most profoundly unconscious levels of the audience; it is a crucial part of the apparatus through which a film engages with cultural ideology; and it largely serves these purposes without drawing conscious attention to itself.

Of course, differences in historical and cultural traditions shape music's effect on the film audience. For instance, in the classical Hollywood style, certain of film music's functions have been emphasized over others, giving Hollywood scores a distinctive and recognizable structure. But music's expressive power crosses many borders, and the ability to resonate emotion between the spectator and the screen may well be film music's most distinguishing feature. Films, of course, have various techniques for conveying emotion, including dialogue, expressive acting, close-ups, diffuse lighting, and aesthetically pleasing *mise-en-scène*. Film music, historically, has been the most reliable and efficient of them. Music embodies the emotion that the image represents, prompting audiences to recognize that emotion and connect to the characters on the screen. Film music thus engages audiences in processes of identification that bond them to the film. The tremolo strings accompanying a suspenseful murder or the pop song heard under a love scene both embody the emotion that the on-screen characters feel and prompt the audience to identify with and share that emotion.

HOW FILM MUSIC WORKS

How film music works in relation to the image was a lively subject of debate among the first critics to consider the subject seriously. Beginning in the 1930s, classical film theorists as well as the first historians of film music posited that film music either paralleled or counterpointed the visual image. Even today, much popular writing on film music perpetuates this model, limiting film music's function to commentary: music either reinforces or undercuts the visual image. But in the 1940s, the composer Hanns Eisler (1898–1962) and the philosopher and music critic Theodor Adorno, in one of the

earliest and most important studies of film music, *Composing for the Films* (1947), raised objections. Eisler and Adorno pointed out the futility of conceptualizing film music in terms of the image: "A photographed kiss cannot actually be synchronized with an eight-bar phrase" (p. 8). The model based on the assumption that music either parallels or counterpoints the image, of course, cannot account for music that responds to what is not evident in the image, its subtext; moreover, it assumes that the visual image is a direct and unproblematic form of representation. Contemporary film music scholars have posited a different model for film music's operation in which music and image are interdependent, sharing power to shape meaning. As Claudia Gorbman put it in her pioneering study, film music works by anchoring the image, shutting off certain readings and emphasizing others, policing the ways in which the audience interprets the film.

Film music is, of course, music, and as such it brings to its functioning in film the basic principles of music: melody, harmony, rhythm, meter, volume, tempo, form, timbre, and instrumentation. Music derives its power largely from its ability to tap into conventions derived from these principles. Conventions, shared between composers and audiences, harness musical affect to concrete meaning through the power of association; through repetition, conventions become ingrained in a culture as a kind of collective musical experience. Composers can use conventions as shorthand to produce specific and predictable responses on the part of listeners. For example, brass instrumentation, because of its association with the military, is linked to heroism and became a staple of Hollywood scoring in historical epics, especially swashbucklers. When John Williams (b. 1932) relies on the brasses in his score for *Star Wars* (1977) rather than electronic instrumentation or futuristic musical sounds, he underscores the heroic arc of the film and connects the narrative, not to the genre of science fiction, but to the great swashbucklers of the classical Hollywood era. Composers can also deliberately contradict conventions to unsettle an audience. The waltz, for instance, has historical associations of lyricism and romance; yet Bernard Herrmann (1911–1975) chooses a waltz to accompany the deterioration of a marriage in the breakfast montage of *Citizen Kane* (1941), an unconventional choice that dramatically underscores the couple's failed romance. Film music also has at its disposal the conventions of song, especially lyrics. When Quentin Tarantino chooses the 1970s pop rock hit "Stuck in the Middle With You" to accompany a graphically violent scene in *Reservoir Dogs* (1992), his unconventional musical choice, coupled with the song's innocuous lyrics, creates disturbing effects.

Musical conventions change across history and culture and operate differently from one musical style to another. Some composers depend on conventions more than others, and some refuse to use them at all. But musical conventions generate responses so strong that listeners are affected by them whether they are consciously aware of it or not. In fact, film music can short-circuit listeners' processes of conscious recognition and create meaning on something less than a fully conscious plane. Thus film music is one of film's most potent tools to shape and control our response to what we see.

The origins of musical accompaniment to moving images, and the evolution of this pairing over the course of film history, point to a psychic realm that needs to be considered in order to understand fully the ways in which film music works. This realm is the unconscious. Psychoanalysis seeks to understand the operation of the unconscious and in the 1970s and 1980s French and North American theorists used psychoanalysis to bring music into focus. From our earliest moments inside the womb, we experience the elements of music: the rhythmic patterns of our mother's heartbeat, breathing, and pulse as well as the pitch and dynamics of her voice. After birth, the newborn continues in a blanket of aural stimulation, including and especially the mother's voice experienced as music. (Think of the ways in which language itself incorporates musical elements such as rhythm, pitch, dynamics, and intonation.) From a psychoanalytic viewpoint, the reason why music is so pleasurable and indeed a central part of human experience is that it is experienced as repressed longings for a return to the original state of fusion with the mother. For critics adhering to this approach, film music both stimulates and encourages us to regress to that complete sense of satisfaction and pleasure. This facet of film music transpires in the unconscious and is thus inaccessible to our conscious selves. But it cannot be discounted in a study of what pleases and engages us when we listen to film music.

A theoretical investigation into the pleasures and power of film music also, however, leads in an outward direction, into culture. Beginning in the 1920s, Marxist critics associated with the Frankfurt School, especially Adorno, and other German intellectuals such as the playwright Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956) and the composer Ernst Bloch (1885–1977), began to examine the nexus of economics, politics, and culture that shapes music as a social discourse. The Frankfurt School maintained that all art, including music, is a form of cultural ideology, largely reinforcing but potentially resisting or subverting the dominant ideological values of a culture. In staking out this position, the Frankfurt School attacked long-held assumptions about music's autonomous function,

BERNARD HERRMANN

b. New York, New York, 29 June 1911, d. Los Angeles, Calfornia, 24 December 1975

Bernard Herrmann was a Hollywood rebel—cantankerous, combative, and brilliant. Working both inside and outside the studio system, he managed to put his unique stamp on a series of films for a variety of directors. His scores, sometimes brooding and anxious, sometimes sweeping and lyrical, sometimes jarringly modern, and sometimes lushly romantic, are always inventive (and some of them are decidedly more interesting than the films they "accompany").

Arriving in Hollywood with Orson Welles and the Mercury Theater in 1941, Herrmann scored *Citizen Kane* and, in 1942, *The Magnificent Ambersons*. Angered by studio changes to his *Ambersons* score, he insisted that his name be removed from all prints of the film. He would in later life proclaim that Welles was the only director he worked with who knew anything about music. He is most well known, however, for a series of films he scored for Alfred Hitchcock.

Herrmann championed modern music throughout his life, and his music for Hitchcock bears its imprint: unusual instrumentation (the all-string ensemble for *Psycho* [1960]; the all-brass ensemble for the discarded *Torn Curtain* [1966] score); arresting rhythms (the opening moments of *Psycho*, the fandango from *North by Northwest*, 1959); dissonant harmonies (the shower scene from *Psycho*), and polytonality (the famous *Vertigo* [1958] chord—two perfectly conventional chords, in two different keys, played together). Never reticent about expressing himself, Herrmann parted ways with Hitchcock over the *Torn Curtain* score, which Herrmann completed but Hitchcock discarded under pressure.

Reclusive and uncompromising, Herrmann spent a significant portion of his creative life working outside Hollywood, scoring films internationally and composing and conducting music for the concert hall and operatic stage. He adamantly protested being defined as a film composer, preferring instead to be known as a composer who also scores films. At the end of his life, Herrmann found himself rediscovered by the young directors Brian De Palma and Martin Scorcese. He died the night he finished conducting his score for Scorcese's *Taxi Driver* (1976). Herrmann's final collaboration with Scorcese would be a posthumous one: the director reused Herrmann's 1961 score for *Cape Fear* when he remade the film in 1991.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Citizen Kane (1941), *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942), *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951), *Vertigo* (1958), *North by Northwest* (1959), *Journey to the Center of the Earth* (1959), *Psycho* (1960), *Cape Fear* (1961), *Obsession* (1976), *Taxi Driver* (1976), *Cape Fear* (1991)

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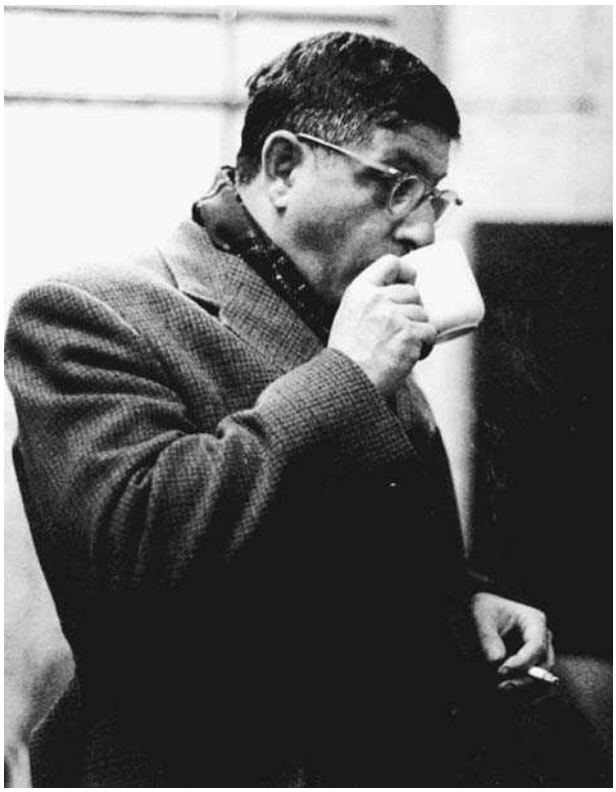
Kathryn Kalinak

the unique creativity of the composer, and the ability of the individual subject to resist cultural ideology. For these critics, music served a political function under advanced capitalism: to pacify dangerous, anarchic impulses by lulling listeners into an acceptance of (or at the very least, a diversion from) their social conditions, thereby supporting the status quo. Even something as seemingly countercultural as rock music has been studied through this perspective by contemporary British and American cultural studies critics. Adorno, in collaboration with Eisler, extended this argument to the film score. Music holds the film together and masks its material constitution as a technological product. Film music's adhesion stems from its exceptional ability to create and resonate emotion between the screen and the spectator. In so doing, film music distracts spectators from the two-dimensional, often black and white, and sometimes silent images. Thus film music fulfills a potent ideological function: to promote the audience's absorption into the film. The audience is thus positioned to accept, uncritically, the ideology circulating through the film. Indeed, Eisler and Adorno refer to film music as a drug.

That art serves a political function was a radical notion, and in postwar America it raised suspicions.



Bernard Herrmann. **THE KOBAL COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Eisler, working as a composer in Hollywood, paid the price for his leftist views. He became a target of the Communist "witch hunts," was summoned before the House Un-American Activities Committee for alleged communist activities, and deported. That art is inextricably tied up with politics is clearly evidenced in the lives of many of the composers cited here, whose music, careers, and even lives were threatened and sometimes claimed by political events of the twentieth century.

Considering the form and practice of film music as an ideological mechanism has profound consequences for our understanding of how film music works within individual films as well. This ideological function of film music has been an especially rich site of investigation for contemporary film music scholars who have examined how such ideologically loaded concepts as gender, sexuality, race, and ethnicity are encoded through music. Cultural ideology manifests itself in a work of art in indirect ways, operating on less than a conscious plane. Yet the results of that process, though complex, sometimes contradictory, and often elusive, are clearly audible. Can you recognize North American "Indian music" when you hear it and what does it mean when you do? Hollywood composers depended on a set of clichéd musical conventions to represent Indians on screen but also to encode a response consistent with the dominant cultural ideology of the era. Tomtom rhythms, descending melodic contours, and harmonies built on fourths and fifths were powerful indicators of the primitive, the exotic, and the savage. (It should be noted here that genuine native American music is not on offer.) In *Stagecoach* (1939), for instance, when the camera pans from the stagecoach wending its way through the western landscape to the Indians poised on a bluff, the "Indian music" we hear tells us not only of the Indians' presence but of their threat. Despite the fact that *Stagecoach* takes place during a period of western history when the government repeatedly reneged on its treaty obligations to many tribes, it is the Indians who are positioned as savage and untrustworthy. As culture changes, however, so does the film score. In *Dances with Wolves* (1990) the cliches for "Indian music" have been replaced by John Barry's (b. 1933) symphonic themes for the Lakota composed in the romantic idiom of the classical Hollywood film score.

MUSIC IN SILENT FILM

Film music was largely live in the silent cinema but its practice was specific to the various cultures and nations where it was heard. In the United States phonograph recordings were sometimes used in early film exhibition; in Japan the tradition of live narration extended throughout the silent period. The notion of pairing film and music had a number of antecedents, among them the nineteenth-century stage melodrama. The conventional explanation for the use of music in silent film is functional: music drowned out the noise of the projector as well as talkative audiences. But long after the projector and the audience were quieted, music remained. Music eventually became so indispensable a part of the film experience that not even the advent of mechanically produced sound could silence it (although for a few years it looked as though it might). Film is, after all, a technological process, producing larger-than-life, two-dimensional, largely black and white, and silent images. Accepting them as "real" requires a leap of faith. Music, with its melody, harmony, and instrumental color (not to mention the actual presence of live musicians), fleshes out those images, lending them credibility. Further, music distracts audiences from the unnaturalness of the medium. Adorno and Eisler even posit that film music works as a kind of exorcism, protecting audiences from the "ghostly" effigies confronting them on the screen and helping audiences, unaccustomed to the modernity of such sights, "absorb the shock" (*Composing for the Films*, p. 75).

The history of musical accompaniment in the United States has yet to be fully written, but this

Bernard Herrmann scored the shower scene in Alfred Hitchcock's* Psycho *(1960) entirely for strings. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

important work has begun. Martin Marks, a musicologist and silent film accompanist, finds that original scores existed as early as the 1890s. The scholar Rick Altman shows that in the crucial early periods of silent film exhibition, continuous musical accompaniment was not the normative practice, and he provides compelling evidence that accompaniment was often intermittent and sometimes nonexistent. The US film industry began to standardize musical accompaniment around between 1908 and 1912, the same period that saw film's solidification as a narrative form and the conversion of viewing spaces from small, cramped nickelodeons to theatrical auditoriums. Upgrading musical accompaniment was an important part of this transformation; attempts to encourage the use of film music and monitor its quality can be traced to this era. Trade publications began to include music columns that often ridiculed problematic accompaniment; theater owners became more discriminating in hiring and paying musicians; and audiences came to expect continuous musical accompaniment.

Initially, accompanists, left to their own devices and untrained in their craft, improvised. Therefore the quality of musical accompaniment varied widely. The single most important device in the standardization of film music was the cue sheet, a list of musical selections fitted to the individual film. The most sophisticated of them contained actual excerpts of music timed to fit each scene and cued to screen action to keep the accompanist on track. As early as 1909, Edison studios circulated cue sheets for their films. Other studios, trade publications, and entrepreneurs began doing the same. Musical encyclopedias appeared, containing vast inventories of music, largely culled from the classics of nineteenth-century western European art music and supplemented by

original compositions. Encyclopedias like Giuseppi Becce's influential *Kinobibliothek* (1919) indexed every type of on-screen situation accompanists might face. J. S. Zamecnik (1872–1953) composed the *Sam Fox Moving Picture Music* series (1913–1923). It included not only a generic "Hurry Music," but "Hurry Music (for struggles)", "Hurry Music (for duels)"; and "Hurry Music (for mob or fire scenes)." Even treachery was customized for villains, ruffians, smugglers, or conspirators. Erno Rapee's *Encyclopedia of Music for Pictures* (1925) offers music for scenes from Abyssinia to Zanzibar (and everything in between). Popular music of the day was also featured in silent film: in illustrated songs during the earliest periods of film exhibition; as ballyhoo blaring from phonographs to lure passersby into cinemas; and in "Follow the Bouncing Ball" sing-alongs, popular in the 1920s. It is not surprising that popular music crossed over into accompaniment.

Much more work needs to be done on the impact of geography (neighborhood vs. downtown settings; the urbanized east coast vs. the less populated western states) and ethnicity and race (the place of folk traditions, ragtime, jazz) on musical accompaniment. By the teens, however, silent film accompaniment had developed into a profession, and the piano emerged as the workhorse of the era. The 1920s saw the development of the mammoth theatrical organ, like the Mighty Wurlitzer, and motion picture orchestras, contracted by the owners of magnificent urban picture palaces. Orchestral scores, music transcribed for the orchestra, developed during the late silent era. Orchestral film scores based on original compositions were rare in the United States, but there are some famous international examples (not all of which, unfortunately, have survived): Camille Saint-Saëns's (1835–1921) *L'Assassinat du duc de Guise* (1908), Arthur Honegger's (1892–1955) *Napoléon* (1929), Dmitri Shostakovich's (1906–1975) *Novyy Vavilon* (*The New Babylon*, 1927), Erik Satie's (1866–1925) *Entr'acte* (1924), and Edmund Meisel's (1894–1930) *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925), blamed for causing riots at the German premiere and banned. Most orchestral scores, however, were compiled from existing sources, largely nineteenth-century Western European art music. The first American orchestral score, generally acknowledged as *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), was a compilation by Joseph Carl Breil (1870–1926) and the film's director, D. W. Griffith, raiding such classics as Richard Wagner's (1813–1883) *Ride of the Valkyries*, from his opera *Die Walkure*, and Edvard Grieg's *In the Hall of the Mountain King*, from his *Peer Gynt* suite no. 1.

Wagnerian opera and Wagner's theory of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total artwork) were early influences on accompanists. Wagner argued that music in opera should not be privileged over other elements and should be composed in accordance with the dramatic needs of the story. Accompanists envisioned film music as performing the same function. Especially influential was Wagner's use of the leitmotif, an identifying musical passage, often a melody, associated through repetition with a particular character, place, emotion, or even abstract idea. Silent film accompanists often used the leitmotif to unify musical accompaniment, and during the period of film's transformation into a narrative form, leitmotifs became an important device for clarifying the story and helping audiences keep track of characters. However, Eisler and Adorno, among other critics, argued that the leitmotif was inappropriate for such short art forms as films.

Spurred by reconstructions in the 1970s of silent film scores by scholar-conductors such as Gillian Anderson and by screenings of the restoration of Abel Gance's *Napoléon*, silent film has enjoyed a resurgence. The rebirth of the silent film with musical accompaniment has made it possible for audiences today to feel something of the all-encompassing nature of the silent film experience. Original scores have been rescued from oblivion, and new scores have been created. Some of these restorations exist in recorded form and boast the original music: *Broken Blossoms* (1919), scored by Louis Gottschalk (1864–1934); *Metropolis* (1927), scored by Gottfried Huppertz; *Chelovek s kino-apparatom* (*The Man with a Movie Camera*, 1929), with a recreation of the director Dziga Vertov's (1896–1954) score by the Alloy Orchestra. Other restorations feature newly composed scores: *The Wind* (1928), scored by Carl Davis; *Stachka* (*Strike*, 1925), scored by the Alloy Orchestra; and *Sherlock, Jr.* (1924), scored by the Clubfoot Orchestra. Giorgio Moroder (b. 1940) used disco in his restoration of *Metropolis* in 1985. But the most exciting development has been the success of silent screenings with live musical accompaniment at film festivals, in art museums, on college campuses, and sometimes even in renovated silent film theaters.

THE CONVERSION TO SOUND

Most filmmakers responded to the coming of sound by transplanting the live, continuous musical accompaniment of silent film to the mechanically produced soundtrack. Standardizing and upgrading the quality of musical accompaniment was one of the most compelling reasons for Warner Bros. to invest in Vitaphone, an early sound reproduction system. Warner Bros. hired the New York Philharmonic to record the studio's first sound feature, *Don Juan* (1926). Al Jolson's ad-libbing in their second Vitaphone venture, *The Jazz Singer* (1927), not only put the "talk" in "talking pictures" but ushered in a new aesthetic possibility: realism. Sound, specifically dialogue

and sound effects, could now be used to heighten the impression that films captured reality. Musical accompaniment challenged this aesthetic, and thus the common practice in Hollywood in the transition years between silent and sound expunged background music entirely. Most films made during this period either have no musical score at all or include only music visibly produced within the world of the story. And yet the power of film music could not be ignored. Many films go to absurd lengths to include musical accompaniment "realistically." In Josef von Sternberg's crime drama *Thunderbolt* (1929), for instance, prisoners just happen to be practicing music in their cells (von Suppe's *Poet and Peasant*) during the film's climax.

Some filmmakers and composers proved more adventurous. In Hollywood, the composer Hugo Riesenfeld (1879–1939) used two different musical mediums simultaneously (a jazz band and a small orchestra) for distinctive effects in *Sunrise* (1927). Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977), who composed the music for some of his films, continued the practice of continuous musical accompaniment well into the 1930s for films such as *City Lights* (1931) and *Modern Times* (1936). In France, the director René Clair (1898–1981) used musical effects to replace naturalistic sound in *Le million* (*The Million*, 1931) and *Sous les toits de Paris* (*Under the Roofs of Paris*, 1930); Maurice Jaubert (1900–1940) used electronic manipulation to produce an arresting musical cue for a slow-motion sequence in Jean Vigo's *Zéro de conduite* (*Zero for Conduct*, 1933). Eisler scored Joris Ivens's documentary *Nieuwe gronden* (*New Earth*, 1934) using naturalistic sound for the machines but music for the humans. In Britain, Arthur Benjamin (1893–1960) experimented with orchestration techniques to compensate for the problems in early sound recording, reducing the number of strings and even creating pizzicato from tuba and piano. And in Berlin, at the German Film Research Institute, experiments in scoring techniques for sound film produced filmic equivalents for musical principles, such as the dolly-in and dolly-out for crescendo and decrescendo and superimpositions for dissonant chords. Perhaps it was these experiments that Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951) was thinking of when he was approached by Hollywood. The story goes that he expressed interest if he could complete his score first and the film could be made to fit his music. It is tempting to consider Fritz Lang's *M* (1931) in this light, where the mesmerizing circularity of the motif from Grieg's *In the Hall of the Mountain King*, whistled by the murderer, finds its reflection in a series of circular visual motifs.

By the 1930s it was clear that sound film would replace silent film as the norm, and that film music fulfilled an important function in sound film. Sometimes cautiously and sometimes boldly, filmmakers began reintegrating background music. In Hollywood, music could be heard connecting sequences, underscoring dramatic moments, and providing accompaniment for the credit sequences (main title and end titles). But ultimately it was a giant gorilla that taught Hollywood the importance of film music. Worried about the credibility of the eighteen-inch models used in the creation of the monster in *King Kong* (1933), the film's director, Merian C. Cooper (1893–1973), asked Max Steiner (1888–1971) to write music to bring Kong to life. And bring Kong to life he did, scoring over three-quarters of the film's one-hundred-minute runtime. The success of *King Kong* validated Steiner's saturated scoring techniques. In 1934 the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences added the originally composed film score as an award category.

THE CLASSICAL HOLLYWOOD FILM SCORE

Hollywood has dominated filmmaking as an institutional practice, and its model for the use of music in film has had a determining influence on the history of film music. This influence can be traced to the classical studio era, roughly from the early 1930s to the 1960s. A wave of academic interest in film music that began in the 1980s has focused on the classical Hollywood film score with several important books devoted to the subject. In the 1930s several key composers—most importantly Steiner, Erich Wolfgang Korngold (1897–1957), and Alfred Newman (1901–1970), but also Dmitri Tiomkin (1894–1979), Miklós Rózsa (1907–1995), Bronislau Kaper (1902–1983), and Franz Waxman (1906–1967)—rose to prominence for their work in films. All but Newman had emigrated from Europe, many fleeing Hitler and the rise of fascism. (Korngold was Jewish, and his family had a narrow escape from Austria.)

The classical Hollywood film score follows a set of conventions so as to help tell the film's story and to engage the audience in the world that the story creates. To this end, music was subordinated to narrative and rendered unobtrusive through techniques developed both to mask its entrances and exits and to subordinate it to dialogue. Music served several important functions nonetheless: sustaining narrative unity by covering over potential gaps in the narrative chain (such as transitions between sequences and montages); controlling connotation; fleshing out mood, atmosphere, historical time, geographic space, and characters' subjectivity; connecting the audience emotionally to the film; and heightening screen action, often through mickey-mousing, or directly synchronizing screen action and music. (The term comes from the making of Disney animated films, where characters move in exact time to the music—think of Mickey conducting the brigade of brooms in *The Sorcerer's*

Apprentice sequence in *Fantasia* [1941]). The medium of the classical film score was symphonic; its musical idiom derived from late romanticism, with its structure dependent on the leitmotif. Outstanding examples of the form are too numerous to list, but highlights include Korngold's *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938), Newman's *Wuthering Heights* (1939), and Steiner's *Gone with the Wind* (1939), the last with over three hours of music.

Studio filmmaking in the classical Hollywood era emphasized efficiency, following an assembly-line mode of production with a highly specialized division of labor. Work on the score began when the film was in rough cut and was usually completed within three to six weeks. (There were exceptions: Korngold, for one, got more time.) The process began with a spotting session to determine in which "spots" to place the music. Composers produced sketches of the music, but orchestrators (and sometimes arrangers for songs and choral material) produced the finished version of the score. (Again there were exceptions: Herrmann orchestrated all his own film scores.) The top Hollywood composers established long-term relationships with orchestrators or arrangers they trusted: Korngold with Hugo Friedhofer (1901–1981) (who would go on to become an important composer himself), Tiomkin with choral arranger Jester Hairston (1901–2000). Some composers had the privilege of conducting their own work, but usually it was the studio's musical director who conducted. Often, especially on "B" pictures, teams of composers, arrangers, and orchestrators worked together, so screen credit can be misleading. On *Stagecoach*, five composers shared screen credit, seven worked on the score, and four received the Academy Award® that year for Music (Scoring). Ultimately, the producer had the final approval over the score and the studio owned any music written for its films.

Hollywood's mode of production did not accommodate individuality, perfectionism, or complaint. And yet some composers managed all three. Caryl Flinn argues that it was just these conditions and the sense of artistic frustration that they fostered that drove Hollywood composers to romanticism, with its idealized focus on the individual, the transformative nature of creativity, and art's transcendence over social and historical reality.

The symphonic film score remains an option for composers, especially in studio big-budget, action-adventure films and historical epics. The phenomenal success of John Williams's scores, such as *Jaws* (1975), *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977), and especially the first *Star Wars* trilogy (1977–1983), has been instrumental in revitalizing both the symphonic medium and a neoromantic idiom. Composers who work in the form include Jerry Goldsmith (1929–2004), Danny Elfman (b. 1953), James Horner (b. 1953), and Howard Shore (b. 1946), as well as composers who established their careers abroad, such as John Barry, Nino Rota (1911–1979), Ennio Morricone (b. 1928), Maurice Jarre (b. 1924), Georges Delerue (1925–1992), and Patrick Doyle (b. 1953), to name but a few. Even in films with more contemporary musical styles and instrumentation, it is interesting to note the extent to which classical scoring principles remain. Amid the rock scoring of *The Matrix* trilogy (1999–2003), for instance, the leitmotif for Neo, the protagonist, can be heard in a classically inflected, symphonic arrangement.

THE CLASSICAL SCORE AND BEYOND: INSIDE AND OUTSIDE HOLLYWOOD

In the 1940s and 1950s the classical film score began to undergo an evolution when the next generation of film composers arrived in Hollywood. With them came more contemporary musical language from the worlds of art music and popular music that opened up the stylistic possibilities of the Hollywood score. Largely American by birth and by training, composers such as Herrmann, David Raksin (1912–2004), Alex North (1910–1991), Elmer Bernstein (1922–2004), Leonard Rosenman (b. 1924), and Henry Mancini (1924–1994) incorporated American vernacular music (folk song and jazz), elements of modernism (dissonance, polytonality, serial music), and the popular song in their film scores. Later, composers from the world of art music brought postmodern musical techniques. And in the 1950s, concurrent with many of these developments, rock 'n' roll arrived.

Folk song had become a subject of interest to American art music composers in the 1930s. Rejecting the experimental techniques of modernism, composers such as Aaron Copland (1900–1990) sought to define a uniquely American idiom and turned to folk song and its distinctive melodies and harmonic textures. Copland's *Billy the Kid* (1938), *Rodeo* (1942), and *Appalachian Spring* (1942) are prototypical examples of this "American" sound, which crossed over into film in the scores for *Of Mice and Men* (1940) and *Our Town* (1940), by Copland, and for the documentaries *The Plow That Broke the Plains* (1936), *The River* (1938), and *Louisiana Story* (1948), by Virgil Thomson (1896–1989). Perhaps because the western as a genre focuses so transparently on American values, its scores have tended to favor this approach. Tiomkin's scores for *Duel in the Sun* (1946) and *Red River* (1948), and Richard Hageman's (1882–1966) for several John Ford westerns, especially *Fort Apache* (1948) and *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), are exemplary. A more recent example of the use of this American sound can be heard in Randy

JOHN WILLIAMS

b. Long Island, New York, 8 February 1932

With well over a hundred major feature films to his credit to date, the American-born and -trained John Williams may well be the most recognizable film composer in the Western world. He began his career as a studio pianist and arranger, working with the composers Alfred Newman, Dimitri Tiomkin, Franz Waxman, Bernard Herrmann, and Henry Mancini, and went on to become Hollywood's most successful composer as well as one of its most prolific (although he has not caught up with the legendary Max Steiner and his 350-plus credits). Largely responsible for the revival of the symphonic film score written in a neoromantic style, and for adapting the film orchestra to the modern recording studio, Williams is a connection to Hollywood's classical era.

More important, Williams has raised the visibility (or to be more precise, the audibility) of the film score. In an era when much of the music heard at the movies is almost immediately forgotten, Williams's music has entered the popular consciousness—the shark motif from *Jaws* (1975), the theme from *Star Wars* (1977), the five-note melody through which aliens and earthlings communicate in *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977). Indelibly identified with the *Star Wars* films, Williams has scored all six of them. He once described them as silent movies, and indeed the music is an important part of these films' success. At the age of seventy-three, he completed over two hours of music for the last installment, *Revenge of the Sith* (2005).

In 1975 Williams began what would prove to be his most enduring partnership, with the director Steven Spielberg. This collaboration on over two-dozen films across a variety of genres has given Williams a premiere showcase for his work. Although less known for his art music, Williams has pursued a career on the concert stage as a composer and conductor, wielding the baton at the Boston Pops from 1980 to 1993. He remains Hollywood's preeminent film composer.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Jaws (1975), *Star Wars* (1977), *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977), *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980), *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981), *JFK* (1991), *Jurassic Park* (1993), *Schindler's List* (1993), *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* (2001)

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Kathryn Kalinak

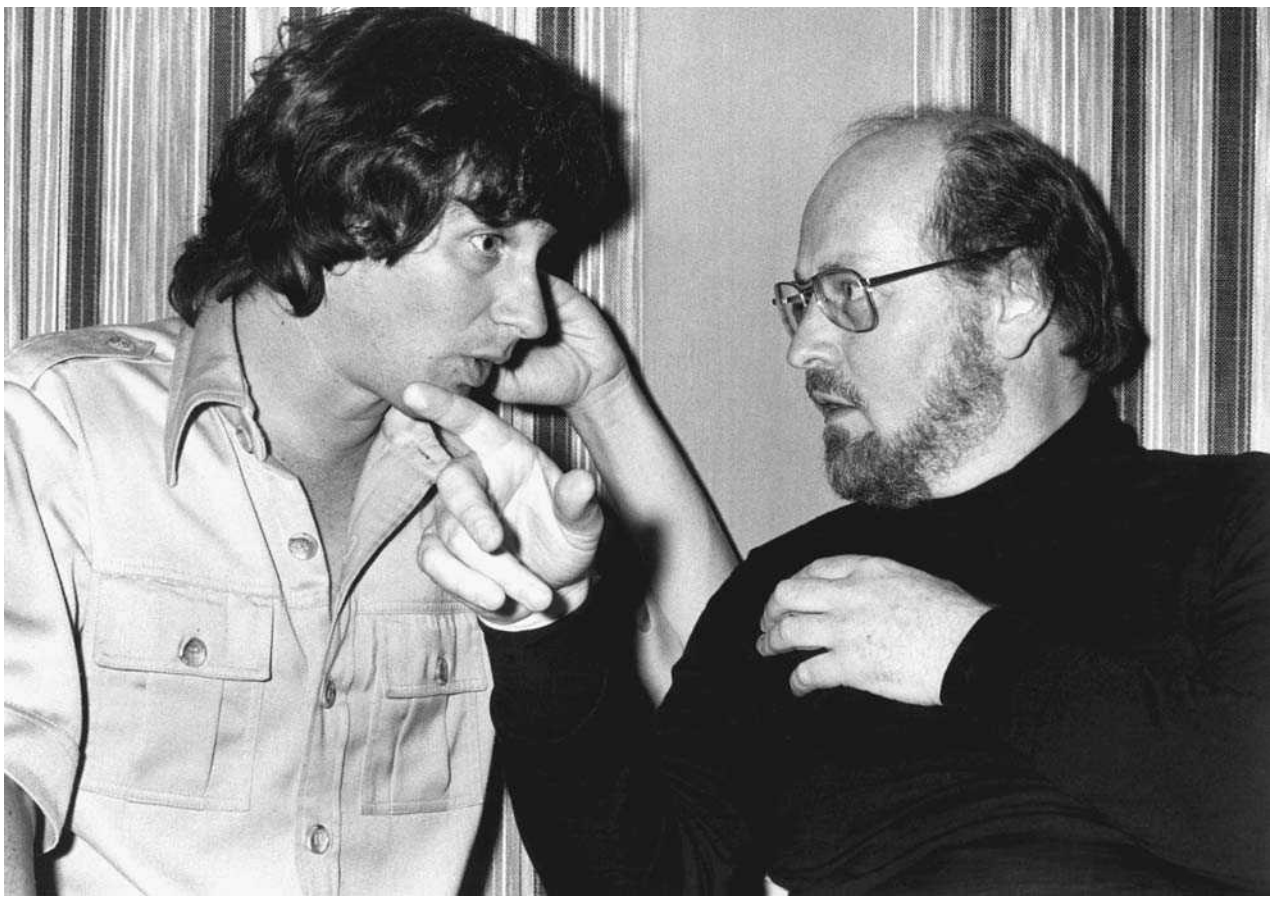
Newman's (b. 1943) score for *The Natural* (1984). Contemporary composers have opened up the focus on American folk song to include various types of world music. Elliot Goldenthal (b. 1954), for instance, himself a student of Copland, uses Mexican folk traditions and indigenous instruments in *Frida* (2002).

Beginning in the 1950s, jazz proved another possibility, especially for films set in urban environments. In edgy urban dramas, jazz exploded onto the soundtrack in scores such as *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951), by Alex North (1910–1991); *The Man with the Golden Arm* (1955), by Elmer Bernstein; *Touch of Evil* (1958), by Mancini; and in numerous biopics about (white) jazz artists such as *Young Man with a Horn* (1950) and *Rhapsody in Blue* (1945). Krin Gabbard makes the case that this focus on white jazz artists provides a key to understanding American ideology of race, gender, and sexuality. Later filmmakers such as Robert Altman (b. 1925) and Clint Eastwood (b. 1930) (who also composes film scores) have used jazz to great effect. Hollywood did turn its attention to black jazz performers in *Mo' Better Blues* (1990) and biopics such as *Lady Sings the Blues* (1972), about the singer Billie Holiday, and *Bird* (1988), about the saxophone legend Charlie Parker. Jazz on the soundtrack was initially associated with urban decadence; the extent to which it has shed this association remains an interesting question. A number of jazz artists have themselves scored films: Duke Ellington (*Anatomy of a Murder*, 1959), Charles Mingus (*Shadows*, 1959), Herbie Hancock (*Death Wish*, 1974), and Joshua

Redman (*Vanya on 42nd Street*, 1994), among others. But the premiere showcase for African American jazz performers in American film may well have been the live action and animated shorts, produced in the 1930s and 1940s, featuring jazz greats Duke Ellington, Cab Calloway, Louis Armstrong, Fats Waller, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday. The racism of the era is strongly in evidence in many of them. In cartoons produced by the Max Fleischer studio, for instance, jazz artists found themselves captured not only by animated form (Cab Calloway was a walrus) but by numerous racial stereotypes.

The introduction of rock 'n' roll occurred simultaneously with these developments. First heard on a feature film soundtrack when Bill Haley's song "Rock Around the Clock" was used under the titles of *The Blackboard Jungle* (1955), rock 'n' roll was initially limited to teen pics and used to target young audiences. In the 1970s soul could be heard on the soundtrack in films like *Shaft* (1971), for which Isaac Hayes wrote the songs as well as the background score. Rock 'n' roll ultimately functioned as a pressure point on the classical Hollywood film score and was an important influence in a new type of scoring that would emerge in the 1960s, the compilation score.

In the 1940s and 1950s, modernist musical techniques, such as dissonance, atonality, striking rhythms, and unconventional instrumentation, made their way into Hollywood film scores such as Rózsa's for *Spellbound* and *The Lost Weekend* (both 1945, and both making use of the theremin, one of the first electronic instruments), and Rosenman's for *East of Eden* (1955) and *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955). The cutting edge of modernism, serial music, can be heard in Rosenman's score for *The Cobweb* (1955). Initially, electronic instrumentation was limited to horror films and science fiction or used for specific psychological effects (dream sequences, for instance), but it moved into the mainstream and high visibility with Giorgio Moroder's score for *Midnight Express* (1978) and Vangelis's for *Blade Runner* (1982). In the late twentieth century Philip Glass (b. 1937) brought minimalism out of the world of art music and into the film score. Characterized by repetitive musical



Director Steven Spielberg (left) and John Williams discuss the score for* Close Encounters of the Third Kind *(1977).
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Howard Shore conducting the music for* The Lord of the Rings: Return of the King *(Peter Jackson, 2003). © NEW LINE/ COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

figures that disturb conventional notions of rhythm and time, Glass's mesmeric music first attracted attention in *Koyaanisqatsi* (1983) and *The Thin Blue Line* (1988). Glass's work in Hollywood has been limited (*The Hours* in 2002 is his most high-profile score), but not his influence: the distinctive techniques of minimalism (but with more conventional tonality) can be heard in many Hollywood films.

THE USE OF POPULAR SONG

The rise of the popular song precipitated the most fundamental and lasting changes to the Hollywood film score. Popular music had been used in film accompaniment from the beginning; by the 1920s studios began promoting songs written expressly for their films, known as theme songs, through sheet music and record sales. Popular songs appeared in sound film, too. Sometimes they were performed on-screen, as by Dooley Wilson, singing "As Time Goes By," in *Casablanca* (1942), and sometimes they were heard emanating from on-screen nightclubs or radios. In the 1930s and 1940s, songs were sometimes culled from a score's themes with lyrics hastily added to tap into additional profits. Raksin's leitmotif for the title character of *Laura* (1944) became "Laura," with the addition of Johnny Mercer's lyrics. The large-scale promotion of theme songs, however, was a product of the 1950s and the phenomenal success of Tex Ritter's "Do Not Forsake Me" from *High Noon* (1952). Theme songs were everywhere, now heard in films complete with their lyrics, cross-promoted on radio, television, and on record, and generating huge revenue for the studios.

The popularity of soundtracks dates from this era, although there are some interesting earlier examples, such as Disney's *Snow White* (1938). Often composed in advance of the score, theme songs had a determining influence on both the shape and sound of Hollywood films in the 1950s and 1960s. Mancini created many of the most memorable songs of the era, such as "Moon River" from *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (1961). Yet Mancini never defined himself as a songwriter, considering song melodies as motifs to be exploited in the scoring process. Jeff Smith argues persuasively that the theme song did not undermine classical scoring principles, positing that scores based on theme songs fulfilled the primary

functions of classical film music: to attend to the needs of the narrative and to connect the audience to the film emotionally and psychologically. Classical scoring depended to a large extent on musical conventions to generate audience response and to lend meaning. Theme songs shifted away from those conventions to make use of popular culture, with lyrics providing an additional layer to make the meaning of a film resonate.

In the 1960s, new scoring possibilities produced a hybrid of the theme score and rock 'n' roll—the compilation score. Compiled scores consist of a collection of existing songs, often used in their original recorded format and largely derived from noncinematic sources (usually popular music but also opera and classical music); these can be supplemented by original songs and orchestral background scoring. The compilation score has brought cinema full circle, harking back to the days of silent cinema when accompanists would select music from a variety of sources, including popular song. The compilation score for Quentin Tarantino's *Kill Bill: Vol. I* (2003), for example, contains Nancy Sinatra's cover of Sonny and Cher's "Bang Bang" and songs by Isaac Hayes, Tomoyasu Hotei, Charlie Feathers, Al Hirt, Quincy Jones, Meiko Kaji, and a cue from Herrmann's score for *Twisted Nerve* (1968). Other notable compilation scores feature various kinds of popular music: rock 'n' roll (*Easy Rider*, 1969), disco (*Flashdance*, 1983), rap (*Dangerous Minds*, 1995), country (*Nashville*, 1975), popular standards (*Sleepless in Seattle*, 1993) and eclectic mixes (*Apocalypse Now*, 1979, which includes Wagner's *Ride of the Valkyries* and the Rolling Stones' "[I Can't Get No] Satisfaction.") Cross-promoted on radio, MTV, and various recording mediums, soundtracks now precede a film's release and may produce higher profits than the film itself.

Compilation scores have brought dramatic changes to film scoring. Responsibility shifts from the composer to the producer or director (to name just two examples, Tarantino and Woody Allen), who select the music for their films themselves. The choice may fall to a music supervisor, whose job includes clearing copyright for the final selections. Compilation scores also present some formidable challenges to traditional film scoring. Because songs have a structural autonomy of their own, they sometimes do not correspond directly to the image track. Additionally, audiences may perceive songs on a more conscious level than background orchestral scoring. Preexisting songs also trail with them not only a cultural history, but often a personal history, triggering memories and experiences that may be at odds with the film's dramatic needs. Anahid Kassabian views this change as liberating, as compilation scores have opened up possibilities for alternative voices (especially women and minorities) to be heard. Interestingly, the job of music supervisor has opened up economic space for women. While female composers' access to Hollywood has been limited in the past (Elizabeth Firestone and Ann Ronnell found some work in the classical studio era) and more are doing so at present (Shirley Walker, Rachel Portman, Anne Dudley), women now dominate the ranks of music supervisors in Hollywood and thus have more access to film music than they had in the past. But even with these changes, compilation scores continue to respond to the image track, exploiting the associations that songs generate to fulfill some of music's most conventional functions: to create mood, heighten atmosphere, aid in characterization, establish time and place, and relay theme.

INTERNATIONAL FILM: OTHER TRADITIONS, OTHER PRACTICES

Outside Hollywood, national cinemas the world over have adopted and adapted film music to fit their own particular needs, sometimes emulating conventional Hollywood practice, sometimes departing from it in distinctive ways, sometimes ignoring it altogether. As compared to Hollywood, international film, historically, has been characterized by a less capital-intensive and elaborate machine for the production and distribution of film. Funding is different, relying more on government subsidies than sales, and many national cinemas have been or are protected from competition by legislation (import quotas, for instance). International directors have also been more interested in using composers from the world of art music, resulting in more stylistic diversity. In Britain, Arthur Bliss (1891–1975), Arthur Benjamin, and William Walton (1902–1983) each composed important early film scores. Most memorable are the scores for the futuristic *Things to Come* (1936), by Bliss; *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1934), by Benjamin and containing his original composition "The Storm Cloud Cantata" (retained by Herrmann in his score for the remake in 1956); and several of Laurence Olivier's adaptations of Shakespeare, including *Hamlet* (1948) and *Henry V* (1944), by Walton. Benjamin Britten and Ralph Vaughn Williams (1872–1958) composed scores for British documentaries in the 1930s and 1940s, with *Song of Ceylon* (1934) an important example. Michael Nyman (b. 1944) scored a series of films for Peter Greenaway, including *The Cook, the Thief, His Wife & Her Lover* (1989), and Patrick Doyle did the same for Kenneth Branagh, including his adaptations of *Henry V* (1989) and *Hamlet* (1996).

Maurice Jaubert worked prominently in early French sound film, with Jean Vigo, René Clair (*Quatorze Juillet*, [*July 14*, 1933]), and Marcel Carné (*Le Jour se lève*, [*Daybreak*, 1939]), before his untimely death during

SERGEI PROKOFIEV

b. Sontsovka, Ukraine, Russia, 23 April 1891, d. Moscow, USSR (now Russia), 5 March 1953

It is sometimes described as one of the greatest film scores ever written; it is often described as one of the worst soundtracks ever recorded. The score for *Alexander Nevsky* (1938), one of three films that the Russian composer Sergei Prokofiev scored for the legendary director Sergei Eisenstein, is to this day one of cinema's most striking and memorable film scores.

Like many international film composers, Prokofiev, born in Ukraine but raised in St. Petersburg, had an established reputation in art music when he turned to film scoring. His work with Eisenstein on *Nevsky* was a collaboration in the fullest sense of the word: some of the film was shot to Prokofiev's music and some of Prokofiev's music was composed to Eisenstein's footage. In *The Film Sense*, Eisenstein wrote that Prokofiev found the inner essence of the images, capturing the dynamic play of the frame's graphic content instead of merely illustrating action on the screen. The film was conceived to honor a medieval Russian hero and to ignite Soviet passions against Germany on the eve of World War II. Eisenstein, in trouble with Soviet authorities, had not made a film in years; Prokofiev, who lived extensively abroad before returning to Moscow in 1936, was finding his career similarly stalled. When Stalin himself asked to see the film, Eisenstein and Prokofiev hastily finished a rough-cut of the film's image track and soundtrack to meet with his approval. (Stalin liked the film, at least initially; *Nevsky*'s fortunes would rise and fall with the Soviets' shifting political alliances during World War II.) In fact, it is highly likely that this rough-cut version is the film we see and hear today. Given the state of Soviet sound recording in the 1930s, the speed with which the score was recorded, and the size of the orchestra that performed it, the soundtrack is crude at best. Today, symphony orchestras around the world have accompanied screenings of *Alexander Nevsky* live in the concert hall, giving Prokofiev's score the performance it deserves.

On what turned out to be his last concert tour of the West in 1938, Prokofiev found himself in Hollywood, with his wife and children back in Moscow as collateral against his return. Touring Disney Studios, he met with Walt Disney himself to discuss the animation of *Peter and the Wolf*, one of Prokofiev's most enduring concert pieces, for *Fantasia* (1940). That idea would come to fruition not in *Fantasia*, however, but in *Make Mine Music* (1946), in which the *Peter and the Wolf* segment becomes Prokofiev's only "Hollywood" film score.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Lieutenant Kije (1934), *Alexander Nevsky* (1938), *Ivan the Terrible, Part I* (1944), *Ivan the Terrible, Part II* (banned 1946, released 1958)

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Kathryn Kalinak

World War II. But George Auric (1899–1983) proved France's most prolific and versatile composer of the pre- and postwar eras. In France he scored *Le Sang d'un poète* (*The Blood of a Poet*, 1930), *La Belle et la bête* (*Beauty and the Beast*, 1946), and *Orphée* (*Orpheus*, 1950) for the avant-garde filmmaker Jean Cocteau; in Britain, *The Lavender Hill Mob* (1951); and in Hollywood, *Roman Holiday* (1953). Maurice Jarre established his career in France in the 1950s and 1960s and catapulted to the top of the international "A" list with scores for *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) and *Doctor Zhivago* (1965). The French New Wave brought a new set of French composers to the fore, including Pierre Jansen (b. 1930), who scored over thirty films for Claude Chabrol, and Georges Delerue, who worked with Jean-Luc Godard (*Le Mépris*, [*Contempt*, 1963]), Alain Resnais (*Hiroshima mon amour*, 1959), and François Truffaut (eleven films, including *Jules et Jim*, 1962) before embarking on an international career, scoring *Il Conformista* (*The Conformist*, 1970), and eventually settling in Hollywood. Among the most striking film scores of the twentieth century are those for several Godard films that capture the unconventionality and iconoclasm of the director's filmmaking style: Martial Solal's (b. 1927) jazzy score for *À bout de souffle*

Sergei Prokofiev. © BET™ANN/CORBIS.

(*Breathless*, 1960); Michel Legrand's (b. 1932) truncated theme and variations for *Vivre sa vie* (*My Life to Live*, 1962); Antoine Duhamel's (b. 1925) score for *Weekend* (1967), which features a concert pianist in a barnyard; Gabriel Yared's (b. 1949) score for *Sauve qui peut (la vie)* (*Every Man for Himself*, 1980), where characters in a shoot-out run past the orchestra playing the score; and *Prénom Carmen* (*First Name: Carmen*, 1983) with its mix of Beethoven, Bizet, and Tom Waits. The much-noticed score for *Diva* (1981) features a stylish mix of opera and techno, with recording itself becoming a part of the plot.

Hans Eisler worked in Germany and France before and after his stint in Hollywood, composing original and unconventional scores such as those for *Kuhle Wampe oder: Wem gehört die Welt?* (1932) and the documentary *Nuit et brouillard* (*Night and Fog*, 1955). Peer Raben (b. 1940) lent a distinctive sound to the work of Rainer Werner Fassbinder in several films, including *Die Ehe der Maria Braun* (*The Marriage of Maria Braun*, 1979) and *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (1980). In Italy, Nino Rota forged an extremely important collaboration with Federico Fellini, as did Ennio Morricone with Sergio Leone. In the Soviet Union, Shostakovich continued to score films, including Grigori Kosintsev's *Hamlet* (1964) and *King Lear* (1975). Serge Prokofiev's (1891–1953) famous collaboration with Sergei Eisenstein resulted in the scores for *Alexander Nevsky* (1938) and *Ivan Groznyy* (*Ivan the Terrible*, part 1, 1944; part 2, 1958). In India, Ravi Shankar (b. 1920) scored Satyajit Ray's (1921–1992) Apu trilogy, and Ray himself scored his *Ashani Sanket* (*Distant Thunder*, 1973) and *Ghare-Baire* (*The Home and the World*, 1984). In Indian popular cinema, composers, arrangers, and "playback singers" like Lata Mangeshkar and Asha Bhosle (who dub songs for the stars), rank high in a film's credits and achieve enormous popularity in their own right: a film's success can often depend on the "hit" status of its songs. In Japan, Fumio Hayasaka (1914–1955) collaborated with Akira Kurosawa on many of his early films, including *Rashômon* (1950), *Ikiru* (*To Live*, 1952), and *Shichinin no samurai* (*Seven Samurai*, 1954). Tôru Takemitsu (1930–1996), whose extraordinary range encompasses a variety of historical styles, worked in Japan with Hiroshi Teshigahara on *Suna no onna* (*Woman of the Dunes*, 1964), with Kurosawa on *Dodesukaden* (1970) and *Ran* (1985), and with Nagisa Oshima on *Tokyo senso sengo hiwa* (*The Man Who Left His Will on Film*, 1970); in France he worked on the omnibus film *L'Amour à vingt ans* (*Love at Twenty*, 1962); and in Hollywood, at the end of his life, he scored *Rising Sun* (1993). The director Teinosuke Kinugasa (1896–1982) composed and recorded a score for his 1926 surrealist film *Kurutta Ippeji* (*A Page of Madness*) almost fifty years after its initial release. And Ryuichi Sakamoto crossed over from the world of popular music to the soundtrack with his score for Oshima's *Merry Christmas Mr. Lawrence* (1983).

MUSIC AND ANIMATION

Music for animation has long suffered from critical neglect despite being the form of film music that many viewers first encounter. It diverges significantly from other film music practices. In the United States, for instance, although it developed concurrently with classical scoring principles (sometimes, as in the case of Warner Bros., at the same studio) and even shared composers and techniques, music for animation operates in a fundamentally different way. From the beginning, music for animated films was characterized by stylistic diversity (jazz, swing, pop, modern, and even serial music), an eclectic approach to musical genres (mixing opera, jazz, pop songs, and classical music), and an indifference to the leitmotif and other unifying strategies (in Warner Bros. cartoons, for instance, music emphasizes the cuts). Animated films were often created in "reverse," with the music composed in advance of the images, and decades before the classical score exploited popular songs, the

Sergei Prokofiev worked closely with filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein on the score for* Alexander Nevsky *(1938). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

cartoon soundtrack was filled with them. The golden age of film animation in the United States spans the years from the conversion of sound to the breakup of the studio system, and during that period Disney Studios pioneered a number of important technical advances: mickey-mousing, a crucial model for the integration of music and action for classical Hollywood composers; the tick system, which facilitated precise synchronization and which developed into the click track, a standard operating procedure in Hollywood; and the forerunner of today's surround sound, Fantasound, a stereophonic multitrack recording and playback system that surrounded the audience in sound by positioning speakers around the theater.

But, ultimately, it was the composers who defined the form. Carl Stalling (1891–1972), who composed over six hundred cartoon scores in his career. Stalling began in the late 1920s with Disney scoring many of the early Mickey Mouse shorts and helped to inaugurate the *Silly Symphony* series, where classical music was accompanied by animated images. (The trajectory of the *Silly Symphonies* led to *Fantasia*, a box office failure at the time but much beloved today.) Later at Warner Bros., Stalling transformed the house style by creating a pastiche of quotes, some only a few measures long, from a number of sources and in a variety of styles. Scott Bradley (1891–1977) at MGM experimented with twelve-tone composition for *Tom and Jerry* cartoons, once stating, ''I hope that Dr. Schoenberg will forgive me for using *his system* to produce funny music, but even the boys in the orchestra laughed when we were recording it'' (quoted in Goldmark, p. 70). At UPA in the 1950s, Gail Kubik (1914–1984) adroitly exploited percussion in his scores for the *Gerald McBoing Boing* series. The rise of television and the cost-saving measures attending the breakup of the studios signaled the end of the golden age, when the US animation industry, with some exceptions, transferred largely to television. The renaissance of Disney feature animation in the 1980s continued the practice of modeling Disney films and their scores after musicals, although as *South Park: Bigger, Longer, & Uncut* (1999) reminds us, animated musicals do not have to be conventional. Internationally, music for animation has achieved high visibility in Japan, where soundtracks for Japanese animation, anime, have become

an important part of the Japanese recording industry. Some of these soundtracks mix traditional Japanese and Western musics in interesting ways. Shoji Yamashira's *Akira* (1988), for instance, combines Buddhist chant, taiko drumming, and synthesizers. Film scholars and musicologists have begun to turn their attention to ''cartoon music,'' and books on animation now often include attention to the score.

CONCLUSION

Film music, as the composer David Raksin (1912–2004) put it, ''makes the difference. There's no doubt about that. All you have to do to get the point of film music across to the skeptical is to make them sit though the picture *without* the music'' (quoted in Kalinak, p. xvii). This is exactly what Herrmann did during the production of *Psycho*. Hitchcock did not think the shower sequence should be accompanied by music; Herrmann thought otherwise and asked for the opportunity to score it. Hitchcock, not entirely satisfied with the shower sequence himself, was open to the experiment. Later, Herrmann screened two versions: one accompanied only by sound effects, the other, accompanied only by music. Hitchcock chose the latter, resulting in one of cinema's most powerful and arresting moments, a grisly murder made even more horrific by the shrieking violins that accompany it. Not all films use music, but the vast majority of films from every corner of the globe from the nineteenth century to the twenty-first have exploited it. All evidence points to its persistence well into the future.

SEE ALSO *Animation; Ideology; Musicals; Silent Cinema; Sound; Studio System; Technology*

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Kathryn Kalinak

MUSICALS

As a distinct genre, the film musical refers to movies that include singing and/or dancing as an important element and also involves the performance of song and/or dance by the main characters. Movies that include an occasional musical interlude, such as Dooley Wilson's famous rendition of "As Time Goes By" in *Casablanca* (1942), generally are not considered film musicals. By this definition neither would *American Graffiti* (1973), which, while featuring a continuous soundtrack of rock oldies coming from car radios in the nostalgic world of the story, has no performances by its ensemble cast.

The movie musical exploits more fully than any other genre the two basic elements of the film medium—movement and sound. In melodrama, although the characters' intense emotions are expressed through stylistic means (*mise-en-scène*, lighting, music), their feelings are often repressed; by contrast, in film musicals characters are uninhibited and outwardly express emotion through song and dance. Gene Kelly's (1912–1996) famous refrain in *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), "Gotta dance," refers not only to his own inclination in that specific film but to the genre as a whole. Classical musicals depict a utopian integration of mental and physical life, of mind and body, where intangible feeling is given form as concrete yet gracious physical action. Whether the characters in musicals are feeling up or down, whether they are alone or in public, they are always able to fulfill their desire or to feel better by dancing or singing. In his influential discussion of entertainment, Richard Dyer cites the film musical specifically for its utopian sensibility, which he defines as its ability to present complex and unpleasant feelings in simple, direct, and vivid ways (Altman, 1981).

With the exception of some comedies, the musical is the only genre that violates the otherwise rigid tenets of classic narrative cinema. Just as Groucho Marx addresses some of his wisecracks directly to the camera, so characters sing and dance to the camera, for the benefit of the film viewer, rather than any ostensible audience within the film's story. As well, often the music accompanying singing stars conventionally comes from "nowhere"—outside the world of the film—another violation of the rules of realism that govern almost all other genres. The scene in *Singin' in the Rain* where Kelly adjusts the lighting and switches on a romantic wind machine on an empty soundstage to set the mood before proclaiming his love for Debbie Reynolds in the song "You Were Meant for Me," acknowledges the conventions of artificiality that characterize performance in musical films.

THE RISE OF THE FILM MUSICAL

In the United States the film musical, with its combination of song and dance numbers woven into a narrative context, evolved from the non-narrative entertainment forms of minstrelsy, vaudeville, Tin Pan Alley, British music hall, and musical theater. Many of the composers of musicals wrote popular tunes for sheet music published by the numerous music companies located on the block of 29th Street between Broadway and Fifth Avenue in New York City, commonly known as Tin Pan Alley. Minstrel shows, the most popular form of music and comedy in the nineteenth century, featured white actors performing in blackface. Minstrelsy, which lasted well into the twentieth century, was built on comic racial stereotypes, and its influence may be seen directly in early film musicals starring Al Jolson (1886–1950) and

Eddie Cantor (1892–1964), both of whom performed in blackface on the stage and then carried their "burnt cork" personas into film. The last of three parts in any minstrel show was a short comedy sketch with music, often a parody of a contemporary hit, and it was also a clear predecessor of what would evolve into musical theater as epitomized by Broadway in New York City and then in Hollywood cinema. Minstrelsy's practice of racial segregation (there were both all-white and all-black minstrel shows) was mirrored by the practice of producing segregated film musicals featuring all-black casts, like *Hallelujah* (1929), *Cabin in the Sky* (1943), *Carmen Jones* (1954), and *The Wiz* (1978).

The film musical has always borrowed from musical theater. Many film adaptations drew on theatrical musicals, or contain songs borrowed from them, and many performers, choreographers, composers, lyricists, and directors moved from musical theater to film musicals. Jerome Kern (1885–1945) and Oscar Hammerstein II's (1895–1960) *Show Boat* was adapted for the screen no less than three times—in 1929, 1936, and 1951.

When synchronized sound was introduced in 1927, the musical immediately became one of the most popular film genres. Opening in October 1927, *The Jazz Singer*, often cited as the first feature-length sound film and the first film musical, was a sensational hit. The movie, which featured established Broadway star Al Jolson, was in fact mostly a silent film with seven musical sequences added, including such signature Jolson tunes as "Mammy" and "Waiting for the Robert E. Lee." The story of a young Jewish man who abandons his future as a cantor and, against his father's wishes, becomes a popular singer was the stuff of melodrama; it was the talking and singing that audiences remembered.

Jolson's famous ad-libbed line, "You ain't heard nothin' yet," seemed to announce not only *The Jazz Singer*, but the arrival of the musical genre itself. In the 1930s numerous Broadway composers, including Irving Berlin (1888–1989), Cole Porter (1891–1964), Richard Rodgers (1902–1979), Lorenz Hart (1895–1943), and George (1898–1937) and Ira Gershwin (1896–1983), happily came to work in Hollywood on the many musicals suddenly being churned out by the studios. Hollywood pundits observed that Greta Garbo and Rin Tin Tin were the only stars who were not taking singing lessons. The rush of the studios to convert to sound and to produce musicals to exploit the new technology is treated humorously in the plot of *Singin' in the Rain*: when the attempt to make a sound film with silent film star Lina Lamont (Jean Hagen) results in disaster because of her thick Brooklyn accent, Don Lockwood (Gene Kelly) and Cosmo Brown (Donald O'Connor) save the film by changing the romantic adventure they were making, "The Dueling Cavalier," into a musical titled *The Dancing Cavalier* and dubbing Lamont's voice with that of Kathy Selden (Debbie Reynolds). Ironically, Reynolds's own voice was in actuality dubbed by another singer, Betty Royce.

As the industry quickly converted to sound, several distinct subgenres of the musical emerged. Revue musicals, containing a loosely joined series of acts with a minimal plot, carried over the variety format of vaudeville. *The King of Jazz* (1930), for example, is structured around a series of songs, dances, and comedy sketches by popular stars of the day introduced by bandleader Paul Whiteman; the various numbers and acts have no relationship or connection apart from Whiteman's claim that many of the disparate performances have combined in the great "melting pot of music" to create the new sound of jazz. *The Hollywood Revue of 1929* featured almost every star in MGM's famed lineup (as well as the debut of Nacio Herb Brown's "Singin' in the Rain"), while Warner Bros. trotted out many of its stars for *Show of Shows* (1929) and Paramount did the same with *Paramount on Parade* (1930). Operettas also were popular, with Sigmund Romberg (1887–1951) and Oscar Hammerstein II's *The Desert Song* (1929), starring John Boles and Myrna Loy, the first to be filmed. By 1934, the operetta was already the target of parody in *Babes in Toyland*, with comic duo Stan Laurel and Oliver Hardy. Later came musical biographies such as MGM's lavish *The Great Ziegfeld* (1936), starring William Powell as legendary American impresario Florenz Ziegfeld, Jr. (1867–1932); *Yankee Doodle Dandy* (1942), with James Cagney cast against type as songwriter George M. Cohan (1878–1942); *Night and Day* (1946), with Cary Grant as composer Cole Porter; and *Love Me or Leave Me* (1955), starring Doris Day as singer Ruth Etting.

The first film director to distinguish himself in the musical genre was Ernest Lubitsch (1892–1947), a Jewish-German director who came to Hollywood in 1923. Lubitsch made a series of musicals and comedies that combined sophistication and sex. *The Love Parade* (1929), set in the imaginary European kingdom of Sylvania, paired French star Maurice Chevalier (1888–1972) and Jeanette MacDonald (1903–1965). In 1932, Lubitsch reunited Chevalier and MacDonald in *One Hour with You* (co-directed by George Cukor), a remake of his own earlier hit comedy, *The Marriage Circle* (1924). Another of Lubitsch's comedies, *Ninotchka* (1939), was remade as *Silk Stockings* (1957) by Rouben Mamoulian, who in the 1930s had followed Lubitsch's lead and paired Chevalier and MacDonald in *Love Me Tonight* (1932).

The backstage musical, in which the story is set in a theatrical context involving the mounting of a show, has

proven the most durable type of film musical. The premise provides a convenient pretext for the inclusion of the production numbers that, after all, constitute the film musical's primary appeal. MGM's *Broadway Melody* (1929), the first genuine film musical, was a backstage musical about two sisters seeking fame in the theater. The film won the Academy Award® for Best Picture in 1929 and established the formula for the many backstage musicals to follow, including such memorable Warner Bros. musicals as *42nd Street* (1933), and *Golddiggers of 1933* (1933). Although the backstage format declined with the rise of the "integrated musicals" in the 1950s, it continued through the war years and informed such later and otherwise different musicals as Baz Luhrmann's (b. 1962) *Moulin Rouge* (2001), starring Nicole Kidman and Ewan McGregor, and *8 Mile* (Curtis Hanson, 2003), starring rap singer Eminem and Kim Basinger.

POLITICS AND FANTASY

In the 1930s, musicals proved to be a particularly amenable genre both for addressing and escaping the urgent problems of the Great Depression, into which America had plunged only two years after the appearance of *The Jazz Singer*. The very nature of dance itself suggests a sense of social harmony, for dancing partners move in step with each other, and in film musicals (unlike live theater) dances are always done perfectly and with apparent spontaneity. Yet while dance was a useful metaphor of communal order, the lavish spectacles created by Hollywood musicals also took audiences' thoughts away from the deprivations in their own lives.

The backstage musicals offered optimistic stories of disparate characters working together for the common good that served as timely social fables. In these musicals, the narrative problems encountered in putting on the show become a metaphor for the necessary national effort and sacrifice required to turn around the troubled economy. In *42nd Street*, for example, as the show's opening approaches, everyone sacrifices in the interest of the collective goal. The ambitious chorus girl (Ginger Rogers) declines her golden opportunity to play the lead part because she knows Ruby Keeler is better suited for the job, and the intended star (Bebe Daniels), now sidelined with a broken ankle, overcomes her jealousy and resentment toward Keeler and sends her onstage with a stirring speech. This pro-social thrust of the Depression-era musical is explicit in the climatic "Shanghai Lil" number of *Footlight Parade* (1933) when the chorines, like a college football cheering section, turn over cards to reveal first the Blue Eagle of the National Recovery Administration, and then the face of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

At the same time, musicals are entertaining fantasies that tend to deal with social issues metaphorically, through the dynamics and musical performance, rather than directly. The climactic number of *Gold Diggers of 1933*, "Remember My Forgotten Man," about jobless veterans of World War I and featuring a parade of tired and wounded soldiers as part of Busby Berkeley's (1895–1976) choreography, is a startling exception that proves the rule. By contrast, during World War II Betty Grable (1916–1973) lifted the morale of American servicemen with such charming, nostalgic musicals as *Tin Pan Alley* (1940) and *Coney Island* (1943), while Bob Hope and Bing Crosby starred in a series of musical comedy "road" pictures, beginning with *The Road to Singapore* (1940), that tacitly endorsed American imperialism around the world. It is no coincidence that, during the height of the war in 1943, 40 percent of the films produced in Hollywood were musicals.

In 1957 *Silk Stockings* managed to reduce the contemporary political tensions of the Cold War to the play of heterosexual seduction and conquest. "Music will dissolve the Iron Curtain," asserts the confident, red-blooded American (Fred Astaire [1899–1987]) as he sets out to woo the cold-blooded commissar (Cyd Charisse [b. 1921]). But the image in *Swing Time* (1936) of Astaire riding a freight train in top hat and tails graphically suggests the extent to which social reality in the film musical was pushed aside in favor of upbeat fantasy. It is precisely in such romantic fantasies, rather than in social consciousness, that the film musical discovered its essential charm and appeal.

LOVE, ROMANCE, AND SEX

Just as the primary subject of popular music is love, so the great theme of the film musical, like Shakespearean comedy, is romance, which it tends to depict according to the honeyed clichés of pop music. Typically, love in the musical from *Flying Down to Rio* (1933) to *Moulin Rouge* is of the wonderful "some-enchanted-evening" variety, where lovers are depicted as destined for each other, and after an inevitable series of delays and obstacles, they get together and presumably live happily ever after. In *An American in Paris* (1951), Gene Kelly is inexplicably blind to the obvious charms of Nina Foch but irredeemably smitten with Leslie Caron upon his first view of her.

The film musical allows dance to work as a sexual metaphor, for when a couple dances well—as they always do in musicals—two bodies move in graceful harmony. As a sexual metaphor, dance offers an appealing fantasy, for it suggests that making love is always as smooth as, say, dancing is for Astaire and Rogers. Also, the dance metaphor neatly solved the problem of censorship for

One of Busby Berkeley's lavish production numbers in* Dames *(Ray Enright, 1934). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Hollywood better than the discreet but more obvious and cumbersome cliché of a kiss and a fade-out.

Beginning with the cycle of nine musicals starring Astaire and Ginger Rogers (1911–1995) made by RKO in the 1930s, the genre offered a series of model romantic relationships. Typically in the Astaire–Rogers films, the two stars are initially attracted to each other but unable to come together due to some comic misunderstanding. The narrative conflict is resolved when the couple's differences are reconciled, generally through the mediating power of musical performance, resulting in the couple's union. Rogers makes this clear enough to Astaire in the first film of their series, *The Gay Divorcee* (1934), when she sings to him about "The Continental," in which "You tell of your love while you dance." In *Top Hat* (1935) Astaire and Rogers play out their courtship through dance in the "Isn't This a Lovely Day (To Be Caught in the Rain)?" number, where the pair tests each other out through dance steps and then finally dance together on an empty bandstand, where they are waiting out a thunderstorm. The Astaire–Rogers films worked so well because the two performers were equal partners in the dance numbers, neither one dominating the screen when they danced together.

In the Astaire–Rogers films, as in many musicals, the male character represents unchanelled sexual desire, but inevitably he becomes monogamous and romantic in the end. In *Top Hat* Astaire is a ladies' man who proclaims, in response to comic foil Edward Everett Horton's suggestion that he get married, that he has "No Strings," that "I'm fancy free and free for anything fancy." Later, his aggressive dancing in his hotel room disturbs Rogers in the room below, and when she comes up to protest, he immediately falls in love with her. After she leaves, he sprinkles some sand on the floor and does a soft-shoe that soothes her to sleep, his initially aggressive and indiscriminate desire literally softened by her femininity. Similarly, when Astaire sings "They Can't Take That Away from Me" in the climax of *Shall We Dance* (1937) amid a sea of women all wearing identical

Ginger Rogers masks (''If he couldn't dance with you, he'd dance with images of you,'' she is told), Rogers joins the crowd, momentarily reveals her true self, and then makes Astaire search her out by unmasking and rejecting the others before they can dance alone.

In *The Pirate* (1948) Serafin (Gene Kelly) is initially depicted as sexually active and indiscriminate. His first song, ''Niña,'' expresses his desire for all beautiful women, whom he refers to with the Spanish word for the generic ''girl.'' Kelly's athletic dance in this number gives a choreographed shape to his robust masculinity as he climbs poles and trellises. By the end of the film Manuela (Judy Garland) tames Serafin with romantic love, so that they can come together and joyously perform the finale, claiming, ''The best is yet to come.'' If the western hero rides off into the sunset and the detective hero walks alone down those mean streets, in the film musical characters are almost always united in the end. The genre's vision of romance is nothing less than, to quote the title of one film musical, *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* (1954).

THE ''GOLDEN AGE''

In musicals the energy and effort put into the musical numbers have always tended to outweigh the requirements of the narrative or ''book.'' Already in 1933 the choreography of *Flying Down to Rio*, featuring a musical climax wherein the ''dancers'' perform with their waists and feet anchored to the wings of swooping airplanes, clearly exceeded any sense of narrative realism and, as such, paved the way for Berkeley's more elaborate choreography. In Berkeley's musicals, the scale of the production numbers could not possibly be mounted in the constricted space of the theater stage on which they are supposedly taking place, and his giddy overhead shots do not disguise the fact that the production numbers are designed for the cinema, not the audience within the film.

Such musicals as *Broadway Revue of 1929*, *The Great Ziegfeld*, and *The Goldwyn Follies* (1938) pushed the musical more toward spectacle than story. By contrast, producer Arthur Freed (1894–1973), who produced more than thirty quality musicals between 1939 and 1960, mostly for MGM (and who also wrote many of the lyrics, including those for ''Singin' in the Rain''), tended to approach the film musical instead as an organically integrated whole. In Freed's musicals, beginning with his first, *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), the book and the musical numbers have strong connections; songs, often initiated by a character's strong emotions, arise out of the story and even advance the plot, rather than merely interrupt it, as was too frequently the case in the genre. In *The Bandwagon* (1953), for example, Astaire's performance of ''A Shine on Your Shoes'' enables him to acknowledge the loneliness he feels upon his return to Broadway, which he thinks has passed him by, while in *It's Always Fair Weather* (1955), an advertising executive (Dan Dailey), disgruntled about the superficial banter in the advertising agency where he works, finds rhythms in his colleagues' jargon (''Situation-wise and saturation-wise'') and turns it into a cathartic song and dance.

According to critical consensus, the musicals produced by Freed represent the height of the genre's Golden Age, roughly from the end of World War II through the 1950s. Freed's unit at MGM included, among others, performers Kelly and Judy Garland, directors Stanley Donen (b. 1924) and Vincente Minnelli (1903–1986), choreographer Michael Kidd (b. 1919), and screen-writing duo Betty Comden (b. 1919) and Adolph Green (1914–2002). These artists, along with many others, were collectively responsible for such recognized classics as *The Wizard of Oz*, *Cabin in the Sky*, *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), *On the Town* (1949), *An American in Paris*, *Singin' in the Rain*, *The Bandwagon*, *It's Always Fair Weather*, and *Silk Stockings*, among others.

Television, which was introduced commercially in the United States in 1947, had by the 1950s become serious entertainment competition for Hollywood. Partly in response, Hollywood embraced technology as yet unavailable to film, particularly color and wide-screen format, both of which became more common. The wider image was particularly appropriate for the lavish scale of many film musicals, as were the exaggerated hues of Technicolor for the idealized fantasies of the musical's production numbers. *An American in Paris* exploits color in its production design inspired by French Impressionist paintings, while the climactic twelve-minute ''Girl Hunt'' ballet in *The Bandwagon*, a homage to hard-boiled detective fiction, is rendered in appropriately garish colors that accent the pulp quality of the novels.

DECLINE AND CHANGE

Despite the utopian optimism of the genre, the musical began to founder later in the 1950s. Beginning in the second half of the decade, the genre began to suffer a surprising decline in production, quality, and popularity. In 1943, Hollywood studios released 65 musicals, but a decade later the number was down to 38, and in 1963, only 4. It is true that by the late 1930s, rising costs were making the production of lavish musicals prohibitive; yet it was not this economic constraint that threatened the musical's existence. After he left Warner Bros., Berkeley made musicals at MGM, beginning in 1939 with *Babes in Arms*, showing that even with greatly reduced budgets musicals could still be both innovative and commercially

Michael Kidd, Gene Kelly, and Dan Dailey in the famous dance with garbage can lids in* It's Always Fair Weather *(Kelly and Stanley Donen, 1955). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

successful. People may have had more reason to sing in the rain in the immediate postwar period than during the tensions of the Cold War in the 1950s and 1960s, but the difficulties of the Depression and the war years had stimulated the musical rather than stifled it.

Rather, the rapid decline of musicals in the late 1950s was at least partly the result of an ever-widening gap between the music used in the movies the studios were making and the music an increasing percentage of the nation was actually enjoying, namely, the new rock 'n' roll. After World War II, the big bands became economically unfeasible, and small combos began electrifying their instruments and playing uptempo rhythm and blues, which white artists such as Bill Haley and Elvis Presley popularized with mainstream white audiences. The 1950s witnessed the invention of the teenager, a demographic that for the first time was the targeted audience of movies, as suggested by developments in other genres during the period, such as the cycle of horror films that included *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* (1957), *Teenage Monster* (1958), *Teenage Cave Man* (1958), and *I Was a Teenage Frankenstein* (1959). By the 1960s, the youth audience—the same group that constituted rock's primary audience—accounted for the majority of the commercial film audience. Obviously Hollywood needed to incorporate rock music into its films in order to attract the majority of its potential audience. In addition, by the 1970s Hollywood studios were being bought by entertainment conglomerates that also owned record labels. Within less than twenty years, rock came to dominate the genre's big-budget glossy releases, either in terms of the music or of the stars. As a result, the genre changed drastically from the classic musicals of the 1930s and 1950s.

In the late 1960s, after the British invasion had made rock music even more popular, such musicals as *Doctor*

BUSBY BERKELEY

b. William Berkeley Enos, Los Angeles, California, 29 November 1895, d. 14 March 1976

Busby Berkeley was an innovative choreographer who freed dance in the cinema from the constraints of theatrical space. In Berkeley's musical numbers, the confining proscenium of the stage gives way to the fluid frame of the motion picture image, and dances are choreographed for the ideal, changing point of view of a film spectator, rather than for the static position of a traditional theatergoer.

Berkeley conducted drills for the army during World War I and trained as an aerial observer—two experiences that clearly shaped his approach to dance on film, in which the chorines are deployed in symmetrical patterns and manipulate props rather than execute traditional dance steps. After the war Berkeley gained a reputation as a Broadway choreographer, which in1930 led to an invitation from Sam Goldwyn to direct the musical sequences of *Whoopee!*, starring Eddie Cantor. In "The Indian Dance" sequence of the film, Berkeley shot the Goldwyn Girls from overhead, creating an abstract, kaleidoscopic effect—a technique that would become his most famous trademark.

Several more musicals for MGM (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer) with Eddie Cantor followed, as well as a few dramatic films, before Berkeley moved to Warner Bros., where over a period of six years from 1933 to 1939 he choreographed and/or directed 19 musicals, including *42nd Street* (1933), *Gold Diggers of 1933* (1933), and *Dames* (1934). After returning to MGM in 1939, Berkeley made another string of inventive hit musicals, beginning with *Broadway Serenade* (1939) and including three films starring Judy Garland and Mickey Rooney. The plots of Berkeley's musicals are relatively slight, little more than pretexts for the dance numbers wherein Berkeley allows his visual imagination to soar.

Feminist reviewers have criticized Berkeley's choreography for making women the objects of erotic voyeurism. For example, *Gold Diggers of 1933* opens with the chorines, including a young Ginger Rogers, singing "We're in the Money" clad in nothing but large coins. The "Pettin' in the Park" number in the same film features Dick Powell using a can opener to gain access to Ruby Keeler's metal-clad body. The famous sequence from *The Gang's All Here* (1943), featuring Carmen Miranda as "The Lady in the Tutti-Frutti Hat" and a line of chorus girls waving giant bananas, may be the essential Berkeley sequence, combining his surreal visual style with an overblown Freudian symbolism that prefigured camp. Nevertheless, in a commercial cinema dominated by narrative and the conventions of realism, Berkeley managed to free the camera from the mere recording of surface reality to create a lyrical vision of musical plenitude that has never been equaled.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

42nd Street (1933), *Gold Diggers of 1933* (1933), *Footlight Parade* (1933), *Dames* (1934), *Babes in Arms* (1939), *Strike Up the Band* (1940), *Babes on Broadway* (1941), *The Gang's All Here* (1943), *Take Me Out to the Ball Game* (1949)

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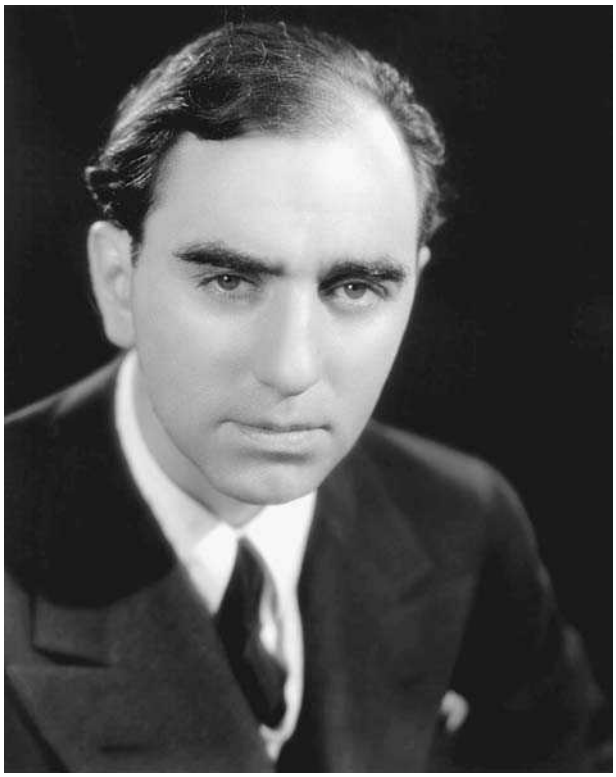
Barry Keith Grant

Dolittle (1967), *Hello, Dolly!* (1969), *Paint Your Wagon* (1969), and *Goodbye, Mr. Chips* (1969) were commercially unsuccessful while, by contrast, the two Beatles films directed by Richard Lester, *A Hard Day's Night* (1964) and *Help!* (1965), brought an invigorating freshness to the genre and were huge box-office successes. In the early 1970s, with the exception of *Fiddler on the Roof* (1971), most other musicals in the classical mold, such as *1776* (1972) and *The Little Prince* (1974), did not fare well commercially. Conversely, *Woodstock* (1970), a documentary about the legendary 1969 rock concert, and *American Graffiti*, with its soundtrack of rock oldies, were big hits at the box-office.

The romantic ideology shared by the classic musical and traditional pop music was threatened by the more straightforward eroticism of both rock music and



Busby Berkeley. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

contemporary dance. The first rock song to appear in a movie was Haley's "Rock Around the Clock" in *The Blackboard Jungle* (1955), where it is associated with juvenile delinquency rather than romance, and in its day was considered shocking. Certainly by the time of *Dirty Dancing* (1987), dancing "cheek to cheek" meant something entirely different than when Astaire sang it to Rogers in *Top Hat*. Even so, eventually rock was made more acceptable by the romantic vision of the musical genre, as shown in nostalgic rock musicals like *Grease* (1978).

Because of their race, black rock musicians did not appear in mainstream musicals as leads. In the musicals in which they appear, Chuck Berry and Little Richard portray themselves, not unlike Louis Armstrong did in *High Society* (1956). White rock star Presley played fiery, rebellious characters that spoke to his real-life persona in his first films, *Loving You* (1957), *Jailhouse Rock* (1957), and *King Creole* (1958); but in time Presley was transformed into a nice all-American boy in a series of largely indistinguishable and innocuous musicals with tepid pop music, the best of which are *G. I. Blues* (1960) and *Blue Hawaii* (1961). In Presley's final film, *Change of Habit* (1969), he is cast as a crusading ghetto doctor, socially acceptable enough that Mary Tyler Moore can contemplate leaving the convent for a secular marriage with him without alienating the movie audience. Teen idol Frankie Avalon appeared with former Musketeer Annette Funicello in a series of beach musical comedies like *Beach Blanket Bingo* (1965) that were similarly inoffensive.

With the exception of *The Girl Can't Help It* (1956), which featured established Hollywood stars and excellent production values, early rock musicals were for the most part low-budget affairs that betrayed the film industry's condescending attitude toward rock music. Most of these films fell back on the old backstage formula, featuring several rock acts built around a story of a rock concert being mounted at the local high school. In *Don't Knock the Rock* (1956), for example, rock 'n' roll has been banned because adults distrust it. Alan Freed arrives to host "A Pageant of Art and Culture" by the town's teenagers, displaying classic paintings and then performing a series of traditional dances, concluding with a demonstration of the Charleston. The old squares see the folly of their ways and come to accept rock 'n' roll, which is depicted as harmless fun. In these rock musicals, reminiscent of earlier backstage musicals, people of different generations and with different values come together, closing the generation gap through the binding power of musical performance.

Some rock musicals were adapted from the stage, such as *Jesus Christ Superstar* (1973) and *Hair* (1979), while a few sought to achieve a unified experience of music and visuals, most notably Ken Russell's *Tommy* (1975), adapted from the rock opera by The Who, and Alan Parker's *Pink Floyd: The Wall* (1982). The psychedelic style of these films influenced the postmodern style of music videos that in turn has influenced contemporary film musicals. Whereas the dancers in earlier musicals are presented in long takes and full shots that displayed their performances in real time, dance numbers in such musicals as *Flashdance* (1983), *Moulin Rouge* (2001), and *Chicago* (2002) tend to be built from numerous short shots combined with dizzy montage effects and peripatetic camera movement. *Flashdance*, which stars Jennifer Beales as an improbable dancer and steel welder, thus was able to substitute a body double for Beales in the dance sequences. In case viewers might suspect trickery because of its editing, the film *Chicago* includes a note in the end credits that explicitly states that all the actors, including normally dramatic performers such as Richard Gere, sang and danced for themselves. This more dynamic visual style seems a suitable accompaniment for the more frenetic types of contemporary dance that have replaced the older styles of tap and ballroom dancing represented by Astaire and even by the more modern dance of Kelly.

FINALE

Partly because of the nature of their national cultures, some countries have produced almost no film musicals.

GENE KELLY

b. Eugene Curran Kelly, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 23 August 1912, d. 2 February 1996

An actor, dancer, choreographer, and director, Gene Kelly was a key figure in the golden age of the Hollywood musical, particularly for the string of musicals he made in the 1940s and 1950s at MGM. Whereas Fred Astaire was the master of ballroom dancing, Kelly, with his background in sports, brought a more muscular style to dance in film.

Having established himself on Broadway starring in the stage musical *Pal Joey*, Kelly was brought to Hollywood by the producer David Selznick. His film debut was in Busby Berkeley's *For Me and My Gal* with Judy Garland in 1942. After appearing in several minor musicals, such as *Thousands Cheer* (1943); dramatic features, such as *The Cross of Lorraine* (1943); and the noirish *Christmas Holiday* (1944), in which he plays a murderer, Kelly was lent to Columbia to co-star with Rita Hayworth in *Cover Girl* (1944), in which he dances with his own reflection to visualize his character's inner conflict.

As a result of *Cover Girl*'s success, MGM cast Kelly in *Anchors Aweigh* (1945), for which he earned an Academy Award® nomination for best actor. Subsequently he emerged with the producer Arthur Freed's unit as a leading man and star of some of the greatest American film musicals of all time. Some of Kelly's best dances were only possible on film. In *Anchors Aweigh* Kelly dances with an animated Mickey Mouse; in *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), which he co-directed with fellow choreographer Stanley Donen, he dances in a studio downpour, splashing his feet in holes arranged in advance to catch the rain in puddles; and in *It's Always Fair Weather* (1955, also co-directed with Donen), Kelly, Michael Kidd, and Dan Dailey dance on a studio street with metal garbage can lids on their feet. The location photography in the opening montage, accompanied by singing on the soundtrack, was also a first for a Hollywood musical.

For his work in *An American in Paris* (1951), Kelly received a Special Academy Award® for his "extreme versatility as an actor, singer, director, and dancer, but specifically for his brilliant achievements in the art of choreography on film." In the latter part of his career, Kelly directed the big-budget musical *Hello, Dolly!* (1969), starring Barbra Streisand, and several specials for television, including a musical version of *Jack and the Beanstalk* (1967), as well as a number of nonmusicals, including *The Tunnel of Love* (1958); *Gigot* (1962), showcasing Jackie Gleason as a mute janitor; and the mild sex comedy *A Guide for the Married Man* (1967). In the 1970s Kelly became less active but was introduced to a new generation of moviegoers in the compilation films *That's Entertainment* (1974) and *That's Entertainment II* (1976).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

For Me and My Gal (1942), *Anchors Aweigh* (1945), *The Pirate* (1948), *On the Town* (1949), *Summer Stock* (1950), *An American in Paris* (1951), *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), *Brigadoon* (1954), *It's Always Fair Weather* (1955)

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Barry Keith Grant

Germany produced some operettas in the 1930s but largely avoided the genre subsequently. In France, René Clair (1898–1981) experimented with the musical early on with *Sous le toits de Paris* (*Under the Roofs of Paris*, 1930) and *À nous la liberté* (*Liberty for Us*, 1931), and Jacques Demy (1931–1990) updated the operetta with *Les Parapluies de Cherbourg* (*The Umbrellas of Cherbourg*, 1964), in which all the dialogue is sung. Yet apart from the United States, the only other country to have produced a sustained tradition of film musicals is India, which is also the largest film-producing country in the world.

Within Indian cinema, the idea of a film musical is rather different than in the Hollywood tradition, but the genre's cultural impact has been even greater. About 90 percent of commercial feature films made in India have incorporated musical production numbers. Indian films

Gene Kelly in* Summer Stock *(Charles Walters, 1950).
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typically have several song and dance sequences as part of their entertainment appeal, whether the genre is a romantic melodrama or a crime film. And just as the genres are disparate, so are the musical styles, mixing traditional Indian dance music, American jazz, or Caribbean rhythms. In Indian popular culture, film music holds a prominent place, dominating sales of discs and tapes. Indian movie stars lip-sync the songs, and the actual vocalists, known as "playback singers," such as Lata Mangeshkar have become recording stars in their own right.

In the United States, the similar centrality and importance of the film musical in American film history is clear when one considers the many stars who became famous primarily or initially through their roles in musicals, including Judy Garland, Mickey Rooney (b. 1920), Shirley Temple (b. 1928), Jeannette MacDonald and Nelson Eddy, Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers, Gene Kelly, Deanna Durbin (b. 1921), and Cyd Charisse, as well by the fact that a number of directors, particularly Vincente Minnelli, Stanely Donen, Busby Berkeley, Ernst Lubitsch, and Baz Luhrmann also became known for their work in the genre, the latter two producing important musicals after integrating into the Hollywood system. Many singers have crossed over from popular music to movies, from Frank Sinatra and Elvis to Madonna, Johnny Depp, and Eminem.

Despite the vast cultural changes that have taken place since the 1930s, when the film musical first appeared, the genre has remained popular. After Malcolm McDowell shockingly sang "Singin' in the Rain" while brutally raping and beating a defenseless couple in their home in Stanley Kubrick's *A Clockwork Orange* (1971), some musicals such as *Pennies from Heaven* (Herbert Ross, 1981) and *Dancer in the Dark* (Lars von Trier, 2001) have sought to give the film musical a darker and more cynical vision of the world rather than the genre's traditional utopianism. *Chicago*, which shares with these two musicals a bitter view of the world as corrupt and brutal, won the Academy Award® for Best Picture in 2003. While film musicals likely will never be as popular as they were during the 1930s through 1950s, the genre has continued to adapt to the demands of popular culture.

SEE ALSO *Choreography; Dance; Genre; India; Music; Romantic Comedy*

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Barry Keith Grant

NARRATIVE

Perhaps no term is more central to film history, criticism, and theory than "narrative." Yet narrative is hardly specific to the cinema. Storytelling is a defining trait of human experience and communication. Much of the world's information has always been delivered in story form, whether recounted as personal experience, historical events, imagined fiction, or a mix of all three. Art, entertainment, and instruction have all relied on narrative structures regardless of their form or media, yet the cinema, appearing as it did in the late 1800s, quickly proved itself particularly adept at incorporating and adapting a wide variety of narrative strategies from literature, theater, photography, journalism, and even comic strips. From the beginning, telling stories clearly was a major concern for filmmakers. Almost as quickly, the cinema's ability to present intriguing stories was evaluated by critics and audiences alike. Thus, narrative has always been a key component in how we watch, think about, and write about the cinema, and the history of that narrative theory is a fascinating side of film studies.

DEFINING FILM NARRATIVE

Among the first widely seen motion pictures were the amazing fifty-second films by Louis Lumière (1864–1948) and his camera operators. One of the more famous was the *Arrivée d'un train en gare a La Ciotat* (*Arrival of a Train*, 1896), in which the camera records the train pulling into the station, passengers descending and boarding, and bystanders interacting with the travelers. But does a single shot of a train arriving count as a narrative? For most critics, the minimal criteria for determining the presence of narrative include a series of events in some cause–effect order. Causality suggests temporal, spatial, and thematic links as well. Thus these events, "a train arrives, doors open and passengers climb out, a woman runs past holding a small child's hand, a man with a bundle walks after them," provide only the barest markers of narrative. One contemporary newspaper reporter actually embellished his account of the film: "The travelers all look pale, as if they were seasick. We do not recognize characters so much as known types: the petite maid, the butcher boy, and the young man with a humble bundle who has left his village in search of work" (Aubert, p. 225). In recreating the film experience for the readers, the reporter has inserted tiny bits of inferred story material, even generating a feeling of malaise for the arriving passengers and a personal history and goal for the man with the bundle, who now becomes a central character. Thus, critical definitions of film narrative necessarily touch on formal elements of storytelling, but also upon the audience's role in perceiving and comprehending the presented material in those tales.

Narrative is generally accepted as possessing two components: the story presented and the process of its telling, or narration, often referred to as narrative discourse. Story is a series of represented events, characters (or agents for some), and actions out of which the audience constructs a fictional time, place, and cause–effect world, or diegesis. In the Lumière short, the material elements include the arrival of the train, the scurrying of rushed passengers, the gestures of the railway workers, the steam emitted from the engine, even the moving shadows beneath people's feet. Out of these rather minimal visual objects and actions, the viewer generates tiny story events, including any effects that the train has on the people on the platform. The narrative discourse is

evident in strategies of presentation, especially the camera position, which offers a view of the action that emphasizes perspective and depth, but also allows the viewers to watch the faces and movements of a number of the people involved. However, Lumière's film offers a very low level of narrative development, in part because of the short length and paucity of story events, but also because of the absence of other narration devices, including plot ordering, *mise-en-scène* choices, editing, sound effects, intertitles, or camera movement. As films expanded in length and technical options, narrative strategies increased as well. Stories could develop more complex characterization, thematic concerns, and temporal development, along with increasing devices for the narrator to manipulate and present those events.

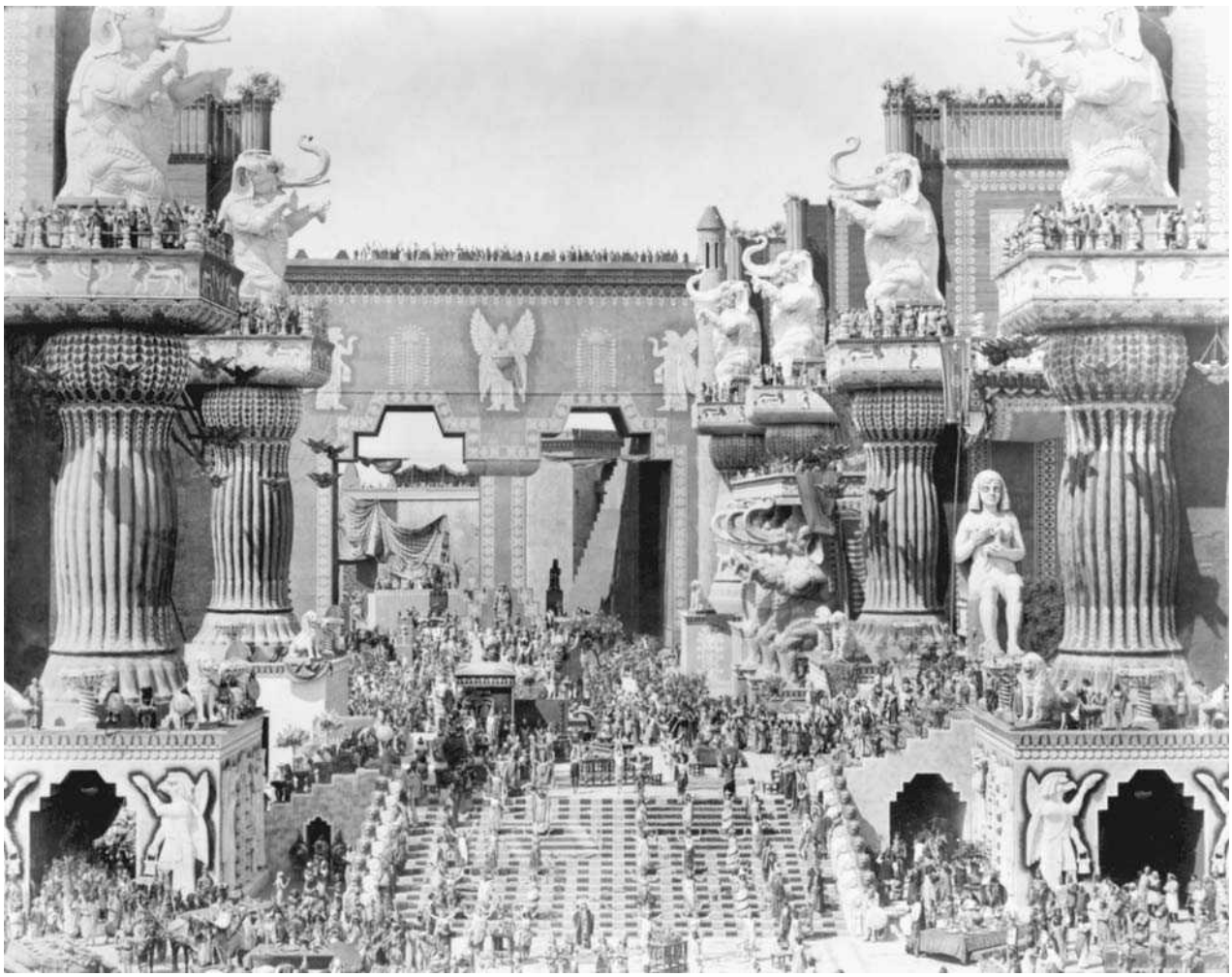
While many sorts of films employ some storytelling strategies, when we speak of narrative film we are typically referring to fiction films. However, before moving to fiction films completely, we should acknowledge that French film theorist Christian Metz has famously argued that on one level, all films are fiction films. All cinematic experience is based by definition on illusion. Motion pictures are fundamentally still images projected onto a flat screen. Nothing moves and there is no real depth of space, yet we cannot help but "see" movement and spatial cues as the film is projected. The entire process is based on a fiction that what we see is actually present. We know Cary Grant is long dead, we know that we are only seeing his shadowlike image projected on a screen, and yet we see and hear him in an illusory three-dimensional world in which he moves in front of and then behind his desk, right there in front of us. Lumière films, Cary Grant laughing, or a bird chirping in a sex education documentary are all based on an illusion, an absence, that is only possible thanks to the cinematic apparatus and the audience's perception system. From this perspective, the fiction film is a specific type of cinema based on the content of the images and sounds rather than their material traits. The fiction film, the subject of narrative history, theory, and criticism, assumes a spectator who not only sees movement where none really exists, but also constructs characters, time, space, and themes.

Narration is a set of representational, organizational, and discursive cues that deliver the story information to the audience. The fiction film should be thought of as a text, a collection of narrative systems, each of which functions and exists in its own history, with its own stylistic options. For instance, during the 1940s, it became stylistically fashionable for American crime dramas to tell their stories out of order, often with voice-over narrators recounting some past events via flashbacks. Many of those crime dramas were also filmed with increasingly expressionistic sets, lighting, and acting styles. The resulting film noir movies are distinguished by certain shared, generic, story events and discursive strategies alike. Their narrative context was quite different from that of Lumière's train film. Narratives must always be studied in relation to history, including the history of film style, modes of production, and the history of narrative theory itself.

TOWARD A HISTORY OF FILM NARRATIVE

While the cinema was born out of a collection of scientific, industrial, and aesthetic initiatives, its narrative potential quickly came to drive its commercial viability. Alongside "actuality" (*actualité*) movies, such as most of the Lumières, there quickly grew short chase films and "trick" films, including the many highly influential movies by Georges Méliès (1861–1938). Méliès pioneered an entire subgenre of movies in which camera tricks combine with theatrical settings to allow characters to disappear before our eyes, fly through the air, or even lose their heads. *Le Voyage dans la lune* (*A Trip to the Moon*, 1902) proved exemplary in presenting a series of scenes, edited end to end, each filled with a combination of painted stage sets equipped with trap doors and fantastic transformations exploiting in-camera editing tricks. He brought the spectacle of magic acts into the cinema, exploiting film's abilities to exceed the limits of real time and space in the theater. Similarly, chase films quickly became a staple of early filmmaking, in part because they too were well suited to a medium with no sound and only fledgling techniques for characterization or plot development.

Chase films followed the logic of comic strips, with a simple initial situation that leads through a series of accumulating visual gags. A typical scenario might include a dog stealing a string of sausages from a butcher, who gives chase, knocking over pedestrians as he goes, who then pursue him as he pursues the dog, with the number and variety of collisions and participants increasing steadily. One version is Pathé Studios' *La Course des sergents de ville* (*The Policemen's Little Run*, 1907). These films, like more melodramatic variations, such as *Rescued by Rover* (1905), take full advantage of early cinema's strengths, including its ability to show rapid movement and edit together a string of chronological events. These films were structured much like live-action comic strips, with individual shot sequences replacing the static comic frames. Many early narratives retold formulaic tales or condensed stories that were already well-known to the audience, so that there would be no need to explain character relations or motivations. Simplified reenactments of the crowning of a monarch, scenes from famous plays (*Hamlet*, for example) or novels (such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*), or even Bible stories could be just as comprehensible as chase films full of visual gags.



Ancient Babylon as depicted in one of the four stories in D. W. Griffith's* Intolerance *(1916). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The film historian Tom Gunning has found early cinema's tendency toward spectacle and illusion as evidence that it is more a "cinema of attractions" than a cinema straining to tell stories. Many cinema pioneers shared the same impulse as that of carnival or vaudeville acts. Their task was to present highly exhibitionistic entertainment shows that would grab and hold the spectator's attention. Films would be organized as a series of displays, occasionally linked by some story line that allowed for a logic of scene-to-scene ordering. Characterization, however, was often kept to a minimum, and the films' success was measured more by their effects than their stories or themes. Previously, some film histories had simplistically reduced much of early cinema to a series of baby steps toward an arsenal of effective fictional devices. More recently, however, historians of early cinema have labored productively to clarify the differences between film practice before 1910 and the subsequent, more narratively constructed, and voyeuristic silent cinema. Nöel Burch has labeled the early tendencies toward a unique film practice as a Primitive Mode of Representation, a mode that repeatedly defies and frustrates narrativity.

From the beginning, cinema was exploited for its ability to display processes in real time, which privileged documentation and instructional filmmaking, but most exploration of the medium, including avant-garde investigations of film's more abstract or formal potential, has historically been reworked and adapted for narrative purposes. The 1910s was a transitional decade for motion pictures throughout the world. The exhibition of films became more standardized into programs, typically featuring narratives to anchor the screening, though the bill also included documentaries and eventually animated

cartoons. By the middle and late 1910s, it was the feature narrative presentation that lured audiences to the movies, thanks in large part to new theaters, stars, and the establishment of new genres that all attracted more middle-class spectators. With the increased length of films and the rise of specialized motion picture studios, American cinema, in particular, came to be built on corporate models, with division of labor, boards of directors, and prescribed slates of annual production quotas. Along with that, it began to concentrate on predictable, efficient stories and styles. Internationally, specialized film studios were being built that allowed more evocative lighting designs and facilitated increasingly intricate camera movements and set construction. A more conventional, commercial narrative cinema was in place by 1920 that was easily distinguishable on every level from the shorter, now somewhat radically diverse films of 1910. This new norm for narrative filmmaking became known as the classical realist cinema, and its dominant American form was the Classical Hollywood Cinema.

CLASSICAL REALISM

The rise of this more realist cinema owes to a great many factors and influences, but it is clearly tied to the increasingly industrial base of the cinema that built upon narrative traits from the nineteenth-century novel and the well-made theatrical play. Narrative unity was built around character psychology within a rational world where events were relatively plausible, even in genres such as the adventure film. The ''realism'' of classical realist cinema was a product of numerous cultural and now cinematic codes and conventions. Further, the specific ability of the cinema to record and edit representational images lent great power to the credible presence of the characters and their fictional actions and worlds. The steady development toward an increasingly narrative cinema brought some more conservative forces to bear on film practice, especially with the more industrial, studio production norms. Burch and others label this an Institutional Mode of Production because of its privileging of consistent thematic, spatial, and temporal parameters. Clearly, the most successful model for this international classical realist cinema was the Classical Hollywood Cinema.

The formation of classical Hollywood narrative has been explained by David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, who argue that classical story construction went hand in hand with developments in the mode of production and new conventions in film style. The classical narrative is organized around a goal-driven protagonist whose desires determine the cause–effect ordering of the plot, which often comes to include a second, embedded plot line. Saving the western town from the outlaws may also involve helping out and finally falling in love with the school marm, for instance. Minor characters typically help or hinder the protagonist's progress. Moreover, the time and space serve the story, which is often generic or formulaic, and there is clear closure with the protagonists achieving or failing to achieve their goals. During the 1910s in particular, Thompson points out that the move to feature-length films forced filmmakers to look to short stories and novels more and more for guidance in character and plot developments. Simultaneously, film techniques had to adapt to the challenges posed by longer narratives. Editing and camera techniques, along with lighting, acting gesture, and even set construction, worked toward clear methods of delivering story information.

With the rise of studio productions and more standardized storytelling, writers and directors functioned increasingly as narrators, guiding the audience's attention with film language as well as written inter-titles. More and more, unity of purpose and even redundancy were built into the presentation of fictional worlds, moving storytelling away from the series of tableau shot sequences and lack of closure that characterized much of the primitive film aesthetic. Increasingly, time and space were constructed around characterization, themes, and plausible plot ordering, with eyeline matches or dissolves clearly delineating the protagonist's perceptual attention or thoughts. Analytical editing, and especially shot-reverse shots, concentrated the audience's attention upon the interplay between actors while systematically unifying a functional diegetic time and space, or the world of the fictional character. After the established dominance of the classical cinema, first in the United States and then internationally, the free play of tableau space and other key components of the primitive aesthetic only resurfaced in consistent form in various avant-garde movements. Classical realist cinema, building as it did upon representational codes for verisimilitude and stories that stressed plausibly motivated human agents, became the foundation for commercial narrative cinema worldwide.

The arrival of sound added greatly to narrative cinema's arsenal. Recording natural sound, which later became known as direct sound, provided ''real'' documentary-quality sound. However, sync-sound recording was quickly found to require some manipulation to appear natural and at the same time serve the story. Sound design was tested for ways it could reinforce the narrative, delivering essential information such as dialogue and key sound effects and music, while repressing potential distractions. Sounds were carefully selected to guide the spectator's attention to specific characters or events and to fit the diegetic space. Even interior scenes began to have distinctive mixes, so that a conversation inside an office building in one scene should have a

D. W. GRIFFITH

b. David Wark Griffith, La Grange, Kentucky, 22 January 1875, d. 21 July 1948

D. W. Griffith's status in the history of the cinema is unique. Griffith grew up in a family that romanticized the mythic Old South and its values—his father was a Confederate Civil War hero—and he also prized Victorian literature and melodrama. Initially an actor, Griffith pursued playwriting, then shifted into writing for motion pictures, quickly earning a job as director at Biograph in 1908. No other director's career has gone through such extreme shifts in critical reception. For most of the twentieth century, Griffith was heralded as the founder of American cinema's narrative traditions, thanks primarily to his steady stream of over four hundred innovative short films and then *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). Subsequent features, especially *Intolerance* (1916) and *Broken Blossoms* (1919), were also praised for their story construction and technical sophistication. He was credited with adapting nineteenth-century narrative devices for the cinema and bringing genre, character development, and continuity editing into Hollywood movies. Publicity surrounding Griffith helped forge the mythical image of the motion picture director as creative genius.

Griffith's career parallels the growth of narrative cinema. He was there every step of the way as movies shifted from shorts to spectacular features, from a cottage industry to the classical studio system. Starting in 1908, Griffith brought together an efficient production team. Their films, including *The Lonely Villa* (1909), *The Lonedale Operator* (1911), and *The Musketeers of Pig Alley* (1912), reveal a constant updating of techniques for delivering story information clearly and emotionally. Griffith refined staging, shot composition, scene-to-scene organization, and editing rhythm to build character, suspense, and logical time–space relations. *The Birth of a Nation*, *Intolerance*, and *Broken Blossoms* exploited early cinema's full arsenal of storytelling techniques, including cross-cutting, rhythmic editing, and manipulative *mise-en-scène. The controversies surrounding The Birth of a Nation* also proved the cultural power of cinema. However, by the 1920s, Griffith's career was uneven at best. His two early sound films were failures, and after *The Struggle* (1931), he never directed again.

Since the 1980s, Griffith's status has been in nearly steady decline, or at least dramatic reassessment. An important renaissance of early film history has systematically rediscovered and reinserted other individuals, films, and social forces as crucial formative influences on the development of American and world cinema. Moreover, the insights of cultural studies made it impossible to continue forgiving the sexism and vicious racism at the core of his work while at the same time praising his craft and romanticizing his life. For many today, Griffith represents much that was wrong with Hollywood, American ideology, and even dominant film histories of the past. Nonetheless, Griffith's films remain key texts for understanding the development of narration in cinema. Theorists interested in film language point to their shot scale and editing patterns as important markers of a developing cinematic code system, while others look to Griffith as a canonical source of gender and genre construction in cinema.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Lonely Villa (1909), *A Corner in Wheat* (1909), *Enoch Arden* (1911), *The Lonedale Operator* (1911), *The Musketeers of Pig Alley* (1912), *Judith of Bethulia* (1913), *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), *Intolerance* (1916), *Broken Blossoms* (1919), *Way Down East* (1920), *Orphans of the Storm* (1921), *America* (1924)

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Richard Neupert

D. W. Griffith in 1919. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

different timbre than dialogue in a restaurant or a phone booth. For instance, early on in *His Girl Friday* (Howard Hawks, 1940), Walter (Cary Grant) and Hildy (Rosalind Russell) walk through a busy newspaper office to meet Bruce (Ralph Bellamy). In an earlier scene the newspaper office was louder, with typewriters banging away in the background, establishing the diegetic space. But this time the sound effects are more muted, since the louder noises would distract from the conversation. Similarly, when the characters move on to a lively restaurant setting, the noises are reduced to clinking plates and glasses on their table only. When Walter is surprised by some bit of dialogue, the entire restaurant seems to go silent, ensuring that the audience notice how the normally chatty Walter is suddenly rendered speechless. The editing rhythm and shot scale reinforce the importance of this moment, as Walter has to think fast to change the course of the conversation and thus events. When he leaves the table to call his office from a small phone booth, the sound ambiance reflects a supposedly cramped space, though of course Grant is merely crouching in a set on a large sound stage. Conventions for classical sound mixes were established quickly to generate stable sound–image relations for delivering a causally motivated, codified, and classical diegesis.

Not all realist cinema had to be so formulaic and generic, however, and one of narrative cinema's most important theorists, André Bazin, specifically analyzed the realistic value of cinematic technique. Bazin, while often very complimentary of conventional narrative cinema, preferred films that broke away from formulaic tropes. He believed that the essence and strength of the cinema lay in its ability to capture key aspects of lived experience. Cinema's narrative potential would be best fulfilled by films that engage the spectator in ways comparable to real-world perception and understanding. The world is complex and often ambiguous, thus cinema should exploit tactics that can preserve some degree of those rich qualities and reward the spectator's active attention. Longer takes were often preferable to manipulative editing. In fact, Bazin lamented that classical Hollywood cinema had become too predictable in its editing by the late 1930s, reaching what he labeled its equilibrium profile, the point at which Hollywood films moved too smoothly forward, like a mature river, without digging deeper into the terrain. Cinema, to connect with reality, had to renew itself constantly, and Bazin found that by the 1940s, rejuvenation was occurring in the use of long takes and deep space compositions by Orson Welles (1915–1985) and William Wyler (1902–1981) in the United States, but especially in movies by Jean Renoir (1894–1979) in France and the neorealists in Italy. These directors carried the cinema back to its mission of delivering time and space in more authentic ways. For realist critics such as Bazin, once classical realism became so widespread, it lost much of its ability to reveal spontaneity and truth to the spectator.

A wide array of directors and national cinemas forged alternative styles in reaction to or isolation from the classical conventions of realism as well. Post–World War II film practice in particular boasted a lively and engaged modern art cinema. Directors as varied as Federico Fellini, Ingmar Bergman, Akira Kurosawa, Alain Resnais, and Agnès Varda offered more subjective fictional worlds with complex, even contradictory characterization. The Art Cinema foregrounded stylistic choices and the filmmaker's presence, often constructing diegetic worlds full of ambiguity. Some modernist directors touted their experimental styles as closer to the uncertainty of lived experience, while others distanced themselves from concern with the real world and explored the cinema's formal potential. Working in their wake, the classical realist cinema incorporated some of these innovations, and its notions of plausibility and complexity certainly changed across time, but it typically remained centered on generic tales of goal-oriented protagonists. Since the 1980s, American independent cinema has tended to bridge the extremes of classical cinema and previous modern art film tactics.

NARRATIVE THEORY

Under the influence of more modernist film practice, as well as political and culturally inspired theory of the 1960s and 1970s, film criticism began to question systematically the cinema's ideological functions. Classical realism was one of the first sites to be investigated. In the pages of the British journal *Screen*, Colin MacCabe was representative of the growing resistance toward notions of classic realism, a resistance motivated by French Marxist and psychoanalytic theories, especially the work of Louis Althusser and Jacques Lacan. MacCabe and others argued that cinema cannot reveal the real as if it were some transparent window onto the world. Rather, film must be analyzed as a set of generally contradictory discourses. Theorists pushed for analyzing the wide range of discursive markers in realist films, which had become the dominant aesthetic of narrative cinema, but they also renewed attention to films that violated the classic realist norms and thus worked against easily consumed notions of the real.

The French journal *Cahiers du cinéma* had already turned much of its attention in the late 1960s and early 1970s away from conventional narrative cinema and toward the more marginalized forms of cinema verité, Third World political cinema, and especially the narrative experimentation by Jean-Marie Straub (b. 1933), Danièle Huillet (b. 1936), and Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930). For *Cahiers*, film practice was only valuable if it undercut the illusionism of classic realism and foregrounded the labor of production. *Tout va bien* (*All's Well*, 1972), which opens with a scene in which Godard writes checks to cover the necessary expenses of film production, became an exemplary film for critics attacking classic realist narratives. It constantly acknowledged its constructed nature, it overtly concerned itself with the politics and economics of everyday decisions, was made by a collective (the Dziga Vertov Group), and defied representational norms of both documentary and fiction filmmaking. By this point, *Cahiers du cinéma* was so actively opposed to conventional narrative norms that it had stopped reviewing any commercially released movies. Much of this highly politicized narrative theory prided itself on its strict Marxist foundations, but others, including the director François Truffaut (1932–1984), argued it had become so elitist that the articles were impenetrable for anyone lacking a Ph.D. in political science. The discourse of film theory and criticism had entered a new, more academic phase that drew from the demanding changes in the fields of linguistics, philosophy, and psychoanalysis.

One of the most significant shifts in narrative analysis began in the 1960s with the French theorist Christian Metz, who built upon linguistic theory, including that of Ferdinand de Saussure, to bring structural analysis into film scholarship. Metz, along with Roland Barthes, set the groundwork for much of subsequent work on narrative, including the shift toward discourse analysis. Adopting methodology from the field of semiotics, Metz began looking for how the cinema could be said to signify, or generate, meaning. Signification is a dynamic process that depends upon material signifiers, which for cinema include representational images, titles, spoken language, dissolves, and music and their range of signifieds, or denotative and connotative meanings. Signifying practice became the term for how movies told stories. Metz started by evaluating cinematic equivalents to language and systematically defined codes at work in cinema, much as Roland Barthes defined codes in literature. With *S/Z* (1970) in particular, Barthes pointed out that realism depended upon a system of textual, intertextual, and extratextual codes. Narrative analysis must include breaking down a text's codes of signification, but it also involves looking at cultural contexts and restrictions.

The assumption is that language is a social force struggling to shape how we think and act. Realism was a suspect mode of culturally determined, ideological discourse, and the reader or spectator must struggle to decode the text's systems or risk blindly submitting to its logic. If realist novels offered an illusory, coherent bourgeois worldview to naturalize culture's status quo, classical cinema, with its visual and audio power to "represent accurately," would have even more cultural power. Thus, realist cinema had to be attacked for its strategies of masquerading the fictional as natural. Metz and many others began to analyze the convincing "impression of reality" generated by strong cinematic cues, and a second stage of structuralism, more interested in intertextual and extratextual codes of spectatorship and ideology, became a central component of narrative theory.

In the 1970s and 1980s, many narrative theorists increasingly shifted from defining the narrative instance to explaining the process known as enunciation. One influential linguist was Émile Benveniste. For Benveniste, story (*histoire*) tries to hide its marks of communication, presenting itself in an impersonal, objective manner. By contrast, discourse includes markers of narration. In literature, the difference could be simplified down to whether the narration presents its information as given facts or includes references to a narrator, as in "I-you." The process of address, enunciation, structures the spectator's relation with the text. The enounced is always a product of enunciation, which, like language, is a social process. The analyst uncovers these marks of communication, which many classic realist films try to disguise and cover over. Thus, enunciation theory concentrates on syntax and

cinematic modes of address that might be equivalent to those in verbal communication and calls for unmasking texts that pretend to tell their stories naturally. From this perspective, classic realist texts deceitfully pretend to be objective when they are actually complex, culturally determined discourses.

Renewed debate surrounding the specificity of cinema merged with interest in linguistics, psychoanalysis, and cultural studies and localized attention onto the cinematic apparatus and the spectator, or film subject. French and British theorists as varied as Jean-Louis Baudry, Colin MacCabe, Raymond Bellour, Jean-Louis Comolli, and Stephen Heath became increasingly concerned with the cinema's ability to ''position the subject.'' Lacanian notions of subjectivity, based in part on the developmental move from imaginary to symbolic stages, privileged interest in point of view structures in the cinema. One assumption was that just as the young human subject was positioned by cultural structures, the film subject was determined by cinema's forms and modes of address. Baudry and others questioned the camera lens as a tool of ideology, built as it was to replicate monocular perspective and transform the social individual into a spectatorial subject. Now, Lumière's film of a train pulling into the station could be seen as a means for organizing and perhaps taming the social spectator. Further, Bellour explored how character desire and its submission to the ''law'' in classical cinema, and the films of Alfred Hitchcock in particular, structure narrative films as Oedipal journeys, replaying our inherent struggles for subjectivity. Metz too investigated the cinema as an ''imaginary signifier'' that satisfied, repeatedly, the spectator's regressive, voyeuristic drives.

The cinematic spectator was not only defined by the visual structures of the cinema, but narratives became evaluated for how they reinforced or challenged dominant cultural issues. If spectators were positioned visually, they were also positioned culturally within the mythic or symbolic structures of dominant ideology. Narratives, and commercial classical narratives in particular, became suspect for reinforcing bourgeois, typically patriarchal perspectives. The spectator could thus be doubly positioned, once by the apparatus, a second time by socially determined, and determining, narrative structures. Narrative and spectatorship thus became key concerns for feminist theorists. Laura Mulvey, Mary Ann Doane, and Annette Kuhn in particular directed feminist attention beyond the narrative surface of patriarchal mainstream cinema. Issues of race, class, and gender went beyond cataloging types of representations and were analyzed throughout the cinema's camerawork, editing, soundtrack, and plot structures.

While much of the theoretical legacy of enunciation theories of narrative, psychoanalysis, and cultural studies continues to thrive and inform film studies, it often reduces narrative analysis to serving as symptoms for larger social issues. Some narrative theorists, including Seymour Chatman, remained focused on the processes specific to cinematic narration. Work on intertextuality and narrative, much of it inspired by the literary theorist Gérard Genette, proved particularly pertinent to film studies. Moreover, the theorist and historian David Bordwell argued that enunciation theory remains too deeply indebted to verbal communication to be fully applicable to the cinematic experience. These new perspectives have led to rigorous investigation into motion picture narratives and challenges to recent theories of spectatorship. Many narrative theorists refused to reduce spectators to passive, predetermined subjects, but rather posited active participants in the production of meaning. Bordwell argued for a cognitive-based investigation of film practice and found that Russian Formalism, with its precise attention to story, plotting, and style, provided a methodology that functions well with cognitive vocabulary to reveal how spectators perceive and process cinematic images and sounds to comprehend narrative. Films deliver motivated cues and spectators apply an array of cognitive schemata to construct and understand fictional film worlds. Murray Smith enlivened the area of spectator identification, offering a highly functional grid to understand how films cue audiences to sympathize and identify with fictional characters. Cognitivism has contributed strongly to the rethinking of narrative films in relation to concrete models of human perception and comprehension.

CONCLUSIONS

There are many ways to think historically about narrative cinema. There is the history of storytelling itself, from presenting a train pulling into a station to the rise of the classical realist film, the modern art cinema, and the thousands of alternative individual filmmakers working to challenge the limits of mainstream narrative. But there is also the intricate history of how film criticism and theory have addressed the cinema. Strangely, within the debates over realism, artifice, personal expression, and cultural determinations, certain directors return over and over as examples. Two of the most important filmmakers, for a wide range of narrative critics, have been Alfred Hitchcock and Jean-Luc Godard. No other directors figure so prominently in narrative theory of the past fifty years. Hitchcock's masterful narration provides many of the most canonical scenes for analysis from any perspective, and Godard's work has systematically challenged both commercial narrative cinema norms and film criticism's vocabulary. The heart of narrative

film is still the cinematic practice that makes defining story, narration, and the role of the spectator so fascinating. The history of narrative film remains forever intertwined with the history of film production, film criticism, and the theorizing of the spectator, whose glorious task remains to perceive, decipher, and finally comprehend the stories generated by those still, two-dimensional images flashing upon the movie screen.

SEE ALSO *Criticism; Early Cinema; Editing; Ideology; Realism; Semiotics; Structuralism and Poststructuralism*

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Richard Neupert

NATIONAL CINEMA

Before investigating the constituent elements of "national cinema," the concept of the nation must first be broached. Contrary to its attendant mythology, the nation is not an organic, homogeneous, unitary entity. Through political struggle, the unitary notion of nation is produced culturally, selected into existence from such heterogeneous and conflicting materials as language, race, ethnicity, religion, social class, gender, and sexuality to masquerade as the oneness that is the mythical terrain of the national. For Etienne Balibar, social formations reproduce themselves as nations in part by fabricating a "fictive ethnicity" that stands in for the national ethnic composition (p. 96), while Homi Bhabha views the nation as "an impossible unity" (1990, p. 1). One of the most influential contemporary theorists of nation, Benedict Anderson, maintains that nations are "imagined communities," arguing that the advent of "print-languages laid the bases for national consciousness" by making possible a symbolic gathering of the nation (pp. 6, 44). Adapting Anderson's notion of the nation as a "horizontal comradeship" produced by print culture, Ella Shohat and Robert Stam suggest that the movie audience "is a provisional 'nation' forged by spectatorship" (p. 155). Noting that Anderson's thesis is premised on literacy, Shohat and Stam argue that cinema could play a more assertive role than print culture in fostering group identities, as it, unlike the novel, is not dependent on literacy and is consumed in a public space by a community of spectators (p. 155).

Anderson and Shohat and Stam are gesturing toward the work ideology performs through cultural forms in hailing or recruiting subjects to recognize themselves as members of the national community, as national subjects. In the case of cinema, one of the most infamous examples of this kind of ideological work is found in the Nazi propaganda film *Triumph of the Will* (1934), which disciplines its audience members to recognize themselves as subjects of a new National Socialist, Aryan Germany. Here cinema is a component of what Balibar describes as "the network of apparatuses and daily practices" instituting the individual as "*homo nationalis* from cradle to grave" (p. 90). Implicit in every national cinema, however, is its antination (Rosen, p. 391)—in the case of Nazi Germany, the Jews, homosexuals, and gypsies whose differences from the fictitious heterosexual Aryan nation cast them out of the terrain of the national and into the death camps. Historically, part of cinema's nation-building role has been to document the nation's others as those held at the limit of national belonging, as abject: for example, the African American in D.W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), the Native American in Edward Sherriff Curtis's *In the Land of the Headhunters* (1914), or the Arab American in James Cameron's *True Lies* (1994) and Edward Zwick's *The Siege* (1998).

NATIONAL CINEMA, POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND IDEOLOGY

National cinema frequently takes on the responsibility of representing the nation to its citizens for the purpose of communicating what constitutes national identity in the context of an overwhelming flow of cinematic images from a globally aggressive Hollywood industry. In 1993, a year in which all the major Hollywood distributors earned more theatrical revenues offshore than domestically, some prominent European filmmakers

insisted that the new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) treaty include national film-importation quotas. This was not the first time quotas have been implemented to protect fragile national film cultures from the most financially successful film producer on the planet. The United Kingdom, for instance, attempted to protect British and British empire filmmakers from Hollywood with the Cinematograph Films Acts of 1927, 1938, and 1948. One of the most extreme examples of Hollywood's monopolistic incursions into foreign markets is Canada, which the US industry views as part of its domestic market and where less than 2 percent of all screen time is given over to Canadian film. In the interests of nation building and maintaining national cultures, countries such as Canada (National Film Board of Canada, Telefilm Canada), Australia (Australian Film Development Corporation), Britain (National Film Finance Corporation), France (Centre nationale de la cinématographique), and Italy (National Association for the Cinema and Similar Industries) have created various state institutions to fund and produce national cinemas. This suggests that these states see cinema beyond its commodity value, as, after Fredric Jameson, a socially symbolic act where "the production of aesthetic or narrative form is to be seen as an ideological act in its own right, with the function of inventing imaginary or formal 'solutions' to unresolvable social contradictions" (*The Political Unconscious*, p. 79).

The idea that Hollywood is somehow alien to the film cultures of most nations is troubled, however, by a number of prominent film studies scholars such as Thomas Elsaesser, Stephen Crofts, and Andrew Higson. Elsaesser argues that Hollywood is a major component of most national film cultures where audience expectations shaped largely by Hollywood are exploited by domestic producers. Many national cinemas translate Hollywood genres into their own national contexts, or, as Tom O'Regan writes, "indigenize" them (p. 1). Perhaps the most obvious and well-known examples of indigenizing genres are the Italian "spaghetti" westerns of Sergio Leone and Sergio Corbucci starring Clint Eastwood. Canadian and Australian directors have also adapted the western to narrativize national cultural materials in *The Grey Fox* (1982, Canada) and *Road to Saddle River* (1993, Canada) and, more famously, *Crocodile Dundee* (1986, Australia). Another highly successful Australian indigenization of Hollywood genre is the *Mad Max* series (1979, 1981, 1985, Australia) and its reconfiguration of the road movie in a postapocalyptic antipodean context.

One of the more critically and commercially successful practitioners of genre indigenization is France's Luc Besson. Besson first ventured into Hollywood territory with *Nikita* (1990), a made-in-France variation on the American action film. Following the international box-office success of *Nikita*, Besson took on the American film industry by shooting *The Professional* (1994), a French version of the Hollywood gangster drama, in English on location in New York, with French lead Jean Reno. The film went on to gross more than $19 million in the US market alone. Besson's subsequent film, *The Fifth Element* (1997), was a $90 million science-fiction epic starring Hollywood actor Bruce Willis. With the involvement of US distributors Columbia Pictures and Sony Pictures Entertainment, *The Fifth Element* opened widely, on 2,500 American screens in its first weekend of release. These shifts in setting from Paris to New York, to a futuristic New York and, finally, to outer space, beg the question of whether or not the term "French national cinema" is a useful or adequate descriptor to apply to these two films, for in what ways may they be said to represent the nation space of France?

A similar problem is raised by the work of Australian director Baz Luhrmann, who played with American genre and capital when his production company coproduced *Moulin Rouge* (2001) with Twentieth Century Fox. Although the film is shot on a Sydney soundstage with Australian lead Nicole Kidman and a largely Australian production team, the film is not set in the nation space of Australia, but the mythical, digitally generated space of *fin de siècle* Paris as seen through the lens of the Hollywood musical as reimagined by an Australian auteur. An Australia/United States co-production, *Moulin Rouge* ruptures the "stable set of meanings" or codes that Higson associates with conventional understandings of the term "national cinema" (Higson, 1989, p. 37). *Moulin Rouge*, not unlike Besson's *The Professional* and *The Fifth Element* in their ambiguous relationship to France, steps outside of an easily recognizable Australian nation space. Commenting on what he views as the limiting imagination of "national cinema," Higson argues that "when describing a national cinema, there is a tendency to focus only on those films that narrate the nation as just this finite, limited space, inhabited by a tightly coherent and unified community closed off to other identities besides national identity" (Higson, 2000, p. 66). Besson's films and *Moulin Rouge* are what Higson would term "transnational" on the bases of their production and distribution; but just as importantly for Higson, their variant receptions globally as these are inflected by cultural context (pp. 68–69). This difference in cultural context exists not only outside of nations, but also within them.

COLONIAL/POSTCOLONIAL CINEMAS

Cinema was exploited by imperialist nations such as Great Britain to represent Britannia's globalizing domination of its dominions and territories in films such as the Empire Marketing Board's *One Family: A Dream of*

Real Things (1930), in which a white child travels the empire but makes identifications only with white settlers. In the 1920s nascent nations such as the Dominion of Canada, a former colony in the act of becoming a nation, practiced a cinema of internal colonialism that legitimated the white domination of the country's indigenous peoples in ethnographic documentaries such as *Nass River Indians* (Marius Barbeau, 1928).

Postcolonial cinema attempts to disrupt such national cinemas and denaturalize them as colonizing entities, thereby articulating the discourse of contested indigenous nations. In Canada, Abenaki filmmaker Alanis Obomsawin documents the continuing violence of the Canadian nation-state against Indigenous First Nations in *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance* (1993) and *Incident at Restigouche* (1984). In Australia, *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (Phillip Noyce, 2002) tells the story of the white Australian nation's attempt to steal a generation of Aboriginal children from their culture, while Tracey Moffatt's *Nice Colored Girls* (1987) represents the exploitation of Aboriginal women by white men. New Zealand filmmaker Lee Tamahori explores the tensions between Maori identity and contemporary New Zealand culture in *Once Were Warriors* (1994). Moffatt's and Obomsawin's oppositional work might well be considered in the context of Third Cinema's anti-imperialist ideology and aesthetic. Although Third Cinema is generally understood to engage the neo-neocolonial paradigm of a hegemonic US cinema, the vision of two of the movement's foundational thinkers, Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino, is certainly in line with the films of Moffatt and Obomsawin.

NATIONAL/TRANSNATIONAL CINEMAS: UNITED STATES, INDIA, HONG KONG

Cultural context frames an understanding of US cinema as both national and transnational. Within the United States, Hollywood produces a national cinema characterized by what Ulf Hedetoft, after Mette Hjort, describes as a thematic national "aboutness": films shot through with an American worldview (p. 281). The example par excellence of this US national cinema is, of course, the classical Hollywood western, a colonizing narrative of national becoming and belonging, a nation-building genre articulating the aggressive and perpetual US expansionism of Manifest Destiny that displaces Native Americans in films such as *Stagecoach* (1939), *The Searchers* (1956), and *How the West Was Won* (1962). While the Hollywood western can and has been received as a celebratory visualization of historical nation by a majority of Americans, it represents the genocidal destruction of indigenous nations for the American Indian.

Outside of the United States, Hollywood, as US transnational cinema, is a sign of US global expansion economically and ideologically. *Independence Day* (Roland Emmerich, 1996), a film with a worldwide gross of more than $813 million, sees the convergence of the American national and the global through its transformation of July 4, a national holiday celebrating the birth of the American nation, into a global holiday marking a US-led world order of "liberation" from oppressive forces: this time, aliens from outer space. Such films, however, are translated into different viewing cultures by their audiences. Using the American, French, and Danish receptions of Steven Spielberg's patriotic epic *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) as case studies, Danish critic Ulf Hedetoft argues that "foreign" audiences reinterpret US national cinema from within their own cultural optic: "'Hollywood' (as well as other national cinemas of international reach) is constantly undergoing a (re)nationalization process, temporally and spatially, a process which does not stamp out the US flavor of these cinematic products, but which negotiates their transition into and assimilation by 'foreign' mental visions and normative understandings" (pp. 281–282).

US national/transnational cinema cannot be reduced to Hollywood product, however dominant it may be. It is also comprised of the kind of independent and regional filmmaking that often troubles dominant US understandings of gender, sexuality, race, class, and history, and that is celebrated by Robert Redford's Sundance Film Festival. However, independent cinema is increasingly coopted by Hollywood, as was evidenced by the "mainstreaming" of independent producer Miramax in its 1993 sale to Disney. The potential cost of such mainstreaming of independents materialized in Disney's controversial refusal to distribute Miramax's *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004), Michael Moore's anti-Bush documentary, through its subsidiary Buena Vista. Hollywood itself is certainly not a bounded homogeneous entity, and has produced such nation-demythologizing films as *The Parallax View* (1974), *Three Days of the Condor* (1975), *Missing* (1982), and *Good Night, and Good Luck* (2005).

It is important to remember that US cinema is not the sole national cinema to extend its reach globally, to function transnationally. Indian cinema, principally Bollywood, has the second largest market share in global film distribution next to the United States. The Indian industry eclipses Hollywood in its staggering rate of production: in excess of 25,000 features since 1931. The notion of a pan-Indian national cinema centered in Bombay further complicates our understanding of the term "national cinema." Since the end of the 1980s, 90 percent of India's domestic film production has been in regional languages. In addition to the cinema of Bombay (vernacular Hindi/Urdu), Indian cinema is composed of at least eight regional cinemas: Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Assamese, Manipur, and Oriya.

Gurinder Chada's* Bend it Like Beckham *(2002) challenges assumptions about British national cinema. ®™ AND COPYRIGHT © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

India exports its cinema to global diasporic audiences, as well as taking sizeable market shares in West Africa, Egypt, Senegal, China, Russia, and other territories.

Hong Kong is in some ways a national cinema without a nation, a transnational cinema that has functioned historically as an export industry servicing a global Chinese diaspora and making successful incursions into the markets of Indonesia, Malaysia, the People's Republic of China, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand. In 1993 Hong Kong was the world's third largest producer of films, surpassed only by India and the United States. Given its formation within a British colonial territory (1898–1927), Hong Kong and its cinema has long functioned as other to national Chinese cinemas produced by the People's Republic of China and Taiwan, offering conflicting visions of Chinese imagined communities.

DIASPORIC CINEMAS

The myth of the nation as a homogeneous, bounded, unitary, static, and stable entity is exploded in what Rosen would term its antinational cinema or the cinema of its others as this can be located in queer cinema such as Canada's *Zero Patience* (1993), and diasporic cinema such as the United Kingdom's *Khush* (1991), a film that combines sexual difference from the British mainstream with the racial and cultural differences of the South Asian diaspora living in England. Cinema of the diaspora disrupts and re-visions the national cinema along lines of heterogeneity and plurality by representing those others to the nation who have been dispersed from their homelands through economic migrancy and the legacies of colonial imperialism.

For example, Gurinder Chadha's documentary *I'm British But . . .* (1989) challenges essentialist notions of Britishness and its constituent elements—Englishness, Irishness, Scottishness, and Welshness—by tracking the lives of four Brits of Asian heritage living in the United Kingdom's four countries. When these people of color speak their identifications with the countries in which they live, they do so in the distinct dialects of England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, thus inhabiting what had, historically, been overdetermined as a white linguistic space. Chadha's subsequent film *Bhaji on the*

Beach (1993) further inhabits the symbolic order of British national space by inserting Indo-English women into Blackpool, Britain's archetypal holiday space, and in *Bend It Like Beckham* (2002) football (soccer), Britain's national game, historically a white patriarchal preserve, is played by a South Asian girl. Not unlike *Khush* or *Zero Patience* and their queering of the national, *Bend It Like Beckham* also grapples with sexual difference through both South Asian and white middle-class British responses to homosexuality. This example of a diversified British screen has been embraced by both British and international audiences, making it one of British cinema's most commercially successful films.

In Canada questions of belonging, racism, and intergenerational and cultural conflicts shape Mina Shum's exploration of the Chinese-Canadian community in Vancouver in *Double Happiness* (1994). Not unlike *Khush*, Richard Fung's tape *Orientations* (1984) challenges any notion of a homogeneous diaspora in his interviews with Asian lesbians and gay men living in Toronto. Srinivas Krishna's satirical *Masala* (1991) circles around the question of home for the diasporic Indo-Canadian community in the wake of the 1985 Air India bombing by exploring the failures of official multiculturalism and their ramifications for two families. Krishna's film challenges historically fossilized understandings of Canada as a white nation by combining a diverse range of cultural materials including Bombay cinema, music video, Hollywood cinema, Canadian hockey, and Canadian state apparatuses. Deepa Mehta complicates further these blurred lines of national cinema identity with *Sam and Me* (1991) and *Bollywood/Hollywood* (2002), films about racial and cultural difference set in multicultural Canada, as well as Canadian-produced films set in India and Pakistan. For example, Mehta charts the painful and violent birthing of India and Pakistan nations through her representation of the 1947 partition in *Earth* (1998), while *Fire* (1996) explores a claustrophobic, regulatory heterosexuality forbidding sexual intimacy between two Hindu women. Mehta's queering of the Hindu nation, of "Mother India," resulted in Hindu fundamentalists setting fire to cinemas in India projecting the film. Production on the third film in Mehta's "elemental" trilogy, *Water*, was shut down in 2000 by Hindu extremists anxious about this Indo-Canadian's representation of the Indian nation.

National cinema, then, is clearly a multifaceted and conflicted object of study. National cinema refers to a group of films produced in a specific national territory, and also serves as a descriptor for the intellectual work of academics who attempt to read and write a critique of national cinema as a field of inquiry given that the nation is less unitary than heterogenous.

SEE ALSO *Canada; Colonialism and Postcolonialism; Diasporic Cinema; France; Great Britain; Ideology; Propaganda; Race and Ethnicity*

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Christopher E. Gittings

NATIVE AMERICANS AND CINEMA

The representation of Native Americans in mainstream films throughout movie history corroborates the story of colonization of indigenous peoples and their homelands beginning in the sixteenth century, with Spain, France, England, and Portugal claiming ownership of "America" and the "New World." There are more films than books written about Native Americans, whose designated film role became known as the "Indian." The "Indian" in movie portrayals established a film stereotype that continues to serve the marketing interests of the highest-grossing entertainment industry today. In 1995, with reported earnings of $31.9 billion that year, the Walt Disney Company released an animated version of *Pocahontas*, a story perpetuating the view of "Indians" as obstacles to British explorers arrived to civilize the "New World."

MOVIE INDIANS

The popular use of the term the "American West" by early historians was a natural segue for what became the "western" film genre identified by film historians. Classic "westerns" in the 1930s and 1940s featured recognizable plots in which tension and ambiguity are expressed by white settlers as they came into contact with the wilderness and "Indians" who were portrayed as uncivilized and violent. John Ford (1894–1973), the master European American filmmaker who began making movies during the silent era, produced many western films; his most famous silent western, *The Iron Horse* (1924), featured eight hundred Pawnee, Sioux, and Cheyenne Indians along with twenty-eight hundred horses, thirteen hundred buffalo, and ten thousand Texas steers. The film was a mythic version of the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. Ford almost single-handedly rewrote American Western history by codifying conventions of the western genre, including those related to the representations of Indians in such films as *Stagecoach* (1939), *Drums Along the Mohawk* (1939), *My Darling Clementine* (1946), *Fort Apache* (1948), *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), *Rio Grande* (1950), *The Searchers* (1956), and *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964), his farewell to the western film tradition he helped found.

Of the Ford films, *The Searchers* openly promoted a white European American perspective, invoking a deep-seated anti-Indian sentiment buried in the character of Ethan Edwards, portrayed by actor John Wayne. The story concerns the murder of white families and children and the theft of a surviving female child by Comanche "Indian" raiders. While professing to understand the Indians, Ethan demonstrates a racist thirst for revenge, as when he points and shoots at the eyes of an already dead Comanche warrior so that, according to "Indian" belief, he cannot enter heaven. This is in marked contrast to the next scene, showing a proper Christian burial for a white man. The film offers numerous negative biases regarding the "Indian," whereby viewers begin to think that Indians deserve to be punished or exterminated to make way for white settlement. This is most obvious in the story line's focus on the search for the stolen child, Debbie, who is now a young adult (Natalie Wood). Ethan's open hatred for Indians plays into his derision for Martin (Jeffrey Hunter) who was taken in by Debbie's family and has Cherokee blood. Martin's compassion for Indians is brought to a standstill during their search when Martin is given a fat Indian wife who is used as comic relief. The Indian woman expects to sleep with Martin but instead he kicks her, causing her to roll down

a hill, making her the butt of the joke. Ethan and Martin continue their quest by locating Debbie, who is found living in an Indian camp with an Indian chief, Scar (Henry Brandon). The unacceptability of this scenario is such that Ethan would rather see her dead than allow her to stay with her Indian captors. It is true that Ethan changes his mind about killing Debbie at the last moment, but this "rescue" is an ironic happy ending that at once provides narrative closure and invites questioning about Ford's use of racist stereotypes to promote sympathy for white settlement in the West.

Ford's films are often cited for his cinematic use of the Southwest's desert topography, which he made famous by framing his characters within the naturally sculptured land formations called Monument Valley. Ford's use of that landscape also established the West as an empty wilderness just prior to being colonized by white settlement. Similarly, Ford's *Cheyenne Autumn* endorses Manifest Destiny in that the wilderness must be "tamed" by the imprisonment of Cheyenne Indians by the US military. Although numerous film critics have suggested that *Cheyenne Autumn* was Ford's apology to Indians for his earlier negative portrayal of them, this view is not warranted. In the film, defeated Indians fight with one another, captured by the army and held captive until their fate is decided by a US official in Washington, D.C. Also, white actors portrayed key roles as Cheyenne chiefs in the film and a Mexican woman who gave birth to Cheyenne sons was played by the Mexican actress Delores Del Rio.

The popularity of the major studios' western films peaked during World War II; the commercial availability of television in the late 1940s led to a reduction in the number of big-budget westerns filmed on location. Actual Native Americans appearing in Hollywood westerns as warring "Indians" became victims of exploitation by white filmmakers, who transported them from their reservations to work in Hollywood, paying them with alcohol and tobacco to appear in battle scenes. The history of Indian movie extras being financially exploited and mistreated by white filmmakers was consistent with the mass exploitation of Native Americans during the "settling" of the West. Since the inception of Hollywood cinema, not one Native American has sustained a career as a film director, including James Young Deer (d. 1946), a Winnebago (a tribe also referred to as Ho Chunk) who directed *Yaqui Girl* (1910), and Edwin Carewe (1883–1940), a Chickasaw, who directed the first version of *Ramona* (1928).

NATIVE AMERICANS IN MOVIES

Despite the fact that a diversity of indigenous peoples had a legal and historical significance in the formation of every new country founded in the western hemisphere, in the United States and Canada the term "Indians" became a hegemonic designation implying that they were all the same in regards to culture, behavior, language, and social organization. The view of Indians as savage and uncivilized was repeated in early films and crystallized the image of "Indians" as dangerous and unacceptable to the normative lives of European immigrants whose lives appeared in films to be more valuable than those of the indigenous people they were colonizing. Mainstream films featuring Indians have been glacially slow in changing any part of this running narrative of conquest. Native Americans today seek to rectify and balance the one-sided, stock image of Indians as ignorant, distrustful, and undesirable through continued work in the film industry.

The availability of acting roles for Native Americans to portray "Indians" in films was essentially limited to westerns, which came complete with stock accoutrements of feathers and buckskin dress that accommodated at least four distinct Indian tribes: Apache, Cheyenne, Comanche, and Sioux. In the 1950s and into the 1960s, western films featured more sympathetic native characters, but even here Indians were played by white actors, including Jeff Chandler, who received an Academy Award® for his portrayal of Apache leader Cochise in *Broken Arrow* (1950).

By 1970, divided social opinion about the Vietnam War gave further impetus to this trend in films such as *Little Big Man* (1970). The film featured Native American chief Dan George (1899–1981), an Aboriginal Squamish from Canada, as one of the main characters. Directed by Arthur Penn, *Little Big Man* received high acclaim for Chief George, but it was the white actor Dustin Hoffman who received the most attention as the film's primary protagonist, Jack Crabb. However, *Little Big Man* was a breakthrough in that it was a major film with a Native American in a major speaking role. In the 1960s, the political upheavals in the United States resulting from both antiwar protests and civil rights issues set a precedent for agitated Native Americans who became involved in open resistance in an effort to call attention to the social consequences of colonial policies that left many Native Americans destitute and impoverished on Indian reservations. The American Indian Movement (AIM) held protests in front of theaters showing films about Indians they felt glamorized the demise of Indians, such as *A Man Called Horse* (1970). Also, during the early 1970s, other commercial films that capitalized on the social climate of the times involved a retelling of a historical massacre of the Cheyenne in *Soldier Blue* (1970), and the story of a half-blood Indian Vietnam War veteran named *Billy Jack* (1971).

Kevin Costner and Graham Greene in Costner's* Dances with Wolves *(1990), which seemed a step forward in its depiction of Native Americans. **© ORION PICTURES/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

In the 1990s *Dances with Wolves* (1990), directed by and starring Kevin Costner, was perhaps the most popular western of the decade that featured Indians. Costner's film changed the shooting location of earlier westerns, using some one thousand buffalo, five hundred Indians, and as many horses in the high plains of South Dakota, the homeland of the Sioux, rather than Monument Valley. The film used native actors to speak Lakota, the indigenous language of the Sioux, and often positioned the camera inside Indian tipi lodges and in the encampment where a white female, captured as a child, was now fluently speaking and behaving as an Indian; these features added to the film's feeling of authenticity. The film almost romanticizes the ending scene where the Lakota are hiding out in the mountains, trying to escape their inevitable fate at the hands of Manifest Destiny as the US Cavalry pursues them, the last free Sioux Indians on the Plains. *Dances with Wolves* signaled to Native Americans that no major change had actually taken place in films, as the basic tenets of white domination and colonization were still shown as inevitable, even if tragic, and Indians forever resigned to defeat on reservations set aside for them by a colonial power.

In the early 1970s the anthropologists Sol Worth and John Adair taught a group of Navajo youths how to shoot and edit films, and left to their own approach, they produced a series of seven films described in the book, *Through Navajo Eyes*, originally published in 1972. In the 1990s young, educated, and highly motivated Native Americans were encouraged by the success of *Dances with Wolves* to seek to produce their own successes. However, the opportunities to work in mainstream films were limited to working as "Indian extras"; thus, few chances to actually produce or direct their own films did not materialize. However, the desire by individual Native Americans to make their own films became stronger. Between 1990 and 2000, a Native American film movement was born, with numerous Native Americans enrolled in film schools while others strived to complete college degrees in all fields of study, with particular emphasis in law, medicine, and the sciences.

The director Chris Eyre and the writer-producer Sherman Alexie embarked on a film project that could have only happened after many previous and unsuccessful attempts by other Native Americans to produce a feature film backed by a major studio or production company. Eyre graduated from New York University's film program, and Alexie received a degree from Washington State University and became a writer. His critically acclaimed serial novel, *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fist Fight in Heaven* (1993), provided the groundwork for Eyre to collaborate with Alexie on *Smoke Signals* (1998), about a contemporary native community with a mostly native cast. The film was purchased by Miramax Films distribution after its debut at the Sundance Film Festival and released in mainstream theaters. Since its success, Eyre and Alexie have continued to produce films independently. Eyre's subsequent films include *Skins* (2002) and *Skinwalkers* (2002), and Alexie directed *The Business of Fancydancing* (2002). Hopefully, these and subsequent native-made films will in time help reframe the historical misperception of indigenous peoples.

SEE ALSO *Ideology; Race and Ethnicity; Westerns*

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Beverly R. Singer

NATURE FILMS

Nature filmmaking has a long and mobile history, from its pre-cinematic roots in nineteenth-century photographic traditions to its current status as a genre found most commonly on television, and perhaps most spectacularly in large-format IMAX cinema. Now only rarely seen in conventional theatrical release, nature films have alternatively enjoyed significant popular presence and languished in obscurity. Despite the genre's uneven presence in theaters, its thematic occupations can be clearly periodized. From the earliest years of cinema through the 1930s, nature filmmaking most often took the form of expedition travelogues, in which flora appeared as terrain to be crossed over, and fauna as objects to be filmed, captured, or killed. Meanwhile, noncommercial scientific filmmakers developed techniques through which animal behaviors could be observed and recorded for scientific study. Post–World War II nature filmmaking returned with the animal as subject, the human rendered either invisible or on standby as steward of the most fragile facets of an invaluable environment. Near the end of the twentieth century, the genre, on screens small and large, proliferated in new forms, fusing readily with reality-based and fictional genres.

EARLY HISTORY

Nature filmmaking derived from experiments in representing animals by motion-study photographers such as Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904) and Etienne Jules Marey (1830–1904), naturalist-photographers such as Cherry Kearton (1871–1915), and Victorian "camera-hunters," who shot photographic images instead of or as well as trophy kills while on safari in colonized regions of Africa. Early-cinema actualities were often filmed using exotic captive animals, as in Louis Lumière's *Lions, London Zoological Garden* (1895); during hunting expeditions, as in *The Polar Bear Hunt in the Arctic Seas* (Pathé Frères, 1910); or in feature action-oriented conflicts between human society and domesticated animals, as in Edison Kinetoscope's *Cockfight* (1894), *The Burning Stable* (1896), and *Electrocuting an Elephant* (1903). For the latter film, Edison staged the execution of Topsy, an elephant at Coney Island's Luna Park, who had killed an abusive handler. Violent sensationalism was thus already established as a defining feature of the nature film by the dawn of the twentieth century.

Nickelodeons and early movie theaters showed these films as newsreels. Some were comprised of authentically gathered footage. Others were staged using captive animals in controlled settings and passed off as films of fact to unsuspecting audiences. *Hunting Big Game in Africa* (1909), shot in William N. Selig's Chicago studio, employed a Teddy Roosevelt look-a-like, several African American actors who posed as African porters, and an off-screen gunman whose job it was to kill a lion that Selig's studio had bought from a zoo. The film, released while the ex-president was on safari, was far more successful than *Roosevelt in Africa* (1910) by Cherry Kearton, who did travel briefly with "T.R.'s" party. Critics for *Variety* and *The Moving Picture World* panned Kearton's authentic short as dull and, erroneously, as partly faked, further reinforcing the high standards for blood-spilling action to which the genre would be held—as well as its low ethical standards, in a market that too often failed to distinguish nefarious hoax from natural history.

Staged or authentic—often in combination—the expedition film adapted rapidly to a changing marketplace,

soon appearing in the form of footage meant to accompany live lectures, feature-length silent and sound films. As early as 1912, the feature-length *African Hunt* (Paul J. Rainey), earned a respectable half million dollars. By the 1920s, the market for such films was dominated by the prolific husband-and-wife team of Martin (1884–1937) and Osa Johnson (1894–1953).

Martin Johnson first sailed to the South Pacific as a cook aboard Jack London's *The Snark*. Back home in Kansas, he met and married Osa Leighty at the theater where he gave slide-lectures featuring photographs taken on the trip. The couple soon sailed to the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu). Footage from the trip became *Among the Cannibal Isles of the South Seas* (1918). Martin lectured alongside the film for a week at the Rivoli Theater in New York; a two-part version was distributed with intertitles replacing the live lecture. While these projects were dubious renderings of Melanesian social practices, critics were enthusiastic. Nevertheless, distributors who tended to see the ethnographic mode as too commercially risky encouraged the Johnsons to seek more tried-and-true subjects.

The Johnsons first turned to wildlife in *Jungle Adventures* (1921), shot in Borneo. Impressed by their work, Carl Akeley, the innovative taxidermist then collecting specimens for the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH)'s Hall of African Mammals, offered the Johnsons support on behalf of the museum. With AMNH's support, the Johnsons completed their best-known film, *Simba* (1928), which they made over the course of a four-year expedition and which featured cavalcades of animal species (and indigenous tribespeople, employed as porters and encountered in the course of the expedition) little known to American moviegoers. Despite its ostensibly educational mission, the film also contained the action that audiences expected: the intrepid couple approach their subjects armed with both camera and rifle. Martin cranks the camera as rhinoceros, later elephant, and eventually lion charge. At the last possible moment, Osa appears to kill each oncoming animal. Most animals killed in the Johnsons' films actually fell to off-screen marksmen, and cutaways of Martin helming the film camera and Osa aiming her weapon were staged following the filmed encounters.

The Johnsons' success—*Simba* earned some $2 million—would not last. Concerned that as independents they would find fewer opportunities as the powerful studio system increasingly integrated production, distribution, and exhibition, the Johnsons produced their next film, *Congorilla* (1929), for the Fox Film Corporation. Scenes poking fun at indigenous Africans and reports that the Johnsons had captured gorillas for use in the film without proper authority from the colonial government of the Belgian Congo sullied their reputation and standing with the AMNH. The Johnsons continued to make films (*Baboona*, 1935; *Borneo*, 1937) until Martin's death in 1937; subsequently, Osa cobbled together *Jungles Calling* (1937) and *Tulagi and the Solomons* (1943) from old footage, and then reworked the same material as a syndicated television series in the early 1950s.

But the controversy surrounding the Johnsons' work paled compared to that elicited by the titillating *Ingagi* (1930), banned by the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America for attempting to pass off the Selig Studio in Los Angeles as an African location, a costumed actor as a gorilla, and white actresses in blackface as indigenous Africans.

While *Congorilla* and *Ingagi* scandalized, Paul L. Hoefler's *Africa Speaks* (1930) strove to reinvigorate the expedition film, touting its use of sound technology as a first for the genre. The much-parodied *Africa Speaks* (Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy, Abbott and Costello, and Porky Pig appeared in send-ups of the film) drew on genre traditions, mixing wildlife with ethnographic footage as racist comic relief, using rear-screen projection to enhance dramatic action, even incorporating staged scenes in which the party's Maasai gun bearer appears to be killed by lions, which are then shot by Hoefler and sidekick Harold Austin.

This decline into hoary formulae occurred alongside shifting patterns of production and distribution, economic and political conditions that affected the leisure travel from which these films derived, and new priorities for independent nonfiction filmmakers. Nevertheless, remarkable nature filmmaking continued to take place, much of it outside the United States. Noteworthy figures from British scientific and cinematic worlds collaborated on *The Private Life of the Gannet* (1934), an unusual divergence from the expedition format. The film focused on a colony of diving birds located on an island off the Welsh coast rather than on the adventures of the naturalist-filmmakers trekking after them. The biologist Julian Huxley (1887–1975) wrote the script for the short film, which was produced by Alexander Korda (1893–1956) to be released with his own *Scarlet Pimpernel* (1934); John Grierson (1898–1972) shot the final scenes.

Meanwhile, scientists and naturalists produced vast stores of nature films that would be used by researchers and distributed within the largely educational, nontheatrical market. These films tended to focus on single species—most notably *Ethology of the Greylag Goose* (Konrad Lorenz, 1938) and *The Social Behavior of the Laughing Gull* (Gladwyn Kingsley Noble, 1940), which skillfully captured animal behaviors on film and made them available to specialists, students, and interested amateurs for future study. In France, the experimental filmmaker Jean Painlevé (1902–1989) advanced

ARNE SUCKSDORFF

b. Stockholm, Sweden, 3 February 1917, d. 4 May 2001

Arne Sucksdorff was Sweden's leading documentary filmmaker. His career began with studies in the natural sciences and painting, but he devoted himself as a young man to photography and film. His first short film, *Rhapsody in August* (*Augustirapsodi*, 1939), completed when he was only twenty-two years old, led to a contract with Svensk Filmindustri, then Sweden's leading studio.

Throughout the 1940s, Sucksdorff examined Swedish wildlife in short films produced for the studio, including *En Sommarsaga* (*A Summer's Tale*, 1941), *Reindeer Time* (1943), *Gull* (*Trut*, 1944), and *En kluven värid* (*A Divided World*, 1948). Foreshadowing the direction his work would take in the 1950s, *The Shadow of the Hunter* (1947) and *Shadows on the Snow* (1949) staged encounters in which hunters track but decline to shoot deer and bear, respectively. These works closely observed and dramatized animal behavior, treating animals as characters locked in life-or-death struggles, punctuated by humor and tenderness, and carried along by florid musical scores. Sucksdorff accomplished first what Walt Disney's True-Life Adventures are often credited with innovating—and without the advantages of Disney branding or budgets; while the True-Life Adventures hit the silver screen in Technicolor, Sucksdorff worked throughout his career in sumptuous black-and-white tones and eschewed windy voice-over narration in favor of pictorial storytelling.

Sucksdorff also took on urban and ethnographic subjects in the Oscar®-winning *Människo i stad* (*Rhythm of a City*, 1946), *Uppbrott* (*The Open Road*, 1948), and *Vinden och floden* (*The Wind and the River*, 1950). In *Journée scandinave* (*The Living Stream*, 1950), the filmmaker traced the flow of goods and services throughout Scandinavia in a project co-produced by the Economic Cooperation Administration to promote the postwar Marshall Plan. He first tackled feature filmmaking with *Det stora äventyret* (*The Great Adventure*, 1953), casting his sons and himself in important roles. In the film, which won awards at the Cannes and Berlin film festivals, nature and culture collide as two young farm boys raise an otter that must eventually be returned to the wild. Sucksdorff followed *The Great Adventure* with *En Djungelsaga* (*The Flute and the Arrow*, 1957) and *Pojken i trädet* (*The Boy in the Tree*, 1961), his last film shot in Sweden.

In 1962 Sucksdorff relocated to Brazil to teach filmmaking under the aegis of UNESCO. He stayed for nearly three decades, writing volumes but completing only one film, *Mitt hem är Copacabana* (*My Home Is Copacabana*, 1965), which earned the Best Director Guldbagge Award back in Sweden. Sucksdorff did, however, contribute charmingly intimate scenes of penguins nesting, mating, and raising their chicks to the otherwise tedious fiction film, *Cry of the Penguins* (*Mr. Forbush and the Penguins*, 1971).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

A Summer's Tale (1941), *The Shadow of the Hunter* (1947), *A Divided World* (1948), *Shadows in the Snow* (1948), *Det stora äventyret* (*The Great Adventure*, 1953), *Cry of the Penguins* (*Mr. Forbush and the Penguins*, 1971)

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Cynthia Chris

underwater cinematography with shorts such as *The Sea Horse* (1934) and *Freshwater Assassins* (1947). In Sweden, Arne Sucksdorff (1917–2001) completed the first film of his prolific and innovative career in 1939. At the end of the 1940s, nature filmmaking would return, in new forms, in the United States.

THE NATURE FILM IN THE POST–WORLD WAR II PERIOD

How Walt Disney (1901–1966) got into nature filmmaking is the stuff of Disney legends. Disney's inspiration for the True-Life Adventures may have been wildlife footage that Disney animators sketched from while

***Arne Sucksdorff in 2001 with the Oscar® he won in 1949 for* Rhythms of a City.** AP IMAGES/LEIF-ERIK NYGARD.

developing *Bambi* (1942). Maybe Disney was inspired by nature itself, while on vacation in Alaska. Or perhaps the move was more calculated: nature filmmaking provided an affordable means (compared to labor-intensive animated films) through which Disney could continue to produce new titles during a general downturn in the film industry. In any case, Disney hired the amateur filmmakers Alfred and Elma Milotte to gather the footage that would become *Seal Island* (1948). In 1949, this short bacame the first of many in the True-Life Adventure series to win an Academy Award® (in a documentary category) and to enjoy a surprisingly lucrative theatrical release. To capitalize on its success, Disney expanded the series to include the shorts *Beaver Valley* (1950), *Nature's Half-Acre* (1951), *The Olympic Elk* (1952), *Water Birds* (1952), *Bear Country* (1953), *Prowlers of the Everglades* (1953), and *Islands of the Seas* (1960), as well as the features *The Living Desert* (1953), *The Vanishing Prairie* (1954), *The African Lion* (1955), *Secrets of Life* (1956), *White Wilderness* (1958), and *Jungle Cat* (1960).

The series repopularized the nature film in a form that was new in a number of ways. First, the True-Life Adventures melded close observations of animal behavior that was already endemic to scientific nature films, footage gathered through both patient fieldwork and frequently imperceptible stagings, and dramatic storylines derived from already classic Disney formulae. While the series employed scores of scientific advisors and nature filmmakers, it was overseen by directors and writers such as James Algar (1912–1998), who had worked on Disney classics such as *Fantasia* (1940) and *Bambi*. Under Disney control, the classic form of the nature film shifted from expedition travelogues based on human activities to the struggle for survival or the coming of age of anthropomorphized animal protagonists.

Most of the True-Life Adventures featured North American wildlife and landscapes, whereas pre–World War II expedition films had emphasized more exotic locations. The True-Life Adventures hinted far more often than their expedition predecessors that wild species were not endlessly plentiful and expendable but instead threatened by shrinking habitats and other factors as well as inherently valuable. They also infused explicit conservationist values into the genre. Despite these innovations, which influenced later generations of nature filmmakers, Disney jettisoned the constraints of nonfiction and launched a short-lived True-Life Fantasy series with the squirrel story *Perri* (1957). In the long term, the Disney studio favored fictional stories employing trained animals—mostly cats and dogs—interacting with humans.

NATURE AS A TELEVISION GENRE

Even as Walt Disney returned nature films to movie theaters, the wider film industry began facing competition from the new medium of television in the post–World War II era. In 1945, the Lincoln Park Zoo's director, Marlin Perkins (1905–1986), began taking animals to a Chicago TV station for occasional live broadcasts. By 1949, Perkins had convinced the local NBC affiliate, WNBQ, to help transform the staid show-and-tell format by shooting at the zoo itself, under the title *Zoo Parade*. By the time the show was cancelled in 1957, a few episodes had also been filmed in African conservation parks. Perkins and other nature filmmaking pioneers, such as Jacques-Yves Cousteau (1910–1997), who began contributing oceanographic segments to CBS's *Omnibus* series in 1954, and David Attenborough (b. 1926), in his first of many series for the BBC, *Zoo Quest* (1954–1964), moved out of the studio and zoo and into the field with film crews in tow. The technological, aesthetic, and narrative features of cinematic and televisual nature filmmaking for a time became more or less indistinguishable. Perkins's next series, *Mutual of Omaha's Wild Kingdom*,

which premiered on NBC in 1963 and continued in syndication until 1988, visited conservation parks worldwide, where his crew sometimes participated in tagging animals for research purposes, adding fast-paced chase scenes and action, harking back in style (if differing in purpose) to pre-war expedition films.

Nature filled a niche for programming that was educational as well as entertaining. CBS launched the long-running *National Geographic Specials* in 1965; ABC began to host *The Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau* specials in 1968; Bill Burrud's *Animal World* (1968–1980) and a host of imitators joined *Wild Kingdom* in the market for half-hour syndicated programs after the Federal Communications Commission forced the networks to acquire some of their programming from independent sources. But in the 1970s, with the relaxation of the federal Financial Interest and Syndication Rules, commercial demand for the genre waned. The Public Broadcasting System (PBS) became the primary home in the United States for nature filmmaking: in 1974, the science-oriented series *NOVA* premiered with Oxford Scientific Films' "The Making of a Natural History Film," which had been made for BBC-2's series *Horizon* as its first episode. In 1975, the series *National Geographic Specials* moved to PBS. In 1982, PBS redoubled its commitment to nature subjects, adding the series *Nature* (produced by WNET and frequently airing programs acquired from or coproduced with the BBC Natural History Unit), David Attenborough's *Life on Earth*, and Marty Stouffer's *Wild America* to its schedule.

It took a booming cable television industry to reposition nature as a TV genre with commercial potential. In 1985, The Discovery Channel went on the air with a schedule full of nature, science, and exploration documentaries. The cable Discovery Channel was then a fledging upstart; it eventually became one of the most widely distributed of cable channels, reaching almost 90 million homes in the United States and another 385 million homes in some 160 countries. Discovery used nature as a kind of flagship, consolidated under the series title *Wild Discovery*. Thanks to its heavily promoted, high-rated specials, such as the annual Shark Week, other cable channels began to follow suit. These successes laid the groundwork for the launch of a spin-off channel, Animal Planet, in 1996. Animal Planet is a joint venture involving the BBC in global markets and features classic wildlife filmmaking. It has made minor celebrities of a new generation of on-camera hosts (foremost, Steve Irwin of *The Crocodile Hunter*, a hit for the channel launched in 1996); provides hours of programming about pets as well as "wild" animals; eagerly hybridizies nature with other genres, including so-called reality TV (*Animal Cops*, beginning 2002), game, and talent shows (*Pet Star*, beginning 2002); and frequently consists of productions shot on video rather than on film. The Discovery–BBC alliance has also resulted in high-profile programs such as *Walking with Dinosaurs* (1999) and *Walking with Prehistoric Beasts* (2001), speculative dramatizations about the daily lives of long-extinct life forms rendered through computer-generated imagery, and *Blue Planet: A Natural History of the Ocean* (2002), a gorgeously produced eight-part survey of marine life.

When Animal Planet reached global markets, National Geographic Television countered by partnering with NBC and News Corporation to launch its own cable channel, first shown in the United Kingdom, Europe, and Asia in 1997–1998, and reaching US markets in 2001. Nature now sprawled throughout television, as both broadcast and cable channels experimented with cost-cutting "reality-based" and other nonfiction genres and competed ever more fiercely for demographic niches (especially for that of young adult males) thought to cluster around this kind of programming. In 1991, the Turner Broadcasting System (TBS) hosted Attenborough's popular BBC series *The Trials of Life*; the highbrow *National Geographic Specials* returned to NBC in 1995; the Fox broadcast network dabbled with lowbrow miniseries and specials such as *When Animals Attack* (1996–1997); and MTV's *Jackass* crew remade itself as *Wildboyz* (2003–2004), which set its roughhousing stunts amid wildlife (and sometimes ethnographic) filmmaking conventions.

NATURE ON BIG (AND REALLY BIG) SCREENS

While animal programming boomed on TV, nonfiction nature ventures in theatrical distribution remained scant, with the exception of an emerging specialty market. In the 1970s, the IMAX Corporation had introduced a new 70mm cinema format; theaters capable of screening the towering image were installed mainly in natural history and science museums. Both format and context proved particularly friendly to sweeping land- and seascapes. Accordingly, many IMAX films have featured nature subjects, such as *Beavers* (1988), *Blue Planet* (1990), *Everest* (1996), *Island of the Sharks* (1999), *Jane Goodall's Wild Chimpanzees* (2002), and the 3-D *Bugs!* (2003). Occasionally the format has turned to computer-generated imagery and dramatic storylines, as in *T-Rex: Back to the Cretaceous* (1998) and *China: The Panda Adventure* (2001).

Once animal TV proliferated and nature subjects found new outlets in large-format cinema, filmmakers with careers in other genres began straying into nature productions. For example, the French-German television network Arte premiered *Impressionen unter Wasser* (*Impressions of the Deep*) by Leni Riefenstahl

Bart the Bear (right) and York the Bear starred in Jean-Jacques Annaud's* The Bear *(1988). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(1902–2003), director of Nazi propaganda films including *Triumph of the Will* (1935) and *Olympia* (1938), as part of a celebration of Riefenstahl's hundredth birthday in 2002. After waterbound dramatic features such as the aquatic sci-fi flop *The Abyss* (1989) and the stunning success of *Titanic* (1997), James Cameron (b. 1954) began to experiment with documentary and undersea projects in the IMAX format, eventually directing *Aliens of the Deep* (2005). Others borrowed nature filmmaking techniques and aesthetics for animal-centered dramas. *L'Ours* (*The Bear*, 1988), by the eclectic French director Jean-Jacques Annaud (b. 1943), employed Bart the Bear, who also appears in *Legends of the Fall* (1994) and a dozen other films, as an adult male who adopts an orphaned cub. Entirely a fiction, *The Bear* contains many features derived from classic Disneyana: as in *Bambi*, the animal protagonist's mother is killed, while the surrogate father and the cub evade hunters; the coming-of-age narrative also echoes elements of the True-Life Adventures. Annaud's second dramatic wildlife feature, *Deux frères* (*Two Brothers*, 2004), features an equally unlikely tale of twin tiger cubs, separated upon their mother's death, abused in captivity, then reunited and returned to the wild.

Few late twentieth- and early twenty-first century nonfiction feature films enjoyed theatrical releases: *Microcosmos* (1996), a lush exploration of insect life produced by the French actor Jacques Perrin, was distributed by Miramax in the United States to disappointing earnings of $1.4 million. Discovery briefly tried its hand with *The Leopard Son* (1996), filmed by the Baron Hugo van Lawick, which opened even more modestly and was quickly recast as a Discovery Channel special and home video title. Still, nature filmmakers continued to brave the theatrical market. *Le Peuple migrateur* (*Winged Migration*, 2002), produced and directed by Perrin and released by Sony, earned $10 million in the United States. The film, containing footage obtained from inventive aerial camera units, and sometimes using imprinted geese, ducks, cranes, and storks hand-raised for use in the film, suggested that significant audiences could still be drawn to theaters around especially spectacular nature projects. Miramax timidly edged the BBC Natural History Unit's *Deep Blue* (2005), a less impressive

follow-up to the *Blue Planet* series by veteran Alastair Fothergill, into theaters, while *La Marche de l'empereur* (*March of the Penguins*), directed by Luc Jacquet for Bonne Pioche, was released in the United States by Warner Independent and National Geographic films in 2005 to wide acclaim. *March*, said to have been made for $2 million, earned $70 million in the United States within three months, was awarded an Academy Award® in 2006, and became a best-seller as a home video release. Despite these exceptional theatrical releases, nature remains in the twenty-first century a predominately televisual genre.

SEE ALSO *Animal Actors; Documentary; Walt Disney Company*

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Cynthia Chris

NEOREALISM

The period between 1943 and 1945 in the history of Italian cinema is dominated by the impact of neorealism, which is properly defined as a moment or a trend in Italian film, rather than an actual school or group of theoretically motivated and like-minded directors and scriptwriters. Its impact nevertheless has been enormous, not only on Italian film but also on French New Wave cinema and on movies in diverse parts of the world.

HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF ITALIAN NEOREALISM

With the fall of Mussolini's Fascist regime in 1943 and the end of World War II, international audiences were suddenly introduced to Italian films through a few noteworthy works by Roberto Rossellini (1906–1977), Vittorio De Sica (1902–1974), and Luchino Visconti (1906–1976). Italian directors, newly freed from Fascist censorship, were able to merge a desire for cinematic realism (a tendency already present during the Fascist period) with social, political, and economic themes that would never have been tolerated by the regime. Neorealist films often took a highly critical view of Italian society and focused attention upon glaring social problems, such as the effects of the Resistance and the war, postwar poverty, and chronic unemployment. Continuing a trend toward realism that had already been initiated during the Fascist period by prewar directors such as Alessandro Blasetti (1900–1987), Augusto Genina (1892–1957), and Francesco De Robertis (1902–1959), these new postwar faces—dubbed neorealists by critics who praised the "new" realism they believed such directors sought to create—rejected, in some instances, traditional dramatic and cinematic conventions associated with commercial cinema in both Rome and Hollywood. Some (though very few) even wanted to abandon literary screenplays altogether to focus on improvisation, while most preferred to chronicle the average, undramatic daily events in the lives of common people with the assistance of a literate script. But almost all neorealists agreed that the "happy ending" they associated with Hollywood was to be avoided at all costs.

Neorealism preferred location shooting rather than studio work, as well as the grainy kind of photography associated with documentary newsreels. While it is true that, for a while, the film studios were unavailable after the war, neorealist directors shunned them primarily because they wanted to show what was going on in the streets and piazzas of Italy immediately after the war. Contrary to the belief that explains on-location shooting by its supposed lower cost, such filming often cost much more than work in the more easily controlled studios; in the streets, it was never possible to predict lighting, weather, and the unforeseen occurrence of money-wasting disturbances. Economic factors do, however, explain another characteristic of neorealist cinema—its almost universal practice of dubbing the sound track in postproduction, rather than recording sounds on the supposedly "authentic" locations. Perhaps the most original characteristic of the new Italian realism in film was the brilliant use of nonprofessional actors by Rossellini, De Sica, and Visconti, though many of the films accepted as neorealist depended upon excellent performances by seasoned professional actors.

Some film historians have tended to portray neorealism as an authentic movement with universally agreed-upon stylistic or thematic principles. In fact,

Italian neorealist cinema represents a hybrid of traditional and more experimental techniques. Moreover, political expediency often motivated interpretations of postwar neorealism that overlooked the important elements of continuity between realist films made during the Fascist era and realist films made by the neorealists. After 1945, no one in the film industry wanted to be associated with Mussolini and his discredited dictatorship, and most Italian film critics were Marxists; neorealism's ancestry was thus largely ignored.

The most influential critical appraisals of Italian neorealism today emphasize the fact that Italian neorealist cinema rested upon artifice as much as realism and established, in effect, its own particular realist conventions. All too many early assessments of Italian neorealism focused lazily upon the formulaic statement that Italian neorealism meant no scripts, no actors, no studios, and no happy endings. In the 1964 edition of his first resistance novel, *Il sentiero dei nidi di ragno* (*The Path to the Nest of Spiders*, 1947), Italo Calvino (1923–1985) reminded his readers that Italian neorealism was never a school with widely shared theoretical principles. Rather, it arose from a number of closely associated discoveries of an Italian popular culture that had traditionally been ignored by "high" Italian culture. Neorealist film and literature replaced an official cinema and literature characterized by pompous rhetoric and a lack of interest in the quotidian and the commonplace.

Critics unanimously regard a small group of films as the best examples of this brief moment in Italian film history: Rossellini's *Roma, città apperta* (*Rome, Open City*, 1945) and *Paisà* (*Paisan*, 1946), both of which were scripted by Federico Fellini (1920–1993); De Sica's *Sciuscà* (*Shoeshine*, 1946), *Ladri di biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thieves*, 1948), *Miracolo a Milano* (*Miracle in Milan*, 1951), and *Umberto D* (1952), all scripted by Cesare Zavattini (1902–1989); and Luchino Visconti's *Ossessione* (*Obsession*, 1943) and *La terra trema: Episodio del mare* (*The Earth Trembles*, 1948), respectively, loose adaptations of James Cain's 1934 novel *The Postman Always Rings Twice* and Giovanni Verga's *I Malavoglia* (*The House by the Medlar Tree*, 1881).

In retrospect, the appearance of Visconti's *Obsession* made it clear that something original was brewing within Italian cinema. Assisted by a number of young Italian intellectuals associated with the review *Cinema*, Visconti took Cain's "hard-boiled" novel (without paying for the rights) and turned the crisp, first-person narrative voice of the American work into a more omniscient, objective camera style, as obsessed with highly formal compositions as Visconti's protagonists are by their violent passions. Visconti reveals an Italy that includes not only the picturesque and the beautiful but also the tawdry, the ordinary, and the insignificant. Simple gestures, glances, and the absence of any dramatic action characterize the most famous sequence in the film: world-weary Giovanna (Clara Calamai) enters her squalid kitchen, takes a bowl of pasta, and begins to eat, reading the newspaper, but falls asleep from exhaustion. Postwar critics praised neorealist cinema for respecting the duration of real time in such scenes. Equally original in the film is Visconti's deflation of the "new" man that Italian Fascism had promised to produce. Even though the film's protagonist, Gino, is played by Fascist Italy's matinee idol, Massimo Girotti (1918–2003), his role in the film is resolutely nonheroic, and he has implicit homosexual leanings as well. Even Visconti's patron and friend Vittorio Mussolini rejected such a portrayal of Italian life. Interestingly enough, Vittorio's father, Benito Mussolini, had screened the film and did not find it objectionable.

Though *Obsession* announced a new era in Italian filmmaking, at the time very few people saw the film, and few realized that the aristocratic young director would have such a stellar career. It was the international success of Rossellini's *Rome, Open City*, which so accurately reflected the moral and psychological atmosphere of the immediate postwar period, that alerted the world to the advent of Italian neorealism. With a daring combination of styles and moods, Rossellini captured the tension and the tragedy of Italian life under German occupation and the partisan struggle out of which the new Italian republic was subsequently born. *Rome, Open City*, however, is far from a programmatic attempt at cinematic realism. Rossellini relied on dramatic actors rather than nonprofessionals. He constructed a number of studio sets (particularly the Gestapo headquarters where the most dramatic scenes in the film take place) and thus did not slavishly follow the neorealist trend of shooting films in the streets of Rome. Moreover, his plot was a melodrama in which good and evil were so clear-cut that few viewers today would identify it as realism. Even its lighting in key sequences (such as the famous torture scene) follows expressionist or American film noir conventions. Rossellini aims to provoke an emotional rather than an intellectual response, with a melodramatic account of Italian resistance to Nazi oppression. In particular, the children present at the end of the film to witness the execution of partisan priest Don Pietro (Aldo Fabrizi) point to renewed hope for what Rossellini's protagonists call a new springtime of democracy and freedom in Italy.

Paisan reflects to a far greater extent the conventions of the newsreel documentary, tracing in six separate episodes the Allied invasion of Italy and its slow process through the peninsula. Far more than *Rome, Open City*, *Paisan* seemed to offer an entirely novel approach to film realism; in fact, when future young directors would cite Rossellini as their inspiration, they would almost always

CESARE ZAVATTINI

b. Luzzara, Italy, 29 September 1902, d. 13 October 1989

Italian journalist and writer of screenplays for Italian neorealist cinema, Cesare Zavattini is known especially for his collaborations with director Vittorio De Sica. After completing a law degree at the University of Parma, Zavattini wrote two successful novels—*Parliamo tanto di me* (Let's Talk A Lot About Me, 1931) and *Il poveri sono matti* (The Poor Are Crazy, 1937)—before writing the script for Mario Camerini's classic social satire, *Darò un milione* (*I'll Give a Million*, 1935), starring Vittorio De Sica. In his lifetime, Zavattini completed 126 screenplays, 26 of which were for De Sica as director or actor.

He also provided screenplays for such figures as Alessandro Blasetti, Giuseppe De Santis, Luchino Visconti, and Alberto Lattuada, but his work with De Sica established Zavattini as the leading exponent of Italian neorealism in the decade immediately following the end of World War II. But it was the four neorealist classics created by the two friends that made film history: *Sciuscà* (*Shoeshine*, 1946), an account of the American occupation that earned the first award for foreign films bestowed by the American Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences; *Ladri di biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thieves*, 1948), a tale of postwar unemployment that received an Oscar® for Best Foreign Film; *Miracolo a Milano* (*Miracle in Milan*, 1951), a fantastic parable about the class struggle in a fairy-tale Milan; and *Umberto D* (1952), a heart-rending tragedy about a lonely pensioner and his dog.

Zavattini became the outstanding spokesman for neorealism, advocating the use of nonprofessional actors, a documentary style, authentic locations as opposed to studio shooting, and a rejection of Hollywood studio conventions, including the use of dramatic or intrusive editing. He wrote contemporary, simple stories about common people. In particular, he felt that everyday events provided as much drama as any Hollywood script could produce by rhetorical means or that any special effects and dramatic editing might create. Nevertheless, after neorealist cinema evolved in the late 1950s, Zavattini wrote screenplays for De Sica that enjoyed great commercial success: *Ieri, oggi, domani* (*Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*. 1963), a social satire that garnered an Oscar® for Best Foreign Film and featured a legendary striptease for Marcello Mastroianni by Sophia Loren; *La ciociara* (*Two Women*, 1960), an adaptation of an Alberto Moravia novel about the horrible effects of war, which won Loren an Oscar® for Best Actress; and *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini* (*The Garden of the Finzi-Continis*, 1970), the narration of the destruction of the Jewish community in Ferrara before World War II, which won De Sica his fourth Oscar® for Best Foreign Film.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Sciuscà (*Shoeshine*, 1946), *Ladri di biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thieves*, 1948), *Miracolo a Milano* (*Miracle in Milan*, 1951), *Umberto D* (1952), *La ciociara* (*Two Women*, 1960), *Ieri, oggi, domani* (*Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*, 1963), *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini* (*The Garden of the Finzi-Continis*, 1970)

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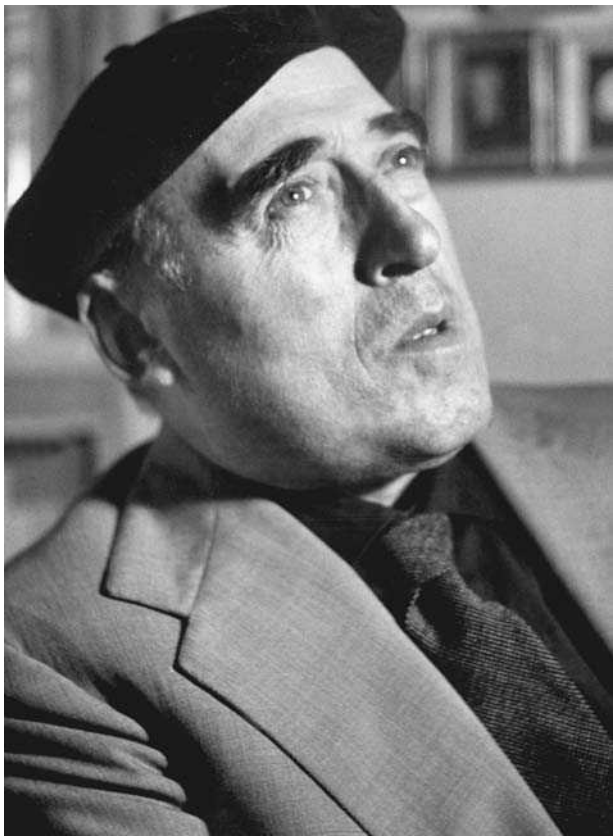
Peter Bondanella

refer to *Paisan*. Its grainy film, the awkward acting of its nonprofessional protagonists, its authoritative voice-over narration, and the immediacy of its subject matter—all features associated with newsreels—do not completely describe the aesthetic quality of the work. Rossellini aims not at a merely realistic documentary of the Allied invasion and Italian suffering. His subject is a deeper philosophical theme, employing a bare minimum of aesthetic resources to follow the encounter of two cultures, resulting in initial misunderstanding but eventual brotherhood.

The third part of Rossellini's war trilogy, *Germania anno zero* (*Germany Year Zero*, 1948), shifts the director's attention from war-torn Italy to the disastrous effects of the war on Germany. It was shot among the debris of the ruins of Hitler's Berlin before reconstruction. The director's analysis of the aftereffects of Hitler's indoctrination of a young German boy, who eventually commits suicide, reflects Rossellini's ability to empathize with human suffering, even among ex-Nazis.

Compared to the daring experimentalism and use of nonprofessionals in *Paisan*, De Sica's neorealist works



Cesare Zavattini. **DAVID LEES/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.**

seem more traditional and closer to Hollywood narratives. Yet, De Sica uses nonprofessionals—particularly children—in both *Shoeshine* and *The Bicycle Thieves* even more brilliantly than Rossellini. In contrast to Rossellini's dramatic editing techniques, which owe something to the lessons Rossellini learned from making documentaries and studying the Russian masters during the Fascist period, De Sica's camera style favored the kind of deep-focus photography normally associated with Jean Renoir and Orson Welles. *Shoeshine* offers an ironic commentary on the hopeful ending of *Rome, Open City*, for its children (unlike Rossellini's) dramatize the tragedy of childish innocence corrupted by the world of adults, the continuation of a theme De Sica began in one of his best films produced before the end of the war, *I bambini ci guardano* (*The Children Are Watching Us*, 1943). The moving performances De Sica obtains from his nonprofessional child actors in *Shoeshine* arise from what the director called being "faithful to the character": De Sica believed that ordinary people could do a better job of portraying ordinary people than actors could ever do.

De Sica's faith in nonprofessional actors was more than justified in his masterpiece, *The Bicycle Thieves*, which also employs location shooting and the social themes of unemployment and the effects of the war on the postwar economy. The performances of Lamberto Maggiorani as Antonio Ricci, the unemployed father who needs a bicycle in order to make a living hanging posters on city walls, and Enzo Staiola as Bruno, his faithful son, rest upon a plot with a mythic structure—a quest. Their search for a stolen bicycle—its brand is ironically Fides ("Faith")—suggests the film is not merely a political film denouncing a particular socioeconomic system. Social reform may change a world in which the loss of a mere bicycle spells economic disaster, but no amount of social engineering or even revolution will alter solitude, loneliness, and individual alienation. De Sica derived an equally eloquent performance from a nonprofessional in *Umberto D*, a heart-breaking dissection of the terrible effects of poverty and old age in Italy during the Christian Democratic postwar period, when pensions were destroyed by inflation. Even though De Sica was never a leftist (his concern for the poor and his desire for social change were motivated more by charity than by ideological fervor), such works as these two neorealist masterpieces were viewed very negatively by conservative politicians, such as future premier Giulio Andreotti, who remarked famously that dirty laundry is not washed in public.

De Sica's *Miracle in Milan* abandons many of the conventions of neorealist "realism." Not only does the film rely upon veterans of the legitimate theater for its cast, but De Sica also employs many special effects not generally associated with neorealism's pseudodocumentary style: superimposed images for magical effects, process shots, reverse action, surrealistic sets, the abandonment of normal notions of chronological time, and the rejection of the usual cause-and-effect relationships typical of the "real" world. In spite of the fact that Zavattini, De Sica's scriptwriter, once made a famous pronouncement that "the true function of the cinema is not to tell fables" (a view that became associated with Italian neorealism and that tended to obscure the very real fables that this cinema invented), *Miracle in Milan* is, in fact, a fable that begins with the traditional opening line, "Once upon a time . . ." and revolves around a comic parable about the rich and the poor. The result is a parody of Marxist concepts of class struggle. De Sica and Zavattini show us poor people who are just as selfish, egotistical, and uncaring as some wealthy members of society once the poor gain power, money, and influence. At the conclusion of the film, the poor mount their broomsticks and fly off over the Cathedral of Milan in search of a place where justice prevails and common humanity is a way of life. *Miracle in Milan* stretches the notion of what constitutes a neorealist film to the very limits.

Maria Pia Casilio and Carlo Battisti in Vittorio de Sica's* Umberto D *(1952), scripted by Cesare Zavattini. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Visconti's *The Earth Trembles* reflects both the literary theories of naturalism in Verga's fiction and the Marxist views of Antonio Gramsci. Praised by Marxist critics in Italy for its progressive stance, Visconti's adaptation of the well-known novel by Giovanni Verga conforms to the traditional definition of Italian neorealism better than other equally famous works of the period. No studio sets or sound stages were used, and the cast was selected from the Sicilian fishing village of Aci Trezza, the novel's setting. Visconti preferred the more realistic effects of the Sicilian dialect and synchronized sound to the traditional Italian practice of postsynchronization of the sound track. While the film's theme underscores the need for revolution among Italy's poor, the visuals of this unusual masterpiece stress the cyclical, timeless quality of life in Aci Trezza—a Homeric view of the world rather than a Marxist one. There is a formalism in Visconti's camera style: slow panning shots with a stationary camera and long, static shots of motionless objects and actors bestow dignity and beauty on humble, ordinary people.

CRITICAL RECEPTION AND LEGACY

While the key works of Italian neorealism helped to change the direction of the art form and remain today original contributions to film language, they were, with the exception of *Rome, Open City*, relatively unpopular in Italy. They were far more successful abroad and among filmmakers and critics. In addition, it became more and more difficult to make neorealist films, as political pressures to present a rosy view of Italy limited government financing from the ruling Christian Democratic party. One of the paradoxes of the neorealist era is that the ordinary Italians whom such films set out to portray were relatively uninterested in their onscreen self-image. In fact, of the approximately eight hundred films produced

between 1945 and 1953 in Italy, only a relatively small number (about 10 percent) could be classified as neorealist, and most of these works were box office failures. The Italian public was more interested in Italian films that employed, however obliquely, the cinematic codes of Hollywood or in the vast numbers of films imported from Hollywood itself.

When recognizable traditional Hollywood film genres were mixed with neorealist themes, greater box office success was assured. Examples of this development within neorealism toward commercial film genres include *Vivere in pace* (*To Live in Peace*, Luigi Zampa, 1947); *Senza pietà* (*Without Pity*, Alberto Lattuada, 1948), scripted in part by Fellini; *Riso amaro* (*Bitter Rice*, Giuseppe De Santis, 1948)—the neorealist exception, a box office hit; and *Il cammino della speranza* (*The Path of Hope*, Pietro Germi, 1950). Films such as these continued the shift away from the war themes of Rossellini to the interest in postwar reconstruction typical of De Sica's best efforts, but they are even more important as an indication of how the Italian cinema moved gradually closer to conventional American themes and film genres. Neorealist style in these films becomes more and more of a hybrid, combining some elements identified with neorealism with others taken from the commercial cinema of Hollywood or Rome.

Besides resistance at the box office, where ordinary Italians preferred Hollywood works or Italian films with a Hollywood flavor, even the most famous neorealist directors soon grew restless at the insistence on the part of Italian intellectuals and social critics that films should always have a social or ideological purpose. In Italian cinematic history this transitional phase of development is often called the "crisis" of neorealism. In retrospect, it was the critics who were suffering an intellectual crisis; Italian cinema was evolving naturally toward a film language concerned more with psychological problems and a visual style no longer defined solely by the use of nonprofessionals, on-location shooting, and documentary effects. Three early films by Michelangelo Antonioni (b. 1912), Fellini, and Rossellini are crucial to this development. *Cronaca di un amore* (*Story of a Love Affair*, 1950), Antonioni's first feature film, is a film noir in which the director's distinctive photographic signature is already evident, with its characteristic long shots, tracks, and pans following the actors, and modernist editing techniques that attempt to reflect the rhythm of daily life. Fellini's *La Strada* (1954), awarded an Oscar® for Best Foreign Language Film, is a poetic parable that explores a particular Fellinian mythology concerned with spiritual poverty and the necessity for grace or salvation (defined in a strictly secular sense). Rossellini's "cinema of the reconstruction" in *Viaggio in Italia* (*Voyage in Italy*, 1953), starring Ingrid Bergman, marks his move away from the problems of the working class or the partisan experience to explore psychological problems, middle-class protagonists, and a more complex camera style not unlike that developed by Antonioni.

Neorealism's legacy was to be profound. The French New Wave (Jean-Luc Godard, François Truffaut, Jacques Rivette, Eric Rohmer) embraced neorealism as proof that filmmaking could be possible without a huge industrial structure behind it and that filmmakers could be as creative as novelists. In particular, they appreciated the psychological move beyond neorealist themes in Antonioni and Rossellini. In India and Latin America, the classics of neorealism inspired filmmakers to shoot simple stories about ordinary people. In Brazil, for example, the Cinema Novo movement was clearly indebted to Italian neorealism, especially in such works as Nelson Pereira dos Santos's *Rio 40 Graus* (*Rio 40 Degrees*, 1955) or Anselmo Duarte's *O Pagador de Promessas* (*Payer of Promises*, 1962). In India, Satyajit Ray's debt to Rossellini, Visconti, and De Sica in the so-called "Apu trilogy"—Pather Panchali (1955), *Aparajito* (1957), and *Apur Sansar* (1959)—has been frequently confirmed by the director's own testimony. Even in Hollywood in the immediate postwar period, such important works as Jules Dassin's *The Naked City* (1948) and Edward Dmytryk's *Christ in Concrete* (1949) show the direct influence of neorealism's preference for authentic locations within the American tradition of film noir.

Most importantly, however, a second generation of Italian directors reacted directly to the model of the neorealist cinema. The early films of Pier Paolo Pasolini (1922–1975), Bernardo Bertolucci (b. 1940), Marco Bellocchio (b. 1939), Paolo (b. 1931) and Vittorio (b. 1929) Taviani, and Ermanno Olmi (b. 1931), particularly those shot in black and white, returned in some measure to the conventions of documentary photography, nonprofessional actors, authentic locations, and social themes. But this second generation also combined lessons from their neorealist predecessors with very different ideas taken from the French New Wave, and they were far more committed (with the exception of Olmi) to an aggressively Marxist worldview. Olmi continued to be true to the neorealist preference for nonprofessional actors in such important works as *Il posto* (*The Sound of Trumpets*, 1961), *I fidanzati* (*The Fiancées*, 1963), *L'albero degli zoccoli* (*The Tree of the Wooden Clogs*, 1978), and *Il mestiere delle armi* (*Profession of Arms*, 2001). The neorealist heritage may still be detected, with a postmodern twist, in the cinema of Nanni Moretti (b. 1953), such as *Caro diario* (*Dear Diary*, 1993) and the more recent *La stanza del figlio* (*The Son's Room*, 2001).

SEE ALSO *Italy; Realism; World War II*

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Peter Bondanella

NETHERLANDS

About one thousand feature-length fiction films and some hundreds of long documentaries have been made in the Netherlands, with heydays for the fiction film in the teens, 1930s, 1970s, and 1990s. In spite of this rather modest production, Dutch cinema may boast of several international achievements: such directors as Joris Ivens (1898–1989) and Paul Verhoeven (b. 1938) are internationally known, such films as *De Aanslag* (*The Assault*, Fons Rademakers, 1986) and *Karakter* (*Character*, Mike van Diem, 1997) won Academy Awards®, and Dutch animated film as well as the Dutch Documentary School stand in good international repute.

EARLY DUTCH CINEMA

The Netherlands has always been more a country of film exhibition and distribution than of film production. French cinema, and subsequently other, mostly European, films dominated Dutch screens in the early years. After a modest start, the number of cinemas and the demand for film exploded in the Netherlands after 1910. F.A. Nöggerath Jr. made several dramas, among which was the first feature fiction film, *Ontrouw* (*Infidelity*, Louis Chrispijn Jr., 1911), and Alfred Machin (1877–1929) made fiction films full of clumps, mills, and fishermen for Pathé. A first heyday occurred during World War I, when the country's neutral status created possibilities for producers. The most prolific was Maurits Binger's Hollandia Studio, whose stars, Annie Bos (1886–1975) and Adelqui Migliar (1891–1956), were beloved, yet it ran into trouble after the war. Of the silent Dutch films only a mere fraction are extant.

In 1921, exhibitors and distributors united in the Dutch Cinema Union (NBB), bastion of the Dutch film world for half a century; in the same year Abraham Tuschinski opened his Amsterdam movie palace. In the 1920s–1930s, American and German cinema dominated the Dutch screens. From 1927, the Dutch Filmliga started to show avant-garde films, including the marvels of modernist editing, Ivens's *De Brug* (*The Bridge*, 1928), about a Rotterdam railway bridge turned into a constructivist work of art, and *Regen* (*Rain*, 1929), a city-symphony-like cine-poem about a shower in Amsterdam. During the Depression, Ivens made such sociopolitical documentaries as *Borinage* (1933), about miners in South-Belgium, followed by antifascist documentaries in Spain and China. In 1934, Ivens added *Nieuwe gronden* (*New Earth*), an anti-capitalist comment on his former rather apolitical—if visually dynamic—documentary *Zuiderzeewerken* (*Zuiderzee*, 1930). After the closing of the inner sea and the winning of the land, the grain harvested there was dumped into the sea to keep prices artificially high during the Depression. In order to make his statement, Ivens interspliced his own images with newsreel footage, a strategy that he often used subsequently. In 1946, *Indonesia Calling*, Ivens's plea for the independence of Indonesia, caused a split with the Netherlands. For ten years, he worked on union films in Eastern Europe, and he won the Golden Palme at the Cannes Film Festival with the lyric *The Seine Meets Paris* (1957). He described the effects of the Cultural Revolution in China in *Comment Yukong déplaça les montagnes* (*How Yukong Moved the Mountains*, 1976), and he also made his last film, *Une Histoire de vent* (*A Tale of the Wind*, 1988), in China.

The sound film arrived relatively late in the Netherlands. Distributors opted for subtitling instead of dubbing, but audiences wanted to hear Dutch. The period piece *Willem van Oranje* (*William of Orange*, 1934) was the first Dutch sound feature, but audiences preferred *De Jantjes* (*The Tars*, 1934), based on a popular musical. Until 1940, thirty-seven Dutch features were made, of which twenty-one were directed by German immigrants, including Ludwig Berger, Max Ophüls, and Douglas Sirk. When in 1934 Dutch technicians protested against the many foreigners, the immigrants were required to have Dutch assistants. Film was private investment; the government had implemented censorship in 1928, but it did not stimulate production. The influence of the stage was stronger in Dutch cinema than elsewhere; most actors were stage players and scripts were based on plays. The German occupation ended this productive period. However, during the Occupation eighteen German fiction films were produced in the Netherlands, and though thirty-two Dutch cinemas were bombed, spectators flocked to see films. Attendance grew massively during the war years, 1942–1943. The immediate postwar years were a golden era for exhibitors, as attendance increased drastically, reaching in 1946 an all time high of 88.7 million admissions. It then remained stable around 63 million from 1950 on, apart from a peak in 1956, partly due to the Dutch box-office hit *Ciske de Rat* (1955). It then gradually went down each year from the late 1950s on, suffering from the rise of television, introduced in 1951. In the postwar era, American cinema absolutely ruled Dutch screens, with Dutch cinema second in line in the 1970s and in the most recent years.

POSTWAR CINEMA

In the 1950s, few Dutch fiction films were made for lack of money and equipment, but the Dutch documentary flourished instead. In 1952, Bert Haanstra (1916–1997), Max de Haas, Ytzen Brusse, and Herman van der Horst (1910–1976) received a collective award at the Cannes Film Festival; Van der Horst was awarded the Grand Prix for his *Shoot the Nets* (1952). This Dutch Documentary School made films about postwar reconstruction in the Netherlands and about nature. The documentarists created rhythmic plays of image and sound, using extreme camera angles and spectacular editing. A highlight was Haanstra's *Glas* (*Glass*, 1958), which won an Academy Award® in 1960. His candid camera films, including *Alleman* (*Everyman*, 1963), were internationally popular. His fiction film debut, *Fanfare* (1958), remained the best-attended film in Holland until the release of Verhoeven's *Turks fruit* (*Turkish Delight*, 1973).

In 1956, the NBB and the government founded the Production Fund in order to stimulate feature film production. Fons Rademakers (b. 1920) made his debut with *Village on the River* (1958), a playful series of stories about a country doctor, which received an Oscar® nomination; eventually, Rademakers won an Academy Award® for *The Assault*. In *Als twee druppels water* (*The Spitting Image*, 1963), he demythologized the role of "resistance heroes" during World War II, and in *Max Havelaar* (1976) he treated another national trauma: the colonial past. With these tasteful literary adaptations Dutch fiction film came to maturity.

In 1958, the Dutch Film Academy was founded. The first wave of graduated students were inspired by the French New Wave. Within a few weeks and with a minimal budget, Pim de la Parra (b. 1940) and Wim Verstappen (1937–2004) produced *De Minder gelukkige terugkeer van Joszef Katus naar het land van Rembrandt* (1966), shown in Cannes. They pleaded for continuous film production and produced thirteen feature films from 1965 to1973. Martin Scorsese was co-writer for their thriller *Bezeten—Het gat in de muur* (*Obsessions*, 1969). *Blue Movie* (1971) candidly shows how an ex-convict, who missed the sexual revolution, catches up. Verstappen defended himself successfully against a ban of the film, which sped up the ending of traditional censorship. Frans Weisz (b. 1938), who studied at both the Dutch Film Academy and the Roman film school Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, made his feature debut with the experimental *Het Gangstermeisje* (*A Gangster Girl* or *Gangstergirl*, 1966), then achieved commercial success with genre movies, such as *De Inbreker* (*The Burglar*, 1972). From *Charlotte* (1980) on, Weisz worked in a more personal style, in which the theater, the Holocaust, and the traumas of Jewish survivors are recurrent subjects.

Experimental documentary makers broke new ground in the early 1960s. In contrast to earlier Dutch documentary, humans were treated less as metaphors and more as individuals. Louis van Gasteren (b. 1922) analyzed his own shots of police violence against an innocent student in *Omdat mijn fiets daar stond* (*Because My Bike Stood There*, 1966). Jan Vrijman's (1925–1997) *De Werkelijkheid van Karel Appel* (1962) was reviled in the Netherlands but won a Golden Bear in Berlin. In 1988, Vrijman co-founded the International Documentary Film Festival, which, together with the International Film Festival Rotterdam (founded 1972), is the biggest Dutch film festival. Johan van der Keuken (1938–2001) made intimate portraits, such as *Beppie* (1965), after which more socially engaged, associatively edited, and metadocumentary-like documentaries followed. He reassembled his images drawn from reality into recalcitrant,

Jeroen Krabbé and Rutger Hauer in Paul Verhoeven's popular* Soldaat von Oranje *(*Soldier of Orange*, 1977). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

poetic, or contemplative compositions, such as *I Love $* (1986) and *Amsterdam Global Village* (1996).

Until the 1970s, animation cinema meant commissioned filming. For Philips, George Pal (1908–1980) made puppet animation in the 1930s, and Joop Geesink (1913–1984) and Marten Toonder (1912–2005) peaked their animation production in the 1950s. Since the 1970s, Paul Driessen and Gerrit van Dijk have produced free animation films for adults. In addition, *Le Château de sable* (*The Sand Castle*, Co Hoedeman, 1977), *Anna en Bella* (Børge Ring, 1984), and *Father and Daughter* (Michael Dudok de Wit, 2000) have won Academy Awards®.

The year 1971 was a turning point in Dutch film history. The success of *Blue Movie* was surpassed by Verhoeven's *Wat zien ik* (*Diary of a Hooker*, 1971), and his *Turkish Delight* (1973) is the most successful Dutch film ever, with 3.3 million spectators. The film, about a wild but doomed romance, caused a sensation with its energetic pace, its new stars Rutger Hauer (b. 1944) and Monique van de Ven (b. 1952), and its explicit nudity. Thanks to these and Verhoeven's subsequent all-time high Dutch box-office hits, such as *Keetje Tippel* (1975) and *Soldaat van Oranje* (*Soldier of Orange,* 1977), Dutch cinema knew palmy days, with films focusing on the German occupation, the colonial past, and (homo)sexual emancipation. Such actors as Rutger Hauer and Jeroen Krabbé (b. 1944) broke through internationally. Verhoeven and his director of photography, Jan de Bont (b. 1943), left for Hollywood. In the United States, Verhoeven made the science fiction films *RoboCop* (1987) and *Total Recall* (1990) and the erotic thriller *Basic Instinct* (1992), among others. His films were criticized for their provocative use of sex and violence. De Bont established his Hollywood reputation with the action thrillers *Speed* (1994) and *Twister* (1996).

From 1971, Dutch cinema attendance went slightly up again, reaching a minor peak in 1978—the year of *Grease* and *Saturday Night Fever*. Hereafter it dropped

again and this time more radically, lasting through the early 1990s. The lowest attendance was in 1992 (13.7 million), after which it slowly rose. After 1976, Dutch cinema gradually changed with the rise of a new generation of film directors, including Ate de Jong (b. 1953) and Orlow Seunke (b. 1952). Jos Stelling (b. 1945) adapted the medieval play *Mariken van Nieumeghen* (1974), but he switched afterwards to absurdist tragicomedies, like *De Illusionist* (*The Illusionist*, 1983). In 1981, he founded the Dutch Film Festival, where the most important awards for Dutch cinema are given. In the early 1980s, many films flopped; too many directors were beginners and money was lacking. The government provided two new financial injections, the Fund for Dutch Cinema and the Coproduction Fund Internal Broadcasting. In 1993, the former merged with the Production Fund into the Netherlands Film Fund, which saw an increase in ways of film funding. The prestige of Dutch cinema rose with Academy Awards® for Rademaker's *The Assault*, Marleen Gorris's (b. 1948) *Antonia's Line* (1995), and Mike Van Diem's (b. 1959) *Character*. The comedy hit *Flodder* (1984) by Dick Maas of First Floor Features (FFF) inspired two sequels and a TV series, yet public attendance at both FFF productions and at Dutch films in general remained variable. The FFF produced some twenty films, among which number two absurdist comedies by Alex van Warmerdam, *Abel* (*Voyeur*, 1986) and *De Noorderlingen* (*The Northerners*, 1992). FFF built a studio complex in Almere (near Amsterdam), but it was sold after a series of flops.

In 1998 the Ministry of Economics introduced the CV-arrangement, which allowed private investors a tax reduction. The film industry thus received 200 million Euros in five years. Expensive productions such as *The Discovery of Heaven* (2001) by Krabbé became possible. The share of Dutch films screened domestically rose from 3.7 percent in 1997 to 13.6 percent in 2003. In 2003, 20 percent of Dutch-released productions were children's films; in 2004 this was 25 percent. Since the 1950s, Henk van der Linden (b. 1925) directed films for children matinees, and since 1972 Karst van der Meulen specialized in the genre too, just as Ben Sombogaart (b. 1947) has done more recently. Sombogaart's *Abeltje* (1998) was the first adaptation of the popular children's books of Annie M.G. Schmidt by producer Burny Bos (b. 1944). Bos also produced the sparkling film *Minoes* (Vincent Bal, 2001), in which a cat changes into a girl. Johan Nijenhuis's youth-oriented film *Costa!* (2000), was popular, in part, because of its young soap stars, Katja Schuurman and Georgina Verbaan.

With little means, new directors made unusual films: Robert Jan Westdijk made *Zusje* (1995), Paula van der Oest made *Zus* (2002), and Eddy Terstall made *Simon* (2004). An imported trend is that of refilming classic TV series, such as *Ja zuster, nee zuster* (*Yes Nurse, No Nurse*, 2002). Another trend is films based on true events, such as *Van God Los* (*Stir Crazy*, 2003), about a criminal youth gang in the Catholic South, and *06/05* (2004), about the murder of politician Pim Fortuyn. Shortly after the shooting of the later film, director Theo van Gogh (1957–2004) was himself murdered by a Muslim extremist. The problems of a multicultural Dutch society are the focus of Van Gogh's *Cool!* (2004), and *Shouf shouf habibi!* (Albert ter Heerdt, 2004) takes an ironic but endearing look at Dutch Moroccans. The CV-arrangement ended in 2003, and although the budget of the Film Fund was raised, the result has been lower attendance, less productivity, and a bleak future for Dutch cinema.

Nowadays, some 30 Dutch films per year are produced and shown, against an average of 115 American movies and 70 European movies (Dutch films excluded). In 2004 75% of the distribution market was taken in by the Dutch distribution branches of American companies (UIP, Warner Bros., Disney/Buena Vista, Columbia/TriStar, and Fox); UIP owns 20% of the market. The biggest independent Dutch distributors are A-Film and RCV. The American majors distribute Dutch films occasionally. In 2004, the Netherlands had 243 cinemas and art houses, with 690 screens and 114,880 chairs. Fewer Dutch citizens visit the cinema, but those who do tend to go more frequently.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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Ivo Blom
Paul van Yperen

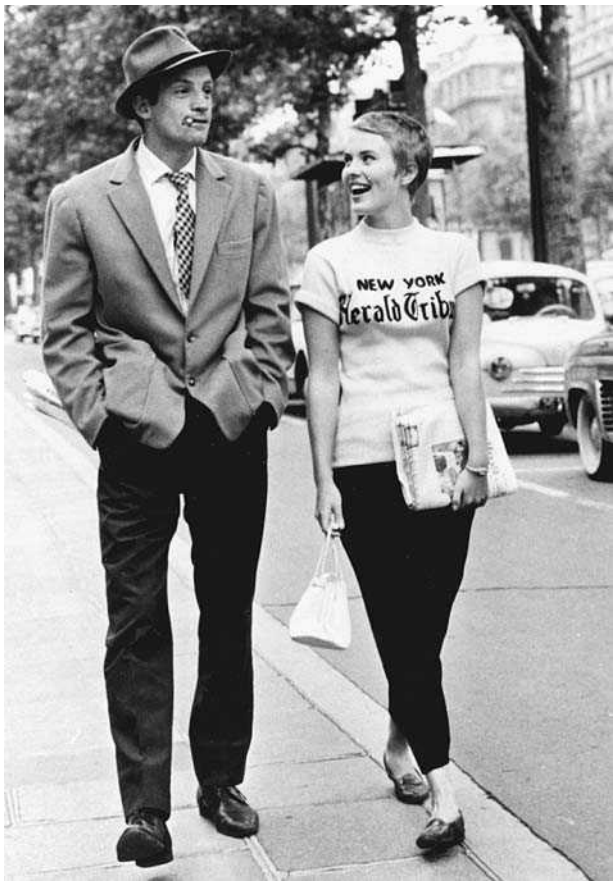
NEW WAVE

The period from the mid-1950s to the late 1960s was a turbulent one in many parts of the world. While African and Asian countries struggled for and gained independence from colonial powers, the United States expanded its own "imperial" interests in Southeast Asia and Latin America, with important effects on the colonial powers themselves. In Europe—East and West—there was widespread political and cultural upheaval, culminating in the violent events of 1968. Cinema was no exception to the general sense of change in the cultural realm and was an important contributor to it. The period saw a number of "new waves" in cinema in different countries, but the best known—and the one that gave its name to the others, sometimes also referred to as "new cinema" or "young cinema"—was the French *nouvelle vague*, generally considered to have surfaced in 1958–1959 and to have had decisive effects on French cinema, as well as other national cinemas, at least until the mid-1960s, although its influence and reputation lasted much longer and continues today.

FRENCH FILM CULTURE IN THE 1950s

The phenomenon of the *nouvelle vague* is rooted in the fact that between 1958 and 1962 some one hundred filmmakers, mostly a little under or over thirty years of age, made and brought out their first feature films. Such a sudden influx of young, new directors was unprecedented in any national cinema. Most French directors in the mid-1950s had established themselves and a style of "quality" cinema in the 1930s and 1940s. New directors found it hard to enter the industry; those who did often attended the official French film school, L'Institut des Hautes-Etudes du Cinéma (IDHEC) and then served long apprenticeships as assistants. Along with established actors and screenwriters, well-equipped studios and experienced technicians, art directors and directors of photography, this typical path encouraged a safe, studio-bound, script-heavy, often literary cinema—the kind of cinema that François Truffaut (1932–1984) subjected to blistering attack in a polemical 1954 essay in the film journal *Cahiers du Cinéma* (no. 31, January 1954). In "A Certain Tendency of French Cinema," Truffaut branded such cinema *la tradition de qualité* (quality tradition) and *le cinéma de papa* (Daddy's cinema), while praising the *auteurs*, or authors, whose vision and style were personal and individual. The *politique des auteurs*—the *auteur* polemic or policy—singled out for praise French directors like Jean Renoir, Robert Bresson, Jacques Tati, Jacques Becker, Jean Cocteau (as well as Italian directors like Roberto Rossellini and Luchino Visconti and other European filmmakers like Ingmar Bergman, Carl Dreyer, Luis Buñuel, and, more controversially, American directors like Howard Hawks, Anthony Mann, Nicholas Ray, Samuel Fuller, and the British Alfred Hitchcock).

Truffaut and several of his critic colleagues from *Cahiers du Cinéma*—Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930), Claude Chabrol (b. 1930), Eric Rohmer (b. 1920), and Jacques Rivette (b. 1928)—consciously set out to oust the *cinéma de papa* with their own youthful cinema and establish themselves as *auteurs*, using their critical writing as preparation for filmmaking. At the Cannes Film Festival in May 1959 the *nouvelle vague* was officially recognized as having arrived: Truffaut's debut feature *Les 400 coups* (*The 400 Blows*) won the Prize for Direction and Alain Resnais's (b. 1922) first feature, *Hiroshima mon amour*, though not in official competition (for



Jean-Paul Belmondo and Jean Seberg in Jean-Luc Godard's* À bout de souffle *(Breathless, 1959), one of the films that launched the New Wave. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

censorship reasons)—and though eliciting much vocal opposition—won the International Critics' Prize. Though these awards did signal a vital change, the "triumph" of the *nouvelle vague* at Cannes should not be overemphasized: the main prize, the Palme d'Or, went to Marcel Camus's *Orfeu Negro* (*Black Orpheus*), the Special Jury Prize to Konrad Wolf's East German–Bulgarian *Sterne* (*Stars*), and the acting prizes to the three male actors in Richard Fleischer's *Compulsion* and to Simone Signoret for her performance in the British *Room at the Top*. In fact, Chabrol had already had some commercial success with his first feature film, *Le Beau Serge* (*Handsome Serge*, 1958), and was about to release his second, *Les Cousins* (*The Cousins*, 1959; and some earlier films could be regarded as marking the arrival of a "new wave"). Also in 1959–1960, several important first features were released—Godard's controversial *À bout de souffle* (*Breathless*, 1960), Rohmer's *Le Signe du lion* (*The Sign of Leo*, 1959), and Rivette's *Paris nous appartient* (*Paris Is Ours*, 1960).

Many have argued that this group of *Cahiers* critics turned filmmakers (though they had all made—sometimes not very good—short films during the 1950s) *were* the *nouvelle vague*. Indeed, when these films were shown widely on big screens, and with commercial success, they had a disorienting effect on the mainstream French film industry. But it is unlikely that, on their own, this handful of directors making their first features, albeit in a tight time frame, would have had such an impact. The *Cahiers* group of filmmakers also became known as the "Right Bank" (of the river Seine) group, in contradistinction to the loosely designated "Left Bank" group, generally slightly older, associated with Resnais and Agnès Varda (b. 1928), Chris Marker (b. 1921), and perhaps Georges Franju (1912–1987). Before Resnais's success with *Hiroshima mon amour*, in some cases since the 1940s, these filmmakers had won admiration for their short and more political films ("Left" and "Right" also had these connotations). Notable among these were Resnais and Marker's study of colonialism and art, *Les Statues meurent aussi* (*Statues Also Die*, 1953), Resnais's study of the concentration camps, *Nuit et brouillard* (*Night and Fog*, 1955), Franju's striking films about animal slaughter (*Le Sang des bêtes* [*Blood of the Beasts*], 1949) and the Paris military hospital (*Hôtel des Invalides*, 1952), and Marker's critical travelogues *Dimanche à Pékin* (*Sunday in Peking*, 1956) and *Lettre de Sibérie* (*Letter from Siberia*, 1957). Making short films of this kind, along with the changing atmosphere of French cinema from 1958 to 1962, opened up possibilities for these directors to make their first features: Franju's *La Tête contre les murs* (*The Keepers*, also known as *Head Against the Wall*, 1959) and *Les Yeux sans visage* (*Eyes Without a Face*, 1959); Varda's *Cléo de 5 à 7* (*Cleo from 5 to 7*, 1961); and Marker's *!Cuba Sí!* (Cuba Yes, 1961) and *Le Joli mai* (Pretty May, 1963). Resnais was able to continue making controversial features like *L'Année dernière à Marienbad* (*Last Year at Marienbad*, 1961) and *Muriel ou Le temps d'un retour* (*Muriel, or the Time of Return*, 1963).

Needless to say, other filmmakers graduated to features at this time who could not be said to belong in either group or camp—directors such as Jean Rouch (1917–2004), whose background was in anthropological filmmaking, with *Moi un noir* (*I, a Negro*, 1958), *La Pyramide humaine* (*The Human Pyramid*, 1961) and *Chronique d'un été* (*Chronicle of a Summer*, 1961, co-directed with Edgar Morin); Jacques Demy (1931–1990), with *Lola* (1961) and *La Baie des Anges* (*Bay of Angels*, 1963); and Jacques Rozier (b. 1926), who followed short films, including the striking 1958 film about young people on the Côte d'Azur *Blue Jeans*, with his first feature *Adieu Philippine* (1962). And caught up, as it were, in the *nouvelle vague* were a number of more

conventional directors who had served their time as assistants and fortuitously found themselves making their first features at this time and benefiting from the general buzz being generated—directors like Philippe de Broca (1933–2004), Michel Deville (b. 1931), Claude Sautet (1924–2000), and Edouard Molinaro (b. 1928).

These bare facts about who made what when, and what the filmmakers' backgrounds were, are easy to record, but they do not begin to touch on a crucial question: How was it that an established industry could be upset so decisively—and *was* that industry in fact decisively upset? A related question concerns the conditions and circumstances that enabled these new filmmakers to make their films. Moreover, what was *new* about the *nouvelle vague*, insofar as it is possible to talk generally about a diverse group of films and filmmakers who nevertheless have something in common?

FRENCH CINEMA AND THE NEW WAVE

In social terms, the 1950s—in France as elsewhere—saw the growth of youth culture and the beginnings of the displacement in politics and culture of the war and postwar generation by a new generation. The term *nouvelle vague* was coined by the journalist Françoise Giroud in 1958 in the weekly news magazine *L'Express* for a series of articles about the new generation emerging in France as the Fourth Republic got under way, not just in cinema but in politics and culture in general. The sudden and very visible emergence of the new filmmakers in 1958–1959 meant that what Giroud had noted as a general phenomenon became attached uniquely to cinema.

There were perhaps good reasons why the most striking manifestation of this New Wave should make itself felt in cinema. France had a long tradition of taking popular culture—perhaps especially, cinema—more seriously than did the United States and Britain. This was particularly true of the post–World War II period, with its lively, often polemical, culture of film criticism and reviewing both in specialized journals like *Cahiers du Cinéma* and its main rival *Positif*, both founded in the early 1950s, and in the daily and weekly press. At a time when the audience for mainstream cinema was declining, this culture was sustained by—and helped to sustain—a network of ciné-clubs and subsidized *art et essai* cinemas—art houses—dedicated to showing both repertory cinema and more noncommercial cinema. In Paris, Henri Langlois's Cinémathèque Française regularly screened historical material of all kinds, allowing for the discovery, or rediscovery, of past cinema. Cinémathèque screenings were given a lot of attention in the pages of *Cahiers*, whose critics regarded it as their equivalent of a film school. When the New Wave broke, there was an audience eager to see these new films and an infrastructure within which they could be seen, discussed, and argued about—*Cahiers* and *Positif* were often in sharp disagreement about the worth of the new films.

The state played a role in film production in France through the Centre National de la Cinématographie (CNC), founded in 1946 to help regenerate French cinema, with a role in the financing, distribution, and censorship of films, as well as in professional training, archiving, the selection of films for festivals, and so on. Before 1959 the way in which loans were advanced rewarded established producers and directors, although there was some encouragement of short filmmaking. In the late 1950s, with mainstream French cinema in crisis, there were changes in the way films were subsidized: in 1959 control of the CNC passed from the Ministry for Information to the Ministry for Cultural Affairs, then headed by the literary icon André Malraux (1901–1976), and state subsidy became more varied, including the *avance sur recette* (interest-free advance against box-office revenue), awarded on the basis of submission of technical details and a synopsis, and a guarantee of profits from foreign distribution. In addition, prizes and grants were awarded: for example, Truffaut's 1958 short *Les Mistons* (*The Kids*) cost 5 million francs and was awarded 4.5 million francs after completion, while Chabrol's first feature *Le Beau Serge*, which cost 46 million francs, was awarded 35 million francs. Both directors, having been their own producers, immediately reinvested their awards in new projects—Truffaut in *The 400 Blows* and Chabrol in *Les Cousins*. Although these new and varied forms of subsidy helped to generate the New Wave, they still tended to favor a relatively traditional approach to filmmaking, rather than the less script-based, more improvised approach of a director like Godard.

The New Wave filmmakers benefited from what was effectively a new wave of adventurous producers willing to take risks, who either graduated from short films to features with the new filmmakers or got a new lease on life through them. Pierre Braunberger (1905–1990), a veteran producer of Buñuel and Renoir in the 1920s and 1930s, was hardly a newcomer, but he had produced several Resnais shorts in the 1950s and now took risks with films like Jean Rouch's *Moi un noir*, Truffaut's second feature *Tirez sur le pianiste* (*Shoot the Piano Player*, 1960) and Godard's *Vivre sa vie* (*My Life to Live*, 1962). Godard was equally indebted to producers such as Georges de Beauregard (1920–1984), who enabled him to make *À bout de souffle*, *Le Petit soldat* (*The Little Soldier*, 1963), *Les Carabiniers* (1963), *Le Mépris* (*Contempt*, 1963), *Pierrot le fou* (1965), and other films, and Anatole Dauman (1925–1998), who enabled him to make *Masculin, féminin* (1966) and *2 ou 3 choses que je sais d'elle* (*Two or Three Things I Know About Her*, 1967). De Beauregard also produced Demy (*Lola*), Varda

JEAN-LUC GODARD

b. Paris, France, 3 December 1930

From the mid-1950s Jean-Luc Godard was a critic (a highly idiosyncratic one) at *Cahiers du Cinéma*, with André Bazin, Eric Rohmer, Jacques Rivette, François Truffaut, and Claude Chabrol. Godard and his *Cahiers* colleagues made some short films in the 1950s but learned about cinema by watching and writing about cinema. As Godard has said, "All of us at *Cahiers* thought of ourselves as future directors. Frequenting ciné-clubs and the Cinémathèque was already a way of thinking cinema and thinking about cinema. Writing was already a way of making films."

Godard's first feature, *À bout de souffle* (*Breathless*, 1960), helped announce the definitive arrival of the *nouvelle vague*, provoking both exhilaration and consternation by its wayward story and its cinematic treatment—fragmented narrative; long, often handheld, mobile takes; jump-cut editing. Godard rapidly became the *enfant terrible* of the French New Wave, committed to formal experimentation and rejecting script-based filmmaking. He often began a day's shooting with a few notes and ideas and improvised both script and camera work. He was also committed to productivity, making thirteen features from 1960 to 1967. Although some of Godard's films seem lightweight, *Vivre sa vie* (*My Life to Live*, 1962), *Les Carabiniers* (*The Carabineers*, 1963), *Bande à part* (*Band of Outsiders*, 1964), *Une femme mariée* (*A Married Woman*, 1964), and others were major low-budget works reflecting on contemporary society and radically questioning conventions about style and meaning, sound and image. Godard continued to experiment on higher-budget, wide-screen, color productions like *Le Mépris* (*Contempt*, 1963). *Pierrot le fou* (1965) was a quintessentially Godardian work—reflexive, stylized, lyrical, autobiographical, funny, restless, desperate. *2 ou 3 choses que je sais d'elle* (*Two or Three Things I Know About Her*, 1967) was an audacious mix of essay, documentary, and fiction.

After the more political *La Chinoise* and *Weekend* (both 1967), and the near-revolution of May 1968, Godard abandoned his art-house audience for a militant, deconstructionist "Counter Cinema" attacking bourgeois society and bourgeois cinema with films like *Vent d'est* (*Wind from the East*, co-directed by Jean-Pierre Gorin, under the aegis of the Dziga Vertov Group, 1970), but later tried to reconnect to art-house audiences with the magisterially Brechtian *Tout va bien* (*All's Well*, 1972).

Although Godard has continued to make acclaimed films into his seventies—*Sauve qui peut (la vie)* (*Every Man for Himself*, 1980), *Je vous salue, Marie* (*Hail Mary*, 1985)—his reputation rests primarily on his experimental work from the 1960s and 1970s. The radical inspiration provided by the *nouvelle vague* is essentially the inspiration provided by Godard, who has generated one of the largest bodies of critical analysis of any filmmaker since the mid-twentieth century.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

À bout de souffle (*Breathless*, 1960), *Vivre sa vie* (*My Life to Live*, 1962), *Les Carabiniers* (*The Carabineers*, 1963), *Le Mépris* (*Contempt*, 1963), *Bande à part* (*Band of Outsiders*, 1964), *Une femme mariée* (*A Married Woman*, 1964), *Pierrot le fou* (1965), *Masculin, féminin* (*Masculine, Feminine*, 1966), *2 ou 3 choses que je sais d'elle* (*Two or Three Things I Know About Her*, 1967), *Weekend* (1967), *Le Vent d'est* (*Wind from the East*, 1970), *Tout va bien* (*All's Well*, 1972), *Sauve qui peut (la vie)* (*Every Man for Himself*, 1980), *Je vous salue, Marie* (*Hail Mary*, 1985), *Éloge de l'amour* (*In Praise of Love*, 2001)

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Jim Hillier

Jean-Luc Godard. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(*Cléo de 5 à 7*), and Rivette (*La Religieuse* [*The Nun*], 1966, and *L'Amour fou*, 1969), while Dauman was otherwise more involved with the Left Bank group, producing Marker's *Lettre de Sibérie* and *La Jetée* (*The Pier*, 1962) and Resnais's *Muriel*.

The New Wave filmmakers could achieve what they did only by seizing the opportunities opening to them and freeing themselves from some of the constraints of the mainstream industry. These constraints had to do with practicalities on the one hand, and ways of thinking on the other. On the practical side, it was recognized that the New Wave films found ways around the obstacles posed by union requirements on minimum technical crews, as well as the obstacles to location shooting and various censorship matters, while rejecting some of the things that had been assumed to be absolute requirements, like established stars and the fetish of technical "quality." In terms of ways of thinking, Truffaut—on the verge of breaking through with *The 400 Blows*—stated his position in a striking 1958 review of a cheaply made Japanese film, *Juvenile Passion*: "Youth is in a hurry, it is impatient, it is bursting with all sorts of concrete ideas. Young filmmakers must shoot their films in mad haste, movies in which the characters are in a hurry, in which shots jostle each other to get on screen before 'The End,' films that contain their ideas." He then suggested that the IDHEC should buy a copy of *Juvenile Passion* and show it to students on the first Monday of every month

> to keep them from acquiring the mentality of assistants. And what is the assistant's mentality? It can be summed up: "I am finally going to make my first film; I am terrified of falling on my face; I have allowed a script and actors to be imposed on me, but there is one thing I won't give in on, and that is time; I demand fourteen weeks of shooting, thirteen of them in the studio, because if I can use time and film as much as I want, I will be able, if not to make a good film, at least to prove that I can make a film." *Juvenile Passion* was shot in seventeen days. (Truffaut, 1978, pp. 246–247)

This begins to suggest what sort of films the New Wave filmmakers wanted to make and what was new about them; but there were also contemporary developments in filmmaking technology that were having an impact in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The development of lightweight, more mobile, and thus more easily handheld cameras like the Arriflex and the Éclair opened up new possibilities for shooting methods, while more sensitive film stocks made it possible to shoot without excessive artificial lighting. At the same time, the miniaturization made possible by transistors led to lightweight sound equipment that could record sync sound on location more simply. There were implications here for the quality of the image as well, as for the cost of feature filmmaking and for the traditional craft specialization of the past. These various liberating developments were exploited by a new generation of brilliant cinematographers, all of whom came to features with the New Wave: most prominently, Raoul Coutard (b. 1924) (who worked extensively with Godard and Truffaut), Henri Decaë (1915–1987) (who worked with Truffaut and Chabrol), and Sacha Vierny (1919–2001) (who worked with Resnais). Coutard had been a still photographer and worked in documentary and newsreel prior to 1959, a background that informs the look of the films he shot. Although the new technology was often associated with the greater professional use of 16mm—with which most of the 1950s short filmmakers had some experience—with a few exceptions (such as the compilation film *Paris vu par . . .* [*Six in Paris*], 1965), New Wave features were invariably shot on 35mm but nevertheless benefited from these new possibilities. These developments, though not unique to France, had a significant impact, with more immediate implications for documentary filmmaking than for fiction—for example, they were crucial to the emergence and development of American "direct cinema." But some of the distinctions between fiction and documentary became blurred in both the French New Wave and in some of the other new waves that followed. In France the improvisations/documentaries of Jean Rouch—*Moi un noir*, *La Pyramide humaine*, *Chronique d'un été*—exerted considerable influence on a number of fiction filmmakers, notably Godard, much of whose work fuses or blurs fiction and documentary.

WHAT WAS NEW ABOUT THE NEW WAVE?

Expressing in general terms what made the New Wave new is inevitably very difficult, given that the filmmakers did not consciously form a movement or group with a unified aesthetic agenda and might be better considered as a loose grouping of disparate filmmakers brought together, to some extent, by historical accident. Truffaut, retrospectively, claimed that for him the *nouvelle vague* meant, simply, "to make a first film with a reasonably personal theme before you were 35"; he reduced the movement to a few stylistic or production features in commenting that in *Un Homme et une femme* (*A Man and a Woman*, 1966) the director Claude Lelouch (b. 1937) "shoots with a hand-held camera and without a carefully planned script: if he isn't part of the *nouvelle vague*, then it doesn't exist" (Hillier, 1986, p. 107). Similarly, Rohmer claimed that the greatest innovation was "making films cheaply" (Hillier, 1986, p. 87). Even the *Cahiers* "group" was probably more a group as critics than as filmmakers, when their different sets of interests and concerns immediately began to set them apart from each other.

Even so, we can say that Godard, Truffaut, and the *Cahiers* group in general felt that mainstream French cinema—excluding the French *auteurs* they admired—had lost touch with everyday French reality (something they valued in the contemporary Italian cinema of Rossellini and others). This did not mean that they wanted to make problem pictures about contemporary French society; rather, they felt that filmmakers should show and talk about what they knew best at first hand—the everyday life around them. Writing in *Arts* in April 1959, Godard noted the irony that Truffaut had been debarred from an official invitation to the Cannes film festival as a critic in 1958 but that *The 400 Blows* had been selected by Malraux as France's only official entry in 1959: "for the first time a young film has been officially designated by the powers-that-be to reveal the true face of the French cinema to the entire world" (Godard, 1972, p. 146). Addressing the ranks of the old directors of the *cinéma de papa*, having castigated the camera movements, subject matter, acting, and dialogue of their films, Godard put it this way: "We cannot forgive you for never having filmed girls as we love them, boys as we see them every day, parents as we despise or admire them, children as they astonish us or leave us indifferent; in other words, things as they are" (Godard, 1972, p. 147). The films of Godard, Truffaut, Chabrol, Rohmer, and Rivette tend to forgo "big" subjects in favor of demonstrating a familiarity with the recognizable mores of everyday French life centered on streets, bars, shops, apartments, and on family life and male–female relations, sexual and otherwise, often among young people. Their films evoked a strong sense of what contemporary France—particularly, though by no means exclusively, Paris—looked and sounded like. Location shooting was a major factor here, aided by a responsiveness to the way people talked: the use of slang and swear words in Godard's *Breathless* proved offensive to some sectors of the audience while ringing wholly true, of course, to others.

THE RENEWAL OF FILM FORM

However, this might suggest that the films were naturalistic, observational studies of contemporary French life. Although this was an important component—*The 400 Blows*, for example, seems a clear descendant of the Italian neorealism of Vittorio De Sica and Cesare Zavattini, though more personal and autobiographical in tone—other elements, potentially at odds with naturalism, combined with it. For example, the *Cahiers* critics' love of American cinema did not mean that they made films remotely like American ones, but American cinema—and cinema in general—served as a point of reference both for the films and their characters. Thus, Truffaut's second feature, *Shoot the Piano Player*, combined an evocative sense of contemporary place, time, and character with elements of the gangster film, melodrama, and comedy—a veritable "explosion of genre," as Truffaut put it; *Breathless* uses Humphrey Bogart and the American crime film (dedicated as it is to the B-movie studio, Monogram) as a point of reference, but from the point of view of a thoroughly French and contemporary (anti-)hero.

Having reproached the *cinéma de papa* for losing any sense of what was cinematic about the cinema, New Wave directors were also concerned that audiences should experience their films, in a variety of ways, *as cinema*. This could mean a variety of things. The directors expressed their passion for, and pleasure in, cinema through the exuberant and often flamboyant ways they embraced the possibilities of the medium, as well as through references to scenes and characters in films they loved. Godard said that he wanted to give the feeling that the techniques of filmmaking were being just discovered for the first time. *Breathless* jettisons much conventional narrative continuity, with jump cuts and narrative elisions, random actions, long takes, and the like, while *Shoot the Piano Player* introduces an array of cinematic devices, such as sudden big close-ups, subtitles, and irises, borrowed freely from film history. Such strategies gave the early New Wave films a modernity and lightness of touch, and an improvised or spontaneous feeling, very different from the rather literary, ponderous, studio-bound films that typified mainstream French cinema in the 1950s. Truffaut's style soon became more conventional, and Rohmer and Chabrol did not really abandon or continue to question narrative conventions; but Godard remained consistently iconoclastic and experimental beyond the main period of the *nouvelle vague*. *My Life to Live* is both a fiction about the life of a prostitute—in a series of Brechtian tableaux—and at the same time a systematic exploration of the function and meaning of camera movement, editing, narrative, and sound. *Two or Three Things I Know About Her* is both a fiction and a documentary essay about the reorganization of Paris as well as a rigorous examination of film form and the director's decision-making process. Rivette later placed himself well beyond the mainstream with long-form improvisations like *L'Amour fou* (1968, over four hours long), *Out One: Spectre* (1973, in four-hour-plus- and twelve-hour versions) and the more commercial but still experimental *Céline et Julie vont en bateau* (*Celine and Julie Go Boating*, 1974, over three hours), often using theater as a metaphor for cinema. Effectively, Truffaut, Chabrol, and Rohmer, having helped to put the cat among the pigeons, integrated into mainstream French production, making bourgeois films for bourgeois audiences; only Godard and Rivette continued to fly the flag of radical experimentation. Godard in particular responded to the political turmoil of May 1968 and its aftermath with highly politicized and theoretical as well as formally radical films like *Le Vent d'est* (*Wind from the East*, 1970), before trying to regain a wider audience with *Tout va bien* (*All's Well*, 1972).

In Resnais's *Hiroshima mon amour* the *Cahiers* group recognized a different kind of modernity and modernism than they claimed for their own work—though Godard and Rivette very soon represented different versions of modernism in cinema. Rohmer acclaimed it a "totally new film" and Resnais as "the first modern film-maker of the sound era" (Hillier, 1985, p. 61). Resnais's strategies of montage and parallelism made him appear the successor to Sergei Eisenstein and other 1920s Soviet modernists, while the equivalent to—and even advance on—then current strains of modernism in the French novel. This was not surprising, given that Resnais directed scripts by leading writers of the *nouveau roman* ("new novel"; a literary movement of disparate styles but concerned above all with time and the effects of modern technology) writers like Marguerite Duras (1914–1996) (*Hiroshima mon amour*), Alain Robbe-Grillet (b. 1922) (*Last Year at Marienbad*), and Jean Cayrol (1911–2005) (*Muriel*, *Night and Fog*). At the same time, Resnais's stylized use of ambiguity, subjectivity, poetic voice-over, flash inserts, camera movement, and sound marked his work as far removed from naturalism; his subject matter—much more obviously "weighty" and philosophical, with themes like war and the nuclear age, time and memory—made his work more recognizably "art" cinema than seemed at first the case with the work of the *Cahiers* group. Accordingly, Resnais's work and that of other Left Bank directors—despite the intense controversy generated by *Hiroshima mon amour* because of its subject and the demands it made on its spectators—was more readily accepted as art cinema both in France and elsewhere. Many critics who had problems working out what kind of "art" Godard was making had no such difficulties with Resnais, even if—as happened most notably with

ALAIN RESNAIS
b. Vannes, France, 3 June 1922

An amateur 8mm filmmaker in his teens, Resnais studied briefly at film school and in the 1940s worked as a cameraman and editor. His first 35mm short film, *Van Gogh* (1948), was followed by other films about art: *Guernica* (1950), *Gauguin* (1951), and *Les Statues meurent aussi* (*Statues Also Die*, co-directed with Chris Marker, 1953). Resnais, usually his own editor, edited Agnès Varda's 1954 innovative medium-length first feature *La Pointe-courte*, often considered a forerunner of the French *nouvelle vague* (New Wave). Resnais gained significant recognition for two later short films centered on memory: *Nuit et brouillard* (*Night and Fog*, 1955) juxtaposes contemporary color footage of an overgrown Auschwitz with black-and-white historical footage, while the commentary meditates on time, memory, and responsibility; and *Toute la mémoire du monde* (All the Memory in the World, 1956) explores the French national library.

Resnais's first feature, *Hiroshima mon amour* (script by Marguerite Duras), was shown out of competition at the 1959 Cannes festival. Both its story—a Frenchwoman's brief liaison with a Japanese man in Hiroshima in the present juxtaposed with her memories of a love affair with a German soldier in occupied France during World War II—and its form caused controversy. Resnais's film rethinks narrative time, inter-cutting present and past, with stylized camera work and a poetic, stream-of-consciousness voice-over. With Marker and Varda, Resnais formed the core of the Leftist and more modernist "Left Bank" group of the New Wave (the "Right Bank" group being formed by the former *Cahiers du Cinéma* critics).

Hiroshima mon amour was central to establishing the artistic credentials and commercial viability of the New Wave worldwide. Resnais's second feature, *L'Année dernière à Marienbad* (*Last Year at Marienbad*, 1961, from a script by Alain Robbe-Grillet), proved even more controversial, with its subjective and opaque construction of time and narrative—critics argued endlessly about what it all meant. Resnais continued his thematic interest in memory and time with *Muriel ou Le temps d'un retour* (*Muriel, or The Time of Return*, 1963, script by Jean Cayrol) and *La Guerre est finie* (*The War Is Over*, 1966, script by Jorge Semprun). Some critics have found the systematic ambiguity and formalism of Resnais and the *nouveau roman* (new novel) writers he chose to work with too intellectual and lacking in passion.

Many of Resnais's later films, usually also collaborations with writers—for example, with David Mercer on *Providence* (1977) and Alan Ayckbourn on *Smoking/No Smoking* (1993)—have been admired, some critics arguing that his work after the 1980s has become more personal. Resnais has continued to make interesting films into his eighties, but his reputation rests primarily on his uncompromisingly modernist works under the *nouvelle vague* umbrella in the period from 1959 to 1966.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Nuit et brouillard (*Night and Fog*, 1955), *Hiroshima mon amour* (1959), *L'Année dernière à Marienbad* (*Last Year at Marienbad*, 1961), *Muriel ou Le temps d'un retour* (*Muriel, or The Time of Return*, 1963), *La Guerre est finie* (*The War Is Over*, 1966), *Je t'aime, je t'aime* (1968), *Providence* (1977), *Mélo* (1986), *Smoking/No Smoking* (1993), *On connaît la chanson* (*Same Old Song*, 1997)

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Jim Hillier

Alain Resnais. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Last Year at Marienbad—no one seemed quite sure what it all meant or what it was all about.

WHEN WAS THE NEW WAVE?

Of course, many New Wave filmmakers had their own individual styles—Demy's intensely romantic, enclosed fictional worlds and lyrical camera movements and use of music, Franju's strain of surrealism, Rouch's improvised documentaries. In a sense, that was the point: these were individual filmmakers with their own visions and styles rather than a group with unified aims and ideas, other than to be different from and more personal than the earlier mainstream. Just as it is difficult to characterize the *nouvelle vague* as a movement, it is very difficult to identify when the *nouvelle vague* came to an end. Most of the most important filmmakers who emerged at the time simply continued to make films and develop and change: Godard, Rivette, Rohmer, Chabrol, and Resnais, for example, continued to work into their seventies and eighties. It can probably be said, however, that the period in which so many young filmmakers were able to make their first features ended in 1962–1963, in this sense making the *nouvelle vague* period, or its most intense manifestation, quite short at four or five years. But then it is equally difficult to locate precisely when the *nouvelle vague* began. If it is dated from Chabrol's *Le Beau Serge* in 1958, or Cannes in 1959, what about Louis Malle's (1932–1995) *Ascenseur pour l'échafaud* (*Elevator to the Gallows*), made in 1957 (though not released until 1958), and his controversial *Les Amants* (*The Lovers*, 1958), both distinctly New Wave in both subject matter—contemporary sexual mores—and in look? Malle, formerly an IDHEC student and then an assistant, does not quite fit the New Wave profile (insofar as there is one—though having been assistant to both Jacques Cousteau and Bresson, his experience as an assistant was hardly conventional). But both films were photographed by Henri Decaë, cinematographer on four of Chabrol's early films and on Truffaut's *The 400 Blows*, and starred Jeanne Moreau (b. 1928), who was strongly associated with the New Wave (though she had acted in French films since 1949). Moreover, *The Lovers* was designed by Bernard Evein (b. 1929), later the art director for Chabrol, Demy, Godard, and Truffaut and someone who helped to define the New Wave film's look. But if Malle's first features are to be considered part of the New Wave, then why not also Roger Vadim's (1928–2000) early films, including his first, *Et Dieu . . . créa la femme* (*. . . And God Created Woman*, 1956)? Vadim had served a more conventional apprenticeship as assistant in the postwar period. The career of Brigitte Bardot (b. 1934), kickstarted by Vadim's film though she had already appeared in several others, only occasionally intersected with the New Wave, and the career of its cinematographer, Armand Thirard (1899–1973), had begun in the 1930s. All the same, when the film appeared the *Cahiers* critics saw in it something of the looser, unpolished style and the contemporary sexual mores that they found lacking in most French cinema of the time. Looking even farther back, Varda's first (medium-length) feature, *La Pointe-courte* (1956), made outside the structures of the industry (and therefore never properly distributed), was low-budget, shot on location, audaciously paralleled fiction and documentary, and was edited by Resnais; and Jean-Pierre Melville (1917–1973), a kind of spiritual father to the *nouvelle vague*—Godard gives him a cameo role as a film director in *Breathless*—had made films like *Le Silence de la Mer* (The Silence of the Sea, 1949) and *Bob le flambeur* (*Bob the Gambler*, 1955) independently, on location, on low budgets.

By 1962–1963 Truffaut, Godard, Chabrol, Rohmer, Rivette, Resnais, Varda, Marker, Demy, Rouch, and Malle all had established themselves as major directors of international reputation, though in several cases their most important work was still to come. But from that point they are discussed, increasingly, as individual filmmakers rather than as members of a group or movement.

Their work owed a considerable debt not only to a new generation of producers and cinematographers, as noted, but also to a new generation of actors (Jean-Paul Belmondo [b. 1933], Jeanne Moreau, Jean-Claude Brialy [b. 1933], Bernadette Lafont [b. 1938], Emmanuelle Riva [b. 1927], Anna Karina [b. 1940], and others), who, even when, like Moreau, they had been actors before the New Wave, became very much the faces of the new films; new composers like Michel Legrand and Georges Delerue; and new art directors like Bernard Evein, all of whom also helped give the New Wave a distinctive look and sound. Although the New Wave and the turnabout in French cinema it sparked remains a potent legend today, as a phenomenon it was clearly mostly over, its ''victory'' achieved. At the same time, the way the New Wave came about and some of the ''liberation'' from old cinema it represented continued to exert considerable influence both within France and beyond.

THE GLOBAL IMPACT OF THE FRENCH NEW WAVE

The impact of the *nouvelle vague* was such that its films were seen very widely. This undoubtedly had important effects on and implications for young filmmakers in many parts of the world. The widespread distribution and enthusiastic reception of the films helped to create conditions in which innovative work in other countries could be made, seen, and discussed. Compared to the 1950s, there was a veritable explosion of films that rejected old subjects and, usually, old forms as well—certainly insofar as they strived for ''gloss'' and perfection—often marked by a blurring of fiction and documentary and increasingly politicized as the 1960s progressed. More or less contemporary with the French New Wave was the so-called ''British new wave,'' at its height approximately 1959 to 1963, with directors like Tony Richardson, Lindsay Anderson, John Schlesinger, and Jack Clayton. Also given the ''new wave'' title by critics was the new cinema emerging in Czechoslovakia, at its height in the period from 1963 to 1968, with directors like Miloš Forman, Vera Chytilová, Jaromil Jireš, Evald Schorm, Jan Němec, and Jiří Menzel; other Eastern bloc countries also saw the emergence of innovative work, with directors like Roman Polanski and Jerzy Skolimowski in Poland; Miklós Jancsó, András Kovács, and István Szabó in Hungary; and Dušan Makavejev and Aleksander Petrović in Yugoslavia. In Western Europe new filmmakers appeared: Bernardo Bertolucci, Marco Bellocchio, Ermanno Olmi, Pier Paolo Pasolini, and Francesco Rosi in Italy; Bo Widerberg and Vilgot Sjöman in Sweden; and later, Risto Jarva and Jaakko Pakkasvirta in Finland. In Germany the 1962 Oberhausen Manifesto, openly indebted to the *nouvelle vague*, called for a new indigenous German cinema of *auteurs* and attacked their own ''Daddy's cinema''; with the introduction of loans for first features and the establishment of a film school in the mid-1960s, the New German Cinema began to emerge. Alexander Kluge's *Abschied von gestern* (*Yesterday Girl*, 1966) was followed by films by Volker Schlöndorff, Jean-Marie Straub and Danièle Huillet, Rainer Werner Fassbinder, Werner Herzog, and Wim Wenders. Farther afield, in Japan Nagisa Oshima was making his first films in 1959–1960; in Brazil, Cinema Nôvo saw its beginnings in 1961–1962 with first features by Glauber Rocha and Ruy Guerra; the early to mid-1960s brought the first features by Claude Jutra, Gilles Groulx, and Jean-Pierre Lefebvre in Quebec; in India, the radical 1960s work of Ritwik Ghatak was followed by the early work of Mrinal Sen and Shyam Benegal.

The political and cultural turbulence of the late 1950s and 1960s that followed the birth and baptism of the French New Wave was to be seen very clearly in these new cinemas. Inevitably, the French New Wave was seen as a major influence on the various new waves, new cinemas, and young cinemas that came after it. In several cases the ''new wave'' label was borrowed to associate these movements with the French New Wave, whether as a marketing tool or a broad critical category. What is the relationship of these new waves to the French New Wave? Although in all cases there was some relationship, or connection, or influence, in reality the question is very difficult to answer.

The *nouvelle vague* showed that, given the right circumstances, young filmmakers could change dramatically the face and reputation of a country's cinema without working their way up by the conventional routes. The *nouvelle vague* also showed that there were different kinds of stories to tell and radically different ways to tell them—lessons not lost on young filmmakers in Czechoslovakia or Brazil or Quebec. But should the *nouvelle vague* be seen as the instigator of and chief influence on the various new waves and new cinemas that followed in the 1960s, or as one manifestation—though perhaps the earliest and most visible, and important because of that—of seismic changes taking place in cinema and society in different parts of the world at roughly the same time? The 1950s and 1960s saw developments in cinema and other areas of culture that had a global impact, such as the potent legacy of neorealism, the precipitous decline in audiences for Hollywood and other mainstream cinemas under the impact of television and the emergent art cinema, the growth of youth culture, the development of new technologies in cameras, film stock, and sound recording, and the increasing accessibility of both the ideas and the practice of Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956). In the political realm, the end of

one kind of empire and the development of another and the consequent shift in the balance of global power, the rise of the New Left in the West and challenges to Soviet-imposed socialism in Eastern Europe, also had global effects. These new forces combined with more specifically national contexts—very different in, say, Britain, or Czechoslovakia, or Brazil—to produce changes in national cinemas that were marked as much by their similarities as by their differences.

It may also be that the cultural and economic imperatives that so often drive cinema result in cyclical efforts to liberate or "purify" the medium from the accumulation of unquestioned conventions that went before. In such a perspective, the French New Wave followed in the steps of, and shared some of the concerns of, Italian neorealism, while the Danish Dogma 95, for example, draws on the *nouvelle vague* as a crucial reference point.

SEE ALSO *Film History; France; National Cinema*

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NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand's filmmaking industry has been marked by defined periods of activity and inactivity, local expression and international exposure. This can be observed to varying degrees in most non-Hollywood cinemas and developing film industries, though it has become particularly noticeable for New Zealand, which has made around 220 feature films, approximately 90 percent of these since only 1978.

In the prewar period New Zealand's film industry was a mixture of local innovation and foreign productions maximizing the country's location possibilities. Despite the economic differences between then and now, these factors remain significant to contemporary productions of computer-generated imaging (CGI) effects and spectacular action, with which New Zealand has become associated. Most strikingly, *The Last Samurai* (2003), *The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe* (2005), and Peter Jackson's *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy (2001–2003) and *King Kong* (2005) were filmed in New Zealand, utilizing its production capabilities and postproduction facilities, and bringing unprecedented global attention to this national cinema. There is, though, a danger that New Zealand will become known only for fantasy films, mythical narratives, and epic historical dramas depicting foreign lands. And while this one aspect of this national cinema is celebrated, locally financed films with more modest budgets, and stories with social and cultural relevance to the local communities, are struggling for overseas distribution. New Zealand's is, therefore, a cinema which is increasingly visible but simultaneously continuing to face the challenge of exporting many more of its films that have not been widely seen.

FORMATIVE YEARS

New Zealand's relative geographical isolation did not prevent New Zealanders from experiencing film at the same time as countries in the Western world. In 1896 an Edison Kinetograph brought the first moving pictures, and in 1898 A. H. Whitehouse began filming events such as *The Departure of the Second Contingent for the Boer War* (1900), the earliest surviving New Zealand film. By 1910 New Zealand's first purpose-built cinema, King's Theatre in Wellington, had been constructed. New Zealand's first feature film was *Hinemoa* (1914), produced and directed by George Tarr (1881–1968) at a cost of just 50 New Zealand pounds. Over the next twenty years another nineteen features were produced or filmed in New Zealand, though less than half of these titles exist today as complete or surviving prints. Moreover, seven of these films—for instance, Raymond Longford's *The Mutiny of the Bounty* (1916) and Gustav Pauli's *The Romance of Hine-Moa* (1926)—were foreign productions, romantic or dramatic stories often involving the Maori in key roles and developed against a backdrop of New Zealand's unique scenery. The history of early New Zealand film is entwined with Australia's, with filmmakers such as Raymond Longford (1878–1959), Beaumont Smith (1881–1950), Harrington Reynolds (1852–1919), and Stella Southern involved in film production in both countries.

Any consideration of New Zealand's prewar film pioneers would begin with the work of Edwin Coubray (1900–1997), Rudall Hayward (1900–1974), and Jack Welsh. *Down on the Farm* (1935), generally regarded as New Zealand's first talkie feature, employed Welsh's sound system, which he had developed successfully in

1930. Welsh's system is a development of the Coubray-tone system of sound-on-film recording, which was first presented at a private film screening of Coubray-tone News in 1929. Coubray, like Hayward, had made short films throughout the silent period, with community comedies often proving popular. These comedy shorts were made in the late 1920s when times were hard, and they employed local sides and members of the community cast in stories that were then shown in neighborhood cinemas. Hayward had worked in Australia under Longford, and in New Zealand he made community comedies such as *Winifred of Wanganui* (1928), *A Takapuna Scandal* (1928), and *Daughter of Invercargill* (1928). Throughout his long career he made seven feature films: *My Lady of the Cave* (1922), *Rewi's Last Stand* (remade in 1940, 1925), *The Te Kooti Trail* (1927), *The Bush Cinderella* (1928), *On the Friendly Road* (1936), and *To Love a Maori* (1972).

Hayward and director and producer John O'Shea (1920–2001) are the central feature filmmakers between the 1930s and the 1970s. Just four New Zealand feature films were made between 1941 and 1972, and three of these were directed by O'Shea: *Broken Barrier* (1952, co-directed with Roger Mirams), *Runaway* (1964), and *Don't Let It Get You* (1966). These movies are further examples of innovative New Zealand filmmakers producing screen fictions with limited budgets and resources. They reflected O'Shea's deep commitment to the development of a strong identity for New Zealand, and were all made by Pacific Films, which Mirams and Alun Falconer had established in 1948. Prior to this, the only film production house in New Zealand was the National Film Unit (NFU), which was established in 1941 following a recommendation from documentary filmmaker John Grierson (1898–1972) during his visit to the country in 1940. The NFU produced documentaries, newsreels, and government promotional films. Its output continued a strong tradition of nonfiction film in New Zealand, where scenics (filmed natural views) and actualities, or event films (the recording of a significant occurrence, such as a disaster, festivity, or royal visit) had dominated.

The NFU, like Pacific Films, became a training ground for the next generation of New Zealand filmmakers. Making their feature debuts in the 1970s and 1980s were directors such as John Laing, John Reid, Paul Maunder, Gaylene Preston, Barry Barclay (b. 1944), and Sam Pillsbury, as well as the actor Sam Neill (b. 1947), all of whom spent their formative years at these two Wellington-based production houses. In addition, there was the Auckland-based Alternative Cinema group of filmmakers, such as Geoff Steven and Leon Narbey, who were notably artistic and experimental in their work. There was also the Acme Sausage Company/Blerta group of filmmakers, such as Geoff Murphy (b. 1946) and Bruno Lawrence (1941–1995), who were initially a traveling commune of performers and entertainers and later became associated with mainstream movies and action and comedy genre productions depicting countercultural behavior. These four groups were behind the new wave of New Zealand filmmaking that emerged in the mid- to late 1970s.

THE NEW WAVE AND BEYOND

New Zealand's new wave of film production can be traced to 1977 with the establishment of the Interim Film Commission (the New Zealand Film Commission was established in 1978), which was developed from the observed model of the Australian film industry and the Australian Film Development Corporation, which began in 1970. The year 1977 is also significant because of the release of the Acme Sausage Company/Blerta feature *Wild Man* (directed by Murphy), and Roger Donaldson's (b. 1945) political thriller *Sleeping Dogs*. The impact of *Sleeping Dogs* in particular emphasized the need for government support for a feature film industry, and amongst the initiatives introduced was a system of tax breaks. A boom in production followed, with filmmakers exploiting what was soon known to be a tax loophole; the high number of international coproductions that ensued is an indication of the financial incentives that could be gained then from filming in New Zealand. The loophole was closed in 1982, but films could still benefit under the old system if they were completed by September 1984, and this led to a rush of film productions and the release of twenty-three features in 1984 and 1985. The new wave effectively came to an end with the release of the last of these tax-break films in 1986. Many argued that the industry had been damaged by an Americanization of product and a stifling of local creativity, and by films that appeared to be led primarily by financial incentives.

During this period, though, New Zealand's cinema received significant international attention for films such as Murphy's *Goodbye Pork Pie* (1981). Murphy's next film, *Utu* (1983), a New Zealand "western" set during the nineteenth-century Maori Wars, and Donaldson's follow-up to *Sleeping Dogs*, *Smash Palace* (1982), a melodrama which showcased the acting ability of the iconic Bruno Lawrence (possibly New Zealand's most celebrated screen performer), gained critical and theatrical success in the United States. A year later, Vincent Ward's (b. 1946) *Vigil* (1984), one of New Zealand's few art-house productions, became the first New Zealand film selected to be screened in competition at the prestigious Cannes Film Festival; it perhaps marks the maturing of this national cinema.

An international hit,* Once Were Warriors *(Lee Tamahori, 1994) examined the lives of contemporary Maori. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

New Zealand films of the new wave had been predominantly testosterone-fueled action dramas, dominated by male protagonists, stunts, and car chases. One result was the New Zealand road movie, with *Goodbye Pork Pie* the prototype; other examples included *Carry Me Back* (1982) and *Shaker Run* (1986), films which foregrounded geographical representations of the country while examining male relationships. This is partly a reflection of the male film industry and the influence of countercultural performers such as the Blerta group. It is also the result of an industry that attempted to enter the international mainstream with commercial films that spoke the language of the genre-driven, high-energy narratives of foreign markets. Murphy and Donaldson, who had demonstrated their skill at making this type of film, were attracted to Hollywood in the second half of the 1980s. Others such as Pillsbury, Ward, and David Blyth (b. 1956), followed with a mixture of US-made television episodes, television movies, and theatrical features. For instance, Pillsbury, who had directed the New Zealand features *Scarecrow* (1982) and *Starlight Hotel* (1987), made *Free Willy 3* (1997) in the United States. Murphy and, in particular, Donaldson, have had the most recognizable successes in the United States, Murphy with *Young Guns II* (1990) and *Under Siege 2* (1995), and Donaldson with *Cocktail* (1988), *Species* (1995), and *Dante's Peak* (1997).

In the latter stages of New Zealand's film renaissance clear challenges to the hegemony of the *Pakeha* (European) male filmmaker came from a number of directions. The first fiction feature directed solely by a woman was Melanie Read's *Trial Run* (1984), which just preceded the release of Yvonne Mackay's children's-book adaptation *The Silent One* (1984) and Gaylene Preston's *Mr. Wrong* (1985). Read's and Preston's films are both psychological thrillers, and recognizably part of a continuing tradition of the Kiwi Gothic, a cinema of isolation and despair in which personal space is threatened by forces that prevent settlement and in which a powerful landscape is seemingly alive. The first fiction feature made principally by Maori was *Ngati* (1987), directed by Barry Barclay with a predominantly Maori cast and crew. A year later Merata Mita (b. 1942), who had directed the powerful protest documentaries *Bastion*

Point Day 507 (1980) and *Patu!* (1983), made the fiction feature *Mauri* (1988). Barclay's films stress the importance of community, while Mita's work challenges the myth of a racially harmonious New Zealand. Representations of the indigenous culture continued in the award-winning and commercially driven *Once Were Warriors* (1993), a brutally realistic urban social drama which was then the biggest box-office success at New Zealand cinemas, and *Whale Rider* (2002), with its picturesque small-town views, which earned an Oscar® nomination for its lead actress, Keisha Castle-Hughes. But the success of these two films cannot disguise the fact that Maori filmmaking continues to lack production opportunities.

Lee Tamahori's (b. 1950) *Once Were Warriors* was released around the same time as Jane Campion's (b. 1954) Oscar®-nominated *The Piano* (1993) and Peter Jackson's (b. 1961) critically applauded *Heavenly Creatures* (1994), which marked a departure from Jackson's earlier graphic horror productions *Bad Taste* (1987) and *Braindead* (1992). The 1990s was a boom period for the New Zealand film industry, but it seemed to smother the films that followed as they tried to emulate the previous successes. Tamahori soon left for Hollywood, where he has since directed films such as the James Bond installment *Die Another Day* (2002), and Campion also focused on working overseas. Jackson, seemingly almost alone, remained at home, and instead brought Hollywood to New Zealand with vast foreign investment for epic films requiring CGI effects that could be created at his Wellington-based WETA studios. But New Zealand film is not just hobbits, Kong, and Narnia: directors such as Harry Sinclair (*The Price of Milk*, 2000), Brad McGann (*In My Father's Den*, 2004), and Glenn Standring (*Perfect Creature*, 2005), along with *Whale Rider*'s Niki Caro (b. 1967) represent a new group of filmmakers capable of making films featuring New Zealand content that appeal to an international audience.

SEE ALSO *Australia; National Cinema*

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PARAMOUNT

Paramount Pictures stands as the consummate Hollywood studio, a veritable paradigm for the industry at each stage of its development, from its founding in the early twentieth century as an integrated production-distribution company to its twenty-first century status as a key subdivision within Viacom's vast global media empire. During the classical Hollywood era, Paramount built the world's largest theater chain to become the dominant vertically integrated studio, while cultivating stables of contract talent and an amalgam of trademark star-genre formulas rivaled only by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM). The studio's dominance was so pronounced, in fact, that it was the prime target of the US Justice Department's antitrust campaign—the epochal "Paramount case," which resulted in the postwar disintegration of the studio system and the end of Hollywood's classical studio era. Paramount struggled through the postwar era and was the first studio to succumb to the conglomerate wave of the late 1960s, when it was bought by Gulf + Western. This marked a shift in Paramount's focus toward television series production, although its film division soon regained its footing with a succession of huge hits like *Love Story* (1970) and *The Godfather* (1972).

Paramount eventually returned to movie industry prominence on the combined strength of successful film franchises—the Star Trek, Indiana Jones, and Beverly Hills Cop films, for example—along with a steady output of hit TV series. These have been the dominant elements of the studio's "house style" in the New Hollywood era, which also has seen Paramount undergo significant—and symptomatic—structural changes. During the 1980s, Gulf + Western steadily siphoned off its nonmedia holdings and transformed itself into Paramount Communications. Then, in the 1990s, as Hollywood underwent a second epochal conglomerate wave, Paramount was acquired by the global media giant Viacom. Any semblance of a distinct house style steadily faded after the Viacom purchase, as Paramount became simply one of many media divisions in a media empire that included Blockbuster, MTV, Showtime, Simon & Schuster, and eventually (crucially) CBS—along with literally scores of other media and entertainment units. Paramount Pictures remains a key holding and vitally important "brand" within the Viacom empire, of course, although the Paramount of the new millennium is a far cry from the film conglomerate cobbled together by Adolph Zukor (1873–1976) nearly a century earlier.

PARAMOUNT AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE HOLLYWOOD STUDIO SYSTEM

Paramount Pictures was created in 1916 through the merger of two prominent film production companies, the Famous Players Film Company and the Jesse L. Lasky Feature Play Company, and a nationwide film distributor, Paramount. Famous Players was created in 1912 by Adolph Zukor, a Hungarian immigrant who started in the penny arcade and nickelodeon business in New York in the early 1900s. Based in New York City, Famous Players enjoyed early success producing and distributing multi-reel ("feature-length") films and developing a star-driven market strategy, and soon the fledgling company was competing with the likes of Fox and Universal. Meanwhile, three young filmmaking entrepreneurs, Jesse Lasky (1880–1958), Samuel Goldfish (1882–1974) (later Goldwyn), and Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959), launched a production company in Hollywood in 1913 and scored

JOSEF VON STERNBERG

b. Jonas Sternberg, Vienna, Austria, 29 May 1894, d. 22 December 1969

Born in Vienna, raised and educated in both Austria and the United States, Josef von Sternberg was one of several contract directors who brought a distinctly European inflection to Paramount's house style. In Sternberg's case the accent was notably Germanic. He fashioned a unique Hollywood expressionism, with its play of light and shadow, sensuous images and exotic production design, sexual symbology and frank eroticism. Sternberg's best films—all made for Paramount between 1930 and 1935—often were set in foreign locales and were populated by cynical, dissolute outcasts; they generally were weak on plot but remarkably strong on style and characterization. And they all starred Marlene Dietrich, whose rapid rise in Hollywood coincided with Sternberg's, and whose screen persona was perhaps the most essential component of his inimitable style.

Sternberg learned filmmaking in various departments during the silent era, and added the "von" to his name once he started directing. He signed with Paramount in 1926 and scored an early hit with *Underworld* (1927), a seminal Hollywood gangster saga scripted by Sternberg's frequent collaborator Jules Furthman. In 1929 a career-defining (and life-altering) assignment took Sternberg to Germany to direct a Paramount-Ufa coproduction, *Der Blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*, 1930), Ufa's first sound film. The film was tailored for German star Emil Jannings, but he was utterly eclipsed by Dietrich, whom Sternberg discovered singing in a cabaret and cast as the wanton temptress, Lola Lola.

The film was a sensation in Europe, and by the time it was released in the United States, Dietrich had been signed by Paramount and had finished her first Hollywood picture, *Morocco* (1930). Thus began a stunning five-year, six-picture run of Sternberg-Dietrich collaborations that included *Dishonored* (1931), *Shanghai Express* (1932), *Blonde Venus* (1932), *The Scarlet Empress* (1934), and *The Devil Is a Woman* (1935). Each was a technical tour-de-force and a bold, sensual love story, although the crucial romance involved Sternberg's camera (which he often operated himself) and Dietrich's extraordinary screen presence. Sternberg enjoyed complete authority over these films, assembling a production unit at Paramount whose key figures were Furthman, costume designer Travis Banton, art director Hans Dreier, and cinematographers Lee Garmes and Lucien Ballard. Sternberg's only non-Dietrich film during this stretch was the 1931 adaptation of Drieser's *An American Tragedy*, which he wrote, produced, and directed.

The Deitrich films marked both the sustained peak but also the culmination of Sternberg's career. He left Paramount in 1935, never to return—and never to work again with Dietrich or recapture the success they had enjoyed at Paramount. His subsequent films seemed empty and self-indulgent without Dietrich, and his headstrong arrogance made it increasingly difficult to find work.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Der Blaue Engel (*The Blue Angel*, 1930), *Morocco* (1930), *Dishonored* (1931), *Shanghai Express* (1932), *Blonde Venus* (1932), *The Scarlet Empress* (1934), *The Devil Is a Woman* (1935)

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Thomas Schatz

a major hit in 1914 with their first feature production, *The Squaw Man*. That same year, as the movies were rapidly becoming a major entertainment enterprise, W. W. Hodkinson (1881–1971) formed a nationwide distribution company, Paramount Pictures, to release the films produced by Famous Players, Lasky, and others.

Zukor quickly recognized the advantages of an integrated production-distribution setup, and he moved with the kind of savvy, ruthless aggression that made him the prototypical Hollywood "mogul." By 1915 Zukor already had begun integrating the star system with the practice of "block booking," using the films of Mary

Josef von Sternberg, 1934. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Pickford (1892–1979) and other top stars to leverage the sale of an entire production slate, and he began to see the logic of a bicoastal production operation wed to a nationwide distribution machine. In 1916 Zukor engineered the merger of Famous Players-Lasky and Paramount, and within a few months he forced Goldfish and Hodkinson out, assuming complete control as president of the sprawling enterprise (with Lasky as vice president in charge of production and DeMille as ''director general,'' the studio's top contract filmmaker).

Paramount's subsequent success was truly staggering. Zukor signed top stars like Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939), William S. Hart (1864–1946), and Fatty Arbuckle (1887–1933), and brought other production companies into the Paramount fold as well, increasing the company's output to over a hundred feature films per annum. Although scarcely a centralized studio, given its far-flung production operations, and not yet a vertically integrated company, Paramount was eminently successful as a producer-distributor—so successful, in fact, that other companies like Fox and First National developed their own vertically integrated production-distribution-exhibition setups simply to compete. These countermoves induced Zukor to move more forcefully into film exhibition, an effort that began in earnest in 1919 and culminated in the 1925 acquisition of the nation's top exhibitor, the Chicago-based Balaban and Katz theater chain, giving Paramount 1,200 theaters. The success of its massive operation enabled Paramount to acquire an enviable stable of stars—notably Gloria Swanson (1897–1983), Rudolph Valentino (1895–1926), Clara Bow (1905–1965), Mae Murray (1889–1965), Pola Negri (1894–1987), and John Barrymore (1882–1942)—and to maintain its dominance through the height of the silent era, when the studio produced scores of top hits, ranging from Valentino vehicles like *The Sheik* (1921) and *Blood and Sand* (1922) to western epics like *The Covered Wagon* (1923) and DeMille spectacles *The Ten Commandments* (1923) and *The King of Kings* (1927).

After the Balaban and Katz merger, Zukor and Lasky developed a more coherent production operation based primarily on the West Coast. In 1926 Paramount moved into a larger and better equipped Hollywood facility that became its production headquarters, with B. P. Schulberg (1892–1957) installed as head of production (under Lasky). This setup proved eminently successful, enabling Paramount to begin functioning as a centralized studio and to cultivate a more coherent, recognizable house style. While centralized production and capable studio management were crucial, the emergence of Paramount's house style in the late 1920s and early 1930s was the company's extraordinary talent pool—a pool that deepened considerably during the Lasky-Schulberg regime, as two distinct waves of new contract talent signed on in the late 1920s. The first came as the new studio regime coalesced, and included directors Josef von Sternberg (1894–1969), Rouben Mamoulian (1897–1987), and Ernst Lubitsch (1892–1947) (all signed in 1927), and top stars like Harold Lloyd (1893–1971), Gary Cooper (1901–1961), Claudette Colbert (1903–1996), Frederic March (1897–1975), and Maurice Chevalier (1888–1972). The second wave came with Paramount's rapid conversion to sound, when the studio recruited talent from vaudeville, radio, and the stage—notably W. C. Fields (1880–1946), the Marx Brothers (Chico [1887–1961], Harpo [1888–1964], Groucho [1890–1977], and Zeppo [1901–1979]), Bing Crosby (1903–1977), George Burns (1896–1996) and Gracie Allen (1895–1964), and the inimitable Mae West (1893–1980).

Paramount rode the talkie boom to unprecedented heights, reaping industry-record profits of $18.4 million in 1930 (and out-earning all of the other majors), only to suffer financial collapse a year later under the weight of oversized budgets, the costly conversion to sound, and the massive debt service associated with its huge theater chain. After net losses of $21 million in 1932—another industry record—Paramount declared bankruptcy in

Marlene Dietrich and Gary Cooper in Josef von Sternberg's stylish* Morocco *(1930). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

early 1933. The financial turmoil led to a massive executive shake-up in which Zukor was stripped of power (but retained as board chairman), while Lasky, Schulberg, and other top executives including Schulberg's second-in-command, David Selznick, either left or were fired. Theater czar Sam Katz was installed as chief executive by the Chicago and New York financiers who guided the studio out of bankruptcy, and he was succeeded in 1936 by his former partner Barney Balaban (1887–1971), who would successfully guide the company for some three decades. The Balaban regime returned the studio to stability, although Paramount had managed to remain productive and relatively successful during its three-year recovery from financial collapse.

The Paramount house style that took shape in the late 1920s and early sound era continued to develop more or less unabated throughout the 1930s, despite the studio's financial and administrative tumult, which involved a succession of production bosses, including Lubitsch for a brief period in the mid-1930s. Like the other majors, Paramount's house style was geared to a range of star-genre formulas; but the studio was unique in that these generally were handled not by unit producers but by specific directors who were granted considerable creative autonomy and control—as with von Sternberg's highly stylized Dietrich melodramas (*Morocco*, 1930; *Shanghai Express*, 1932; *Blonde Venus*, 1932; *The Scarlet Empress*, 1934; *The Devil Is a Woman*, 1935), for instance, and Lubitsch's distinctive musical operettas with Jeanette MacDonald (*The Love Parade*, 1929; *Monte Carlo*, 1930; *One Hour With You*, 1932; *The Merry Widow*, 1934). While the key elements in these star-genre units were director and star, other filmmakers were crucial as well: writer Jules Furthman (1888–1966) and cinematographer Lee Garmes (1898–1978) on the Dietrich films, for example, and the production design by Hans Dreier (1885–1966) on all of the films directed by both Lubitsch and von Sternberg during this period.

Another important element of the studio's emergent house style was its markedly "European" dimension, which was a function of Paramount's market strategy and talent resources. Zukor had expanded international operations throughout the 1920s, setting up a worldwide distribution system and investing in production and distribution systems overseas, particularly on the Continent. Paramount owned considerable stock in Germany's Ufa studios, where it actively coproduced pictures and cultivated talent that might be "imported" to Hollywood. Lubitsch, Dietrich, and Dreier were German recruits, and Mamoulian was trained in Russia. Von Sternberg was born in Vienna and raised in the United States, but the German influence was quite genuine; in fact, he had discovered Dietrich while directing Ufa's first sound film, *Der Blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*), a Paramount coproduction that became a huge international hit in 1930.

Paramount's European dimension was countered in the 1930s by two significant generic (and stylistic) trends. One involved the studio's heavy investment in comedy during the early sound era, best typified perhaps by its run of Marx Brothers romps: *The Cocoanuts* (1929), *Animal Crackers* (1930), *Monkey Business* (1931), *Horse Feathers* (1932), and *Duck Soup* (1933). W. C. Fields, Burns and Allen, Jack Oakie (1903–1978), and Mae West all contributed to this trend, whose roots ran deeply into American vaudeville, as did a number of contract directors like Leo McCarey (1898–1969) (*Duck Soup*; *Belle of the Nineties*, 1935; *Ruggles of Red Gap*, 1935) and, later in the decade, the vastly underrated Mitchell Leisen (1898–1972) (*Hands Across the Table*, 1935; *The Big Broadcast of 1937*, 1936; *Easy Living*, 1937; *Midnight*, 1939). The second crucial Paramount trend was its signature DeMille epics, which actually were on hiatus from the mid-1920s to the early 1930s, when the studio's most distinctive house director left for independent status and a brief stint with MGM. DeMille returned in 1932 to produce and direct a succession of historical spectacles, concentrating on biblical and ancient epics earlier in the decade (*The Sign of the Cross*, 1932; *Cleopatra*, 1934; *The Crusades*, 1935) before shifting to epic Americana (*The Plainsman*, 1937; *The Buccaneer*, 1938; *Union Pacific*, 1939).

DeMille's shift to American subjects in the late 1930s was directly related to changes and uncertainties in the international marketplace, particularly the political turmoil and the threat of war in Europe. Anticipating the loss of the Continental market and determined to contain costs, the ever pragmatic Balaban ordered Y. Frank Freeman, the studio production chief hired in 1938 from one of Paramount's theater subsidiaries, to severely cut production expenses, including high-paid talent as well as film budgets, and to shift the studio's emphasis away from more lavish and exotic productions in favor of lighter fare designed for the domestic market. This proved to be an ideal adjustment to the wartime social and economic conditions that transformed the industry in the 1940s and returned Paramount to a position of unchallenged supremacy.

THE WAR BOOM, THE PARAMOUNT DECREE, AND THE EARLY TELEVISION ERA

The US "war economy" (full employment, round-the-clock factory operations in major cities, severe restrictions on travel and entertainment) helped induce a complete reversal in Paramount's fortunes. A decade earlier, its massive theater chain concentrated in major markets (where the mortgages were heaviest) had financially strapped the company; now its chain generated enormous revenues and profits, enabling the studio to cut back production and concentrate increasingly on the booming first-run market. Between 1940 and 1945, Paramount's feature film output fell from 48 releases to 23, while its revenues rose from $96 million to $158.2 million, and its profits surged from $6.3 million to a record $15.4 million. The war boom continued into 1946, Hollywood's best year ever, when Paramount's profits reached a staggering $39.2 million on only 22 releases—accounting for fully one-third of the Hollywood studios' profits ($119 million) in that all-time record year.

Paramount's enormous prosperity during the war era was fueled by its films, of course, which enjoyed critical as well as commercial success despite the radical changes in its house style and the departure of so many top stars and directors. Balaban's cost-cutting campaign and shift away from Paramount's long-standing emphasis on the European market (and style) led to the departure in the late 1930s of contract stars Dietrich, Colbert, Cooper, March, Carole Lombard (1908–1942), and Mae West, and directors von Sternberg, Lubitsch, and Mamoulian. Bing Crosby and Barbara Stanwyck (1907–1990) remained, as did director Mitchell Leisen, all of whom accommodated Paramount's changing production and market strategies. DeMille stayed on as well, although his epic bent was sorely limited by war-related budgetary and material constraints. Paramount's vacated star stable was quickly filled with a new crop of stars, notably Ray Milland (1905–1986), Bob Hope (1903–2003), Dorothy Lamour (1914–1996), Fred MacMurray (1908–1991), Paulette Goddard (1910–1990), Veronica Lake (1919–1973), and Alan Ladd (1913–1964). Several important new directors emerged as well, most notably Preston Sturges (1898–1959) and Billy Wilder (1906–2002), both of whom rose from the studio's ranks to become two of the foremost "hyphenate" writer-directors in Hollywood.

Harpo, Chico, Groucho, and Zeppo Marx spoof the absurdity of war in* Duck Soup *(Leo McCarey, 1933). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Sturges quickly established himself as a master of dark comedy, offbeat romance, and acerbic dialogue, and as one of the most prolific filmmakers in the A-film ranks as well, turning out eight pictures in four years for Paramount, including several of the very best Hollywood films of the war era: *The Lady Eve* (1941), *Sullivan's Travels* (1941), *The Palm Beach Story* (1942), *The Miracle of Morgan's Creek* (1944), and *Hail the Conquering Hero* (1944). Wilder, meanwhile, started somewhat slower before delivering some of the era's most powerful dramas, including *Double Indemnity* (1944) and *The Lost Weekend* (1945). Leisen continued to turn out quality romantic comedies and melodramas at a prodigious rate (12 pictures from 1940 to 1945), while DeMille managed only two lackluster pictures during the same period. Much of the studio's success came with films that teamed particular stars—the pairing of Alan Ladd and Veronica Lake in two noir thrillers, *This Gun for Hire* and *The Glass Key* (both 1942), for instance, and the teaming of Crosby, Hope, and Lamour in the hugely successful run of "road pictures" (*Road to Singapore*, 1940; *Road to Zanzibar*, 1941; *Road to Morocco*, 1942; et al.). Crosby and Hope enjoyed tremendous success during the war in a wide range of films, with Crosby in particular emerging as a true cultural phenomenon, considering his concurrent success in the radio and recording industries. His most successful film for Paramount, and its biggest wartime hit, was as a crooning priest in *Going My Way* (1944), a quasi-independent project produced, directed, and written by freelancer Leo McCarey.

GARY COOPER

b. Frank James Cooper, Helena, Montana, 7 May 1901, d. 13 May 1961

A consummate American screen hero of Hollywood's classical era and the archetypal "strong silent type," Gary Cooper spent roughly the first half of his career at Paramount, where he paid his dues as a studio contract star and, in the course of the 1930s, rose to top stardom. Cooper enjoyed sufficient clout by the late 1930s to demand a nonexclusive contract with Paramount, and within a few years he was essentially a freelance star. Thus many of Cooper's most memorable roles, including his Oscar®-winning performances in *Sergeant York* (1941) and *High Noon* (1952), were done elsewhere. But during the early years at Paramount, Cooper did some of his best work and steadily refined his distinctive screen persona: the tall, laconic, hesitant but steadfast hero whose diffident honesty and physical beauty masked an undercurrent of anxiety and self-doubt. He established a remarkable acting range as well, handling comedy, romantic drama, and action-adventure roles with equal assurance.

Cooper broke into films as an extra in silent westerns—due largely to his genuine skills as a horseman. He soon signed with Paramount and appeared in some twenty supporting roles before starring in his breakthrough hit, *The Virginian* (1929), his first talkie, in which he famously intoned, "When you say that—smile." The picture clinched his early stardom and led to a succession of similar roles in 1930 and 1931, until the western was downgraded to B-movie status. Cooper did star in one of the Depression era's few "A" westerns, *The Plainsman*, a 1936 biopic of Wild Bill Hickok and his first film for Cecil B. DeMille, and he helped facilitate the resurgence of the western in 1940 with another DeMille epic, *North West Mounted Police*, and *The Westerner*, one of many films Cooper did for independent producer Sam Goldwyn.

During the western genre's decade-long hiatus, Cooper played action-adventure roles for Paramount in films like *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer* (1935), *The General Died at Dawn* (1936), and *Beau Geste* (1939). Cooper also proved to be a serviceable romantic costar in films like *A Farewell to Arms* (1932) and *Peter Ibbetson* (1935). But the real surprise was his emergence as a top comedy star in films like *Design for Living* (1933) and *Bluebeard's Eighth Wife* (1938), both directed by Ernst Lubitsch; on loan to Columbia in the Capra-directed *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936); and on loan to RKO in the Hawks-directed *Ball of Fire* (1941). By 1941 Cooper was a freelance star, and although he stayed busy throughout the 1940s and 1950s, remaining one of Hollywood's top box office stars, his only subsequent work for Paramount was in the Goldwyn-produced *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1943) and in DeMille's *The Story of Dr. Wassell* (1944) and *Unconquered* (1947).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Virginian (1929), *Design for Living* (1933), *The Plainsman* (1936), *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), *The General Died at Dawn* (1936), *Beau Geste* (1939), *Sergeant York* (1941), *The Pride of the Yankees* (1942), *High Noon* (1952)

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Thomas Schatz

Paramount's tremendous success continued into the early postwar era, although it became evident as the Justice Department revived its antitrust campaign against the studios that its glory days were numbered. In May 1948 the Supreme Court issued its momentous *Paramount* decree, which cited Paramount Pictures as the first defendant because the company's domination and manipulation of the movie marketplace had been most pronounced. Unlike several of the other Big Five integrated majors (i.e., MGM, Twentieth Century Fox, Warner Bros., and RKO, which also owned theater chains), Paramount readily complied with the Court's demand to divorce its theater chains, splitting in late 1949 into two corporate entities, Paramount Pictures and United Paramount Theaters (UPT). Besides disintegrating the company, the *Paramount* decree also dashed Balaban's plans to exploit the emergent television medium. Paramount had been actively pursuing

Gary Cooper, 1934. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

television broadcasting for over a decade in various ways, notably its purchase of television stations in Chicago and Los Angeles, and its investment in video pioneer DuMont, which involved video projection in theaters as well as delivery of Paramount films to the home. The antitrust ruling enabled the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to prohibit the studios from active participation in the burgeoning TV industry, however, so Paramount Pictures sold off its television and video interests while UPT became a major investor in the ABC television network.

Hollywood's general postwar decline was especially pronounced for Paramount, whose profits fell from over $22 million in 1948 to just $3 million in 1949. The studio survived through a two-pronged strategy of "bigger" films and independent productions. DeMille effectively initiated the postwar blockbuster trend with *Samson and Delilah*, released in late 1949 just weeks before the Paramount-UPT split, and he sustained it with *The Greatest Show on Earth* (1952) and *The Ten Commandments* (1956), which earned an astounding $34.2 million. Meanwhile, the studio realized major hits via financing-and-distribution deals with independent producer-directors like George Stevens (1904–1975) (*A Place in the Sun*, 1951; *Shane*, 1953) and Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) (*Rear Window*, 1954; *To Catch a Thief*, 1955; *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, 1956). Paramount was the last of the majors to acquiesce to network television, opening its vault to TV syndication in 1958 and moving tentatively into telefilm series production. The studio faded badly in the early 1960s due to a succession of costly flops and the ongoing erosion of the movie-going audience. This led to Balaban's removal and the 1966 purchase of Paramount by Gulf + Western—the first of several studio buyouts by huge nonmedia conglomerates in the late 1960s, and a crucial step in the transition from the Old Hollywood to the New.

PARAMOUNT IN THE NEW HOLLYWOOD: BLOCKBUSTER FRANCHISES AND GLOBAL CONGLOMERATES

The Gulf + Western buyout relegated Balaban to an emeritus role (along with Zukor), as the irrepressible Gulf + Western founder Charles Bludhorn took command of the company. The early Bludhorn era saw an increase in television series production, accelerated by the 1969 acquisition of Desilu, and the unexpected installation of Robert Evans (b. 1930) as head of motion picture production. Both proved to be good moves. The television division generated new hit series (*The Brady Bunch*, 1969; *Happy Days*, 1974, et al.), while the Desilu acquisition gave Paramount several established series like *Mission: Impossible* (1966–1973) and particularly *Star Trek* (1966–1969) which, upon cancellation as network series, became hugely successful in syndication during the burgeoning cable era—and later, of course, spawned successful movie franchises. Evans, meanwhile, immediately emerged as one of the chief architects of an "American New Wave"—an auteur-driven cinema geared increasingly to the era's youth and counter cultures. Paramount's output under Evans included *Rosemary's Baby* (1968), *Goodbye Columbus* (1969), *Love Story* (1970), *The Godfather* (1972), *The Godfather Part II* (1974), and *Chinatown* (1974). Evans left for independent production in the mid-1970s, but Paramount's success continued—indeed, accelerated—under Barry Diller and Michael Eisner. The studio continued to mine the youth market with films like *Saturday Night Fever* (1977) and *Grease* (1978), and enjoyed critical as well as commercial success with films like *Heaven Can Wait* (1978), *Ordinary People* (1980), *Reds* (1981), and *Terms of Endearment* (1983).

Paramount also pursued mainstream audiences with calculated blockbuster fare and a big-screen "franchise" strategy—that is, movie series generated by high-cost, megahits like *Star Trek: The Motion Picture* (1979),

Raiders of the Lost Ark (1981), and *Beverly Hills Cop* (1984). *Raiders*, produced by George Lucas (b. 1944) and directed by Steven Spielberg (b. 1946), launched the highly successful "Indiana Jones" films in a partnership with Lucasfilm Limited, as well as a TV series coproduced by Lucasfilm, Spielberg's Amblin Entertainment, and Paramount. The studio coproduced the Beverly Hills Cop films with a company owned by star Eddie Murphy (b. 1961), whose long-term relationship with Paramount generated many other box-office hits (*48 Hours*, 1982; *Trading Places*, 1983; *Coming to America*, 1988). The Star Trek series was in a class by itself as an entertainment franchise. Its lineage includes ten feature films, four subsequent live-action TV and cable series, an animated series, and a literally incalculable number of media tie-ins and licensed products—including an entire book division at Simon & Schuster, a Paramount (now Viacom) subsidiary.

Bludhorn's death in 1983 brought Martin S. Davis in as chief executive officer of Gulf + Western, and a year later Frank Mancuso took over the studio (as Diller left for Fox and Eisner for Disney). Paramount continued to surge, reclaiming its top spot among Hollywood studios, fueled primarily by its hit-spawning movie franchises, along with hit TV series like *Family Ties* (1982–1989) and *Cheers* (1982–1993), and a run of box-office surprises including *Top Gun* (1986), *Crocodile Dundee* (1986), *Fatal Attraction* (1987), and *Ghost* (1990). Meanwhile, Gulf + Western steadily "downsized" to focus on media and entertainment, and in 1989 the parent company's title was officially changed to Paramount Communications. The same year, Paramount attempted a hostile takeover of Time Inc., but the publishing giant opted to merge with Warner Communications. So Paramount continued to look for a suitable partner as a media mergers-and-acquisitions wave swelled in the early 1990s, eventually submitting to a $10 billion buyout (initiated in 1993 and consummated in 1994) by Viacom, a global conglomerate controlled by Sumner Redstone. Viacom had been expanding at a truly incredible rate since Redstone took over the media giant in 1987, and the process continued throughout the booming 1990s. Besides buying Paramount, Viacom also acquired Blockbuster Video in 1994, launched the UPN cable network in 1995, and closed out the decade with the $50 billion acquisition of CBS (formerly Westinghouse) in 1999. The purchase of CBS was a telling irony in modern media annals, in that Viacom was created in 1971 when the FCC had forced CBS to spin off its syndication division.

Paramount continued to produce top movie hits in the 1990s, including *Mission: Impossible* (1996) and its sequel (2000), and the phenomenally successful *Forrest Gump* (1994). But the hits were less frequent and many of its biggest hits were cofinanced and thus shared with other studios—most notably *Titanic* (1997) with Twentieth Century Fox and *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) with DreamWorks. The studio's success after the CBS merger has been even more sporadic, leading to considerable turnover in the executive ranks—with the sole exception of Redstone himself, who became board chairman and CEO in 1996 (at age 73) and has maintained power over the ever-expanding Viacom empire into the new millennium. The sheer size of this global media giant as of the early 2000s is staggering. It includes over a dozen film and television production companies (including Paramount Pictures and Paramount Television); the Paramount Film Library (over 2,500 titles); over a dozen broadcast and cable networks (including CBS, UPN, MTV, Showtime, the Comedy Channel), along with 40 owned-and-operated stations and some 300 affiliates; the world's number one video rental chain (Blockbuster, with over 8,500 stores); shared ownership of over 1,000 movie screens worldwide; a global distribution partnership with Universal (UIP); amusement parks in the United States and Canada; over a dozen publishing entities (including Simon & Schuster and Scribners); a radio operation (CBS Radio and Infinity) with 180 stations; a music publishing company that holds the copyright on over 100,000 song titles; the number one billboard advertising company in the United States and Europe (Outdoor Advertising), and so on.

While the Paramount "brand name" remains vital to Viacom's success, and the studio's movie products continue to drive the parent company's entertainment product lines, the studio is scarcely on par with the Paramount of old—even the Paramount of the 1970s and 1980s—given the structure, complexity, and general sprawl of the media conglomerate at large. Paramount is hardly able (or expected) to sustain an identifiable house style, which would require stable management and resources, including talent on both sides of the camera, and thus the only consistent "markers" of its style are the signature franchises. The sheer size of the media giant has become so great, in fact, that Redstone in early 2005 proposed it be split into two publicly traded companies: Viacom (which will include Paramount Pictures and the powerhouse MTV network) and CBS (which will include Paramount Television and the other television, cable, and home-video holdings). The Viacom board approved the split in June 2005, and the 82-year-old Redstone told the press, "The age of the conglomerate is over." While that claim is dubious, the split may signal a new chapter in the saga of Paramount Pictures.

SEE ALSO *Star System; Studio System*

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Thomas Schatz

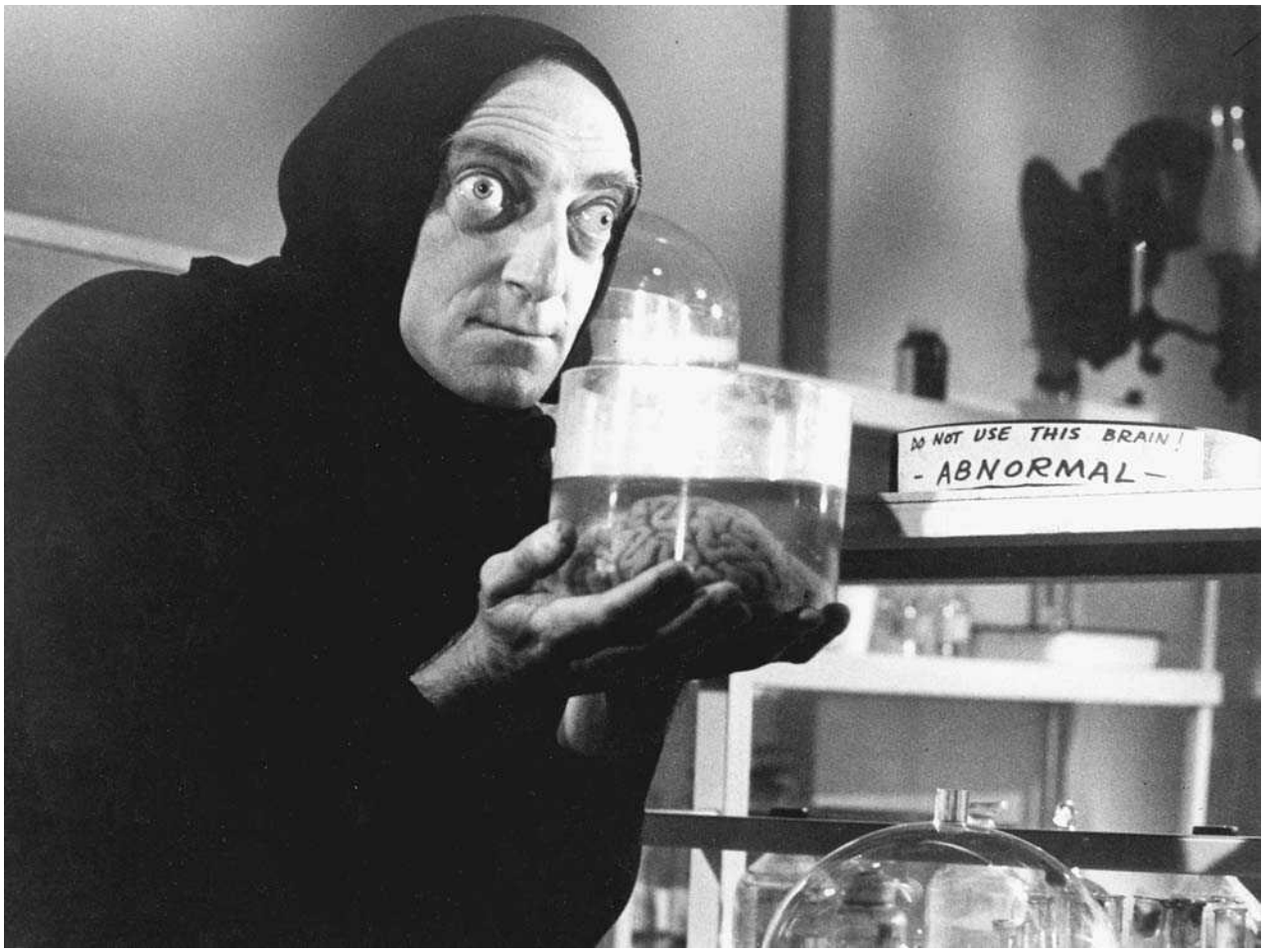
PARODY

Parody is a comic technique that imitates a previous text for the purposes of ridicule. For instance, in the film *The Great Escape* (1963) the character played by Steve McQueen is repeatedly thrown into solitary confinement ("the cooler") where he bounces a baseball against the wall to pass the time until his release. In the parody film *Chicken Run* (2000) the chicken Ginger gets sentenced to solitary confinement in a coal bin and bounces a rock against one wall to pass the time. The camera angle, the character's posture, and the sound of the ball bouncing off the wall all replicate the familiar scenes in *The Great Escape*. In order for this moment to function as parody for the audience, the spectator must be aware of the cinematic precedent, and able to connect it to the imitation (for the many young children who enjoyed *Chicken Run*, a coal bin is just a coal bin). There also must be a twist or element of comic difference to the imitation—in this case, the fact that the prisoner is a chicken and not a soldier.

The word "parody" comes from ancient Greek theater, and it translates as "beside" (*para*) "song" (*ode*)—that is, roughly, "this song must be understood beside that one." It describes a mode of address, rather than a genre per se. The term can be used to define an entire film, such as *Airplane!* (1980), which is a parody of the disaster movie. But the word can also be used to describe any technique by which one film references another for humorous effect. Though *Monsters, Inc.* (2001) is not itself a parody, it does include a slow-motion shot of the monsters entering the factory floor, which parodies a similar shot of astronauts exiting the mission control building in *The Right Stuff* (1983).

Film parodies can spoof specific films: for instance, Buster Keaton's *The Three Ages* (1923) is a parody of D. W. Griffith's *Intolerance* (1916). They can focus on individual filmmakers, like *High Anxiety* (1977) does with Alfred Hitchcock. Or they can take on the films of an entire era, style, or mode of filmmaking, as in *Silent Movie* (1976). But by far the most popular targets of film parodies are genres: *Lust in the Dust* (1985) spoofs the western; *Naked Gun: From the Files of Police Squad* (1988), the police drama; *This Is Spinal Tap* (1984), the documentary; *Love and Death* (1975), the historical drama; *Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid* (1982), film noir; and *South Park: Bigger, Longer, and Uncut* (1999), the Hollywood musical, among many others. Genres are a rich source of parodic inspiration because they tend to offer both a rigid set of conventions that can be easily reproduced and ridiculed and a wide range of original films from which to draw iconic scenes and characters.

Parody is frequently connected to satire, a form of comedy that emphasizes social criticism. While the target of parody is a text or set of texts, the target of satire is the society that produced those texts. Because genres, stars, and cinematic conventions express social values, these two forms of comedy intersect in significant ways. For instance, in the sports-film parody *Dodgeball: A True Underdog Story* (2004), the dodgeball finals are televised on ESPN8, and the announcer provides this introduction to the tournament in Las Vegas: "A city home to a sporting event that is bigger than the World Cup, World Series, and World War II combined." The language parodies television's broadcast conventions, often reproduced in the sports movie, which tend to oversell the importance of a single sporting event. So the genre



Young Frankenstein ***(Mel Brooks, 1974) parodies Universal's earlier*** **Frankenstein** ***(James Whale, 1931).*** ® ™ AND COPYRIGHT © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

convention (dramatic intro) expresses a social value (the importance of sport). By parodying the excessive language of the dramatic intro, the film also offers a satiric perspective on the American obsession with athletic competition.

PARODY IN CLASSICAL HOLLYWOOD FILM

Literature, song, and the stage all boasted a well-developed tradition of parody long before cinema was invented, so it is no surprise that as soon as recognizable film traditions had been developed, they were subject to caricature. Cecil B. DeMille's feature *Carmen* was released in October 1915, and by December of that same year, Charles Chaplin's *Burlesque on Carmen* was in theaters. Through the 1910s and 1920s, parody emerged as a staple format for comic shorts. Ben Turpin used his peculiar cross-eyed appearance as the source of humor in his short *The Shriek of Araby* (1923), a parody of heartthrob Rudolf Valentino's popular romantic drama, *The Sheik* (1921). Stan Laurel used parody very effectively in his solo efforts such as *Dr. Pyckle and Mr. Pride* (1925) and the western spoof *West of Hot Dog* (1924), which anticipated the Laurel and Hardy western parodies of the 1930s such as *Them Thar Hills* (1934) and *Way Out West* (1937).

Among the most accomplished of silent parodists was Buster Keaton (1895–1966), whose films tended to use the source text as a general structure, while the comedy itself was drawn from Keaton's inventive physical humor, often in tension with the narrative frame. Keaton's western spoof *Go West* (1925) describes a city slicker's assimilation into ranch life and his affection for a young cow, "Brown Eyes," which he saves from the slaughterhouse. In the film there is a scene in which the cowboys enact the western cliché of the bunkhouse poker game, and one of them points a gun at Keaton and snarls a famous line from *The Virginian* (1923), "When you call me that, SMILE." Because Keaton ("the great

stoneface") is famous precisely for not smiling, or indeed expressing any emotion at all, he responds by slowly lifting the corners of his mouth with two fingers, a gesture that mimics Lillian Gish's character trying to force a smile for her abusive father in D. W. Griffith's *Broken Blossoms* (1919). The multiple layers of parody and self-referentiality in this moment point to Keaton's use of cinematic history and conventions to add richness to his comedy through parodic reinterpretation.

The sound era provided new conventions for parody, and again the short film tended to lead the way with Laurel and Hardy, the Three Stooges, and especially Abbott and Costello spoofing popular films in their short comedies. Abbott and Costello went on to develop a series of feature-length parodies in which they meet Frankenstein in 1948, the Invisible Man in 1951, Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in 1953, and the Mummy in 1955. Animated films also made generous use of parody, as when Dave Fleischer's Betty Boop took on Mae West in *She Wronged Him Right* (1934) and Tex Avery took on the gangster picture with *Thugs with Dirty Mugs* (1939). Chuck Jones (1912–2002) had a particular flair for animated parody, directing *Rabbit Hood* (1949), *The Scarlet Pumpernickel* (1950), and *Transylvania 6–5000* (1963), among many others.

The conventional approach to parody in the studio era was to drop an outsider or innocent into a film in which the other characters are playing their parts more or less straight, making the source text simply a context for the comic's gags. Bob Hope's (1903–2003) parody films, including the noir spoof *My Favorite Brunette* (1947) and the western spoofs *The Paleface* (1948) and *Son of Paleface* (1952), cast the comic as a hapless coward caught up in genre-based plots. In *The Paleface*, for instance, Hope plays a dentist named Painless Peter Potter who against his better judgment is drawn into gun battles with outlaws and Indians. The film's comedy emerges from the contrast between the conventional western hero—brave, strong, resourceful—and the nervous, wisecracking Potter, who says of his guns, "I hope they're loaded. I wish I was, too." In this way, genre conventions remain essentially intact, while the character who cannot comply with those conventions is the principal source of comedy.

PARODY IN THE AGE OF TELEVISION

Given how parody thrived in the short films of the studio era, it is unsurprising that television sketch comedy has also specialized in creating short, pithy burlesques of popular films. Early examples include Sid Caesar's *Your Show of Shows* (1950–1954) and, later, *The Carol Burnett Show*, (1967–1978) which produced brilliant parodies of familiar Hollywood films, with titles like "Went with the Wind," "Sunnyset Boulevard," and "Mildred Fierce." These were followed by *Saturday Night Live* (1975–), *Second City Television* (1976–1981), and *In Living Color* (1990–1994), among others. A training ground for comic writers and actors, sketch shows continue to employ parody as a staple element of their formats, often using guest stars to mock their own well-known work. This trend has helped speed up the process by which popular forms are broken down and ridiculed through imitation, and it has contributed to the increasingly widespread use of parody in recent film comedies, which nearly always cannibalize one or more other texts in creating their comic effects.

Former stand-up comic and television writer Mel Brooks (b. 1926) reinvented parody for a new era when *Blazing Saddles* (cowritten with Richard Pryor, among others) and *Young Frankenstein* were released, both in 1974. Brooks and his contemporaries abandoned the previous generation's tactic of dropping a comic figure into a conventional generic frame. Brooks essentially inverted the structure of Hope's *The Paleface* in his western spoof *Blazing Saddles*. The two protagonists of the latter film, Sheriff Bart and the Waco Kid, are the film's most heroic, competent, and indeed sane characters in the midst of a western town populated by caricatures of western types (a lecherous and stupid governor, racist townsfolk, a monstrous thug, a lisping saloon singer). Brooks thereby rendered the western itself ridiculous in ways that previous parodies rarely aspired to or achieved.

After Mel Brooks's breakthrough films, a number of other filmmakers began turning out popular and significant parody features in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The team of Jim Abrahams and David and Jerry Zucker wrote the cult classic *Kentucky Fried Movie* (1977), followed by the breakaway hit *Airplane!*, which layered on the gags at a breakneck speed, often punctuating a pseudoserious conversation in the foreground with a ludicrous sight gag in the background. The team of Christopher Guest and Rob Reiner followed up in 1984 with the pioneering mockumentary *This Is Spinal Tap*, which combined realistic cinéma vérité film technique with the outrageous story of an aging British rock band. These devastatingly funny films together helped reinvigorate American film comedy and established new traditions that would be highly influential in the years to come.

Commercial parody films from since the 1980s have been defined most clearly by a sense of anarchy—that anything may happen, or any object may enter the frame at any time. Genre still provides a general frame for most contemporary parodies, but lines, scenes, and sequences will notably abandon the source text in order to reference another film, or even an unrelated aspect of popular

MEL BROOKS

b. Melvin Kaminsky, Brooklyn, New York, 28 June 1926

Mel Brooks began his career doing stand-up in the Catskills, in upstate New York, where he befriended Sid Caesar, host of the TV series *Your Show of Shows* (1950–1954). The talented Brooks quickly moved into television writing, where he often worked on skits for Caesar that parodied popular genres of the day. Brooks first became famous for his "Two Thousand-Year-Old Man in the Year 2000" routine, a mock interview which he performed with Carl Reiner onstage, on a bestselling record, and on television. In 1964 he went on to cocreate (with Buck Henry) the popular television series *Get Smart* (1965–1970), a parody of the spy film genre filled with outrageous James Bond-style gadgets such as the famous "shoe phone."

After this distinguished television career, Brooks wrote and directed his first feature, *The Producers*, in 1968. The film toys outrageously with the limits of parody when the title characters stage a grotesque Broadway musical, *Springtime for Hitler*, hoping it will flop. The fictional show, which features swelling music and an earnest young chorus singing about the joys of the Third Reich, unexpectedly succeeds when audiences interpret it as a brilliant parody rather than a lousy romance. His later films drew from this pleasure in the grotesque and the absurd, relying on the juxtaposition between the earnest clichés of a source text and the juvenile irreverence of Brooks's humor. In *Young Frankenstein* (1974), the stuffy young Dr. Frankenstein sings "Puttin' on the Ritz" with his marginally articulate monster, while dancing a soft shoe. In *History of the World: Part I* (1981), the character Oedipus is greeted with the words "Hey Motherfucker!" The only line in *Silent Movie* (1976) is spoken by the famous mime Marcel Marceau. In *Spaceballs* (1987) the guru Yogurt takes time out from his mystical mission to explain how the film's real money is made through merchandising: "*Spaceballs* the lunch box, *Spaceballs* the breakfast cereal, *Spaceballs* the flamethrower."

Such moments have earned Brooks both avid fans and equally fierce detractors, particularly as his jokes became more repetitive and broader over the course of the 1980s and 1990s. He made several commercially unsuccessful attempts to branch out, notably in a remake of Ernst Lubitsch's *To Be or Not to Be* (1983) in which he costarred with wife Anne Bancroft, and in the social problem comedy *Life Stinks* (1991). Though he hasn't directed a film since the moderately successful *Dracula: Dead and Loving It* in 1995, Brooks has found phenomenal new success with a 2001 Broadway musical version of *The Producers*, for which he wrote the lyrics, music, and book. The recipient of a screenwriting Oscar® for *The Producers*, as well as several Emmys, Grammys, and Tonys, Brooks is indisputably one of the most versatile and influential comic minds of his generation.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Producers (1968), *Blazing Saddles* (1974), *Young Frankenstein* (1974), *Silent Movie* (1976), *High Anxiety* (1977), *History of the World: Part I* (1981), *To Be or Not to Be* (1983), *Spaceballs* (1987), *Robin Hood: Men in Tights* (1993), *Dracula: Dead and Loving It* (1995)

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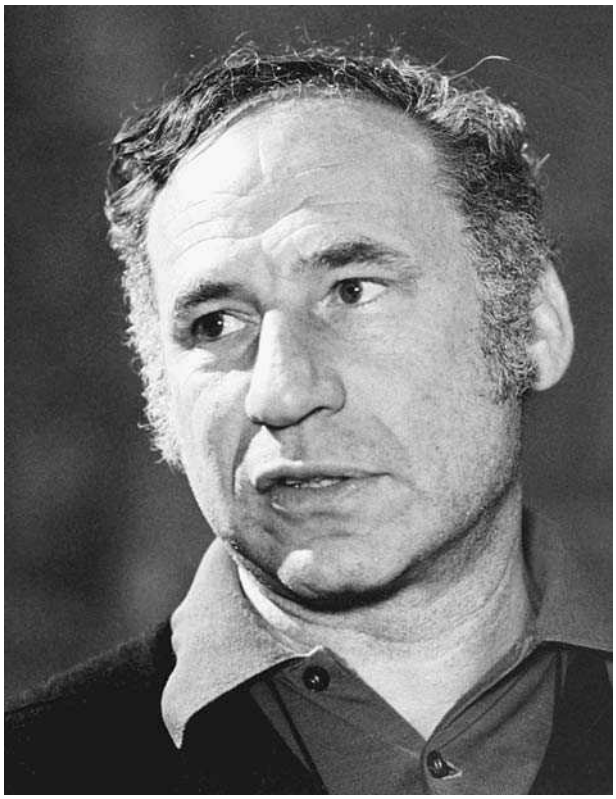
Victoria Sturtevant

culture. For instance, in *Scary Movie 2* (2001), one character tries to calm another by assuring her "Cindy, this is just some bones. Would you run from Calista Flockhart?" The information the spectator needs to make sense of this reference comes not from the horror genre the film spoofs, but rather from a television series. In *Hot Shots: Part Deux* (1993), a succession of paratroopers jumps out of a plane, each yelling "Geronimo!" as he begins his fall. Suddenly, an Indian chief leaps out of the plane, yelling "Me!" Contemporary parody has developed a kind of randomness, a narrative and stylistic spirit of anarchy. It is not uncommon for the source text to provide only the broadest outlines of a narrative, while the gags are drawn from other sources throughout popular culture.

Parody films have become popular and conventional enough to spawn sequels: two *Hot Shots* films, three *Naked Guns*, three Austin Powers films, and four *Scary*



Mel Brooks. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

*Movie*s. In a kind of apt reversal of TV's tendency to spoof classic films, films are now parodying old television shows, with *The Beverly Hillbillies* (1993), *The Brady Bunch Movie* (1995), *Scooby Doo* (2002), *Starsky and Hutch* (2004), and *The Dukes of Hazzard* (2005) in recent years. These films are mostly reviled by critics, and the predominance of parody in contemporary comedy has been received as evidence that filmmakers have run out of ideas or that studios find such films a safe investment.

A notable exception to this trend has been the many carefully crafted and often subtle mockumentaries that have found modest success in American theaters. Woody Allen (b. 1935) used the form quite broadly in his 1969 film *Take the Money and Run*, using a deep-voiced narrator to contrast the zaniness of his character's crime spree. But the versatile Allen then brought a new precision to the documentary parody with the very different *Zelig* (1983), a portrait of a mentally disturbed man in the roaring 1920s. This film recreates the look of old film clips and newsreels with remarkable technical precision. The film never blinks in its pretense that Leonard Zelig was a real historical figure, even recruiting noted real-life writers such as Susan Sontag and Saul Bellow to give straight-faced commentary on Zelig's cultural import. A notable heir to this tradition is Christopher Guest, whose recent mockumentaries *Waiting for Guffman* (1996), *Best in Show* (2000), and *A Mighty Wind* (2003) lovingly recreate the look of cinéma vérité documentary. Handheld cameras and improvisational acting from a talented ensemble cast create the impression of candor, a slice-of-life documentary. But the films profile characters involved in a peculiar undertaking (amateur talent shows, dog shows, and folk singing, respectively) who take their avocation far too seriously, revealing the outrageous idiosyncrasies of seemingly ordinary people.

PARODY AND THE POSTMODERN

Though parody has ancient roots, it has taken on a particularly central role in the comic forms of the irony-soaked postmodern present because it foregrounds quotation and self-referentiality. Marxist literary critic Fredric Jameson has argued that postmodernity has replaced conventional parody with a process that should rightly be defined as pastiche. While parody implies a norm against which the imitation must be read, pastiche is a form of imitation that is detached from an authoritative precedent, and thus lacks a satiric impulse. By treating the original as a style only, devoid of history and context, pastiche is a uniquely postmodern play of pure discourse. For instance, there have been dozens of films over the years that have parodied the scene in *From Here to Eternity* (1953) where a couple lies on the beach as the waves wash over them—so many that it is no longer necessary to have seen the original to understand the reference. In fact, none of *Airplane!*'s three directors had seen the film when they spoofed it in their movie. In a postmodern context, pastiche reduces the past to a set of empty icons, increasingly lacking a real sense of history.

Drawing on the work of Jameson, among others, critic Dan Harries argues that the large number of increasingly standardized commercial parody films of the last few decades have helped take the bite out of parody, rendering it a more sterile and complacent mode of comedy than it has been in the past. Harries has devised a useful list of six techniques through which contemporary parody achieves its effects, and he argues that these techniques have ultimately drained parody of much of its transgressive function, making predictable and toothless what was once original and subversive. These six techniques are:

1. *Reiteration* is the process by which the parody establishes its connection to the source text, using, for example, horses to evoke the western, handheld cameras to evoke the documentary, and so on. Many

parodies take great care in reproducing the iconic elements of the source genre.

2. *Inversion* is a way of using an element of the source text in an ironic way, so that it means the opposite of its intended meaning. *Cannibal: The Musical* (1996) evokes one convention of the Hollywood folk musical by having the whole community come together for a lively production number at the end, but inverts the intended meaning of that finale with the lyrics, "Hang the bastard, hang him high," creating an ironic juxtaposition of cheerful harmony and grotesque bloodlust.
3. *Misdirection* is the process by which the conventions of the source text are used to create a set of expectations in the spectator which are then reversed or transformed by the parody. In *Scary Movie 3* (2003) the character played by George Carlin explains his sad history in conventional melodramatic terms, "My wife and I wanted a child, but she couldn't get pregnant," then when the spectator has been misdirected to expect a sentimental story, instead he offers the punchline, "Neither could I."
4. *Literalization* is a technique that takes a naïve approach to the source text, as though it were readable only literally and not through the lens of convention. This process can be applied to narrative elements, as in *Robin Hood: Men in Tights* (1993) when Robin cries out to the crowd "Lend me your ears," at which point the crowd starts throwing actual ears at him. Literalization can also parody a conventional film technique; for instance, there is a shot in *Scary Movie* when the camera tracks toward the screaming heroine into such a tight close-up that the lens strikes the actress on the head and she exclaims "Ouch!," making the camera's presence in the film suddenly literal.
5. *Extraneous inclusion* uses elements that do not belong in a conventional generic image in order to render it strange. For instance, in *Hot Shots*, the hero has taken refuge on an Indian reservation, which is presented through conventional cinematic images such as buffalo, beads, and buckskins. That image is then made strange through the extraneous inclusion of a doorbell on the teepee and pink bunny slippers on the protagonist.
6. *Exaggeration* takes an aspect of the source text and renders it absurd through excessive emphasis. This technique can apply to simple objects, like the enormous helmet worn by the character Dark Helmet (Rick Moranis) in *Spaceballs* (1987). It can also apply to narrative or stylistic conventions, as in *The Naked Gun*, which references the discreet Hollywood practice of cutting away from sex scenes to symbolic images of curtains blowing in the breeze or fireworks exploding. The montage of images in this love scene (flowers opening, a train entering a tunnel, an atom bomb exploding into a mushroom cloud) is both more suggestive and more extensive than the convention permits.

Parody has often been interpreted as a tool which helped audiences see through the frozen conventions and ideological agendas of different genres. Harries argues that the growing conventionality of parody has reduced much of its power to free the spectator from the ideological traps of genre: as he rhetorically asks, "do we really become 'liberated' after watching an hour and a half of *Spaceballs*?" On this question, the jury is still out.

SEE ALSO *Comedy; Genre; Postmodernism*

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Victoria Sturtevant

PHILIPPINES

Philippine cinema generally has not taken center stage outside the region, which is a curious phenomenon since the Philippines has had a film tradition longer than most countries, has been one of the world's top ten movie producers for years, and has battled with governmental and other entities over issues common to the industry globally.

Imported film shorts were shown in Manila in 1897, and the following year a Spanish army officer filmed and showed scenes of the city. By 1909, the country already had three studios, and then two years later, a board of censorship and an association to oppose censorship. In 1912, two features made by Americans Harry Brown, Edward M. Gross, and Albert Yearsley, who resided in the Philippines, were released within one day of each other: *La Vida de José Rizal* (*The Life of José Rizal*) and Yearsley's *El Fusilamiento de Dr. José Rizal* (*The Execution of Dr. José Rizal*).

Credited with being the father of the Philippine film industry, however, is José Nepomuceno, an engineer who ran the country's most successful photography studio. In 1917, Nepomuceno sold his lucrative studio, read up on movies, and started Malayan Movies. His first works were documentaries; in 1919, he made *Dalagang bukid* (*Country Maiden*), considered the first truly Filipino picture. Nepomuceno remained a major force in the industry for nearly 45 years, producing more than 300 films and founding at least seven studios.

One of the studios he helped establish was Sampaguita Pictures, which became one of the Big Four (with LVN Pictures, Lebran, and Premiere Productions) that dominated Philippine films in the post-World War II years. When Sampaguita was launched in 1937, the big studio concept, reminiscent of Hollywood with its star system and genre films, was beginning. By 1939, at least eleven film companies were in operation, producing fifty films that year—the fifth highest total in the world. With the beginning of World War II, the industry nearly closed, partly because the Japanese believed Philippine movies were too attached to the United States.

THE FIRST GOLDEN AGE AND AFTER

As was the case with newspapers and magazines, film companies mushroomed after liberation in 1945, growing to at least forty by 1952. The Big Four, in existence by 1946, soon dominated the industry, retaining a workforce of ten thousand and controlling over 90 percent of the production, distribution, and exhibition of Filipino movies. But the industry was on the verge of change: as a five-year (1950–55) strike hit Premiere, artists and technicians defected to start their own companies and the Big Four lost its bargaining power. By 1958, there were one hundred movie firms and within a few years, of the Big Four, only Sampaguita remained.

In the 1960s, the industry was completely transformed. The Big Four had ceased production; independents dominated, most of them in films solely for profits; and citizens became indignant about a crime wave that had possible links with movie viewing. Also, the content of movies worsened, providing only an orgy of escapism, and the star system was pushed to the limit with actors dominating over directors.

The studio system had made filming a planned affair where Big Four directors lined up a variety of genres for

wider appeal. Independents short on capital had to recover their investments quickly, which they did by copying the last box-office hit. As a result, the 1960s gave rise to many copies of foreign films with Filipino cowboys, samurai, and kung fu masters, James Bonds (Jaime Bandong), and bold sexual movies, *bombas*, featuring young starlets who bared all on screen. Veteran director Lamberto V. Avellana labeled the audiences for such slam-bang, blood-and-guts, sex-filled quickies as *bakya,* a pejorative term for a low-class audience, which refers to the moviegoers who wear *bakya,* native wooden clogs. An especially big year for *bombas* was 1971, when most of the 251 Filipino movies were sex-oriented.

Of the major genres, action and melodrama—of a soap opera type—were (and still are) the most popular; between 1978 and 1982, for example, they accounted for 47 percent and 33 percent, respectively, of the total. Tracing its origins to early theatrical forms, the action film includes a strict sense of morality, an idealized code of honor, and a set of traditional values. Most melodramas come from *komiks* (comic books); in fact, for years, 30 to 40 percent of big studios' scripts came from this source. *Komiks* make successful movies because of their presold audiences. They are adapted to film by making *komiks* characters look like movie stars who then play the screen role, and by selling an idea to a *komiks* publisher who brings it out in printed form. During the last few weeks of the *komiks* serialization, the movie version appears with a climax that may or may not be the same as the magazine.

The Ferdinand Marcos dictatorship of 1965–1986 was both bad and good for film because it played roles that restricted, regulated, and facilitated the industry. For example, between 1975 and 1980, the Philippine government cracked down on films encouraging subversion, violence, pornography, and crime, revamped the censorship board, and instructed producers to redefine industry guidelines to support so-called Philippine values; but it also supported the showing of Filipino movies, built the controversial University of the Philippines Film Center and established the Manila International Film Festival.

Government involvement escalated in the last years of the Marcos regime with the creation of the Motion Picture Development Board, which was to oversee four major bodies—the Film Fund, Film Academy of the Philippines, Film Archives, and the Board of Standards. Next came the strengthening of censors' powers in 1981, and the establishment of the Experimental Cinema of the Philippines a year later, headed by one of the Marcos daughters. Film personnel, fearing the nationalization of the industry, demonstrated in the streets against these measures under the aegis of an artists' coalition, Free the Artist Movement, started by director Lino Brocka (1939–1991).

A NEW WAVE

In 1982, the government's censoring agency was strengthened again, arbitrarily accusing films it believed were not in line with Imelda Marcos's "true, good, and beautiful" campaign of being subversive. Among these films was *Bagong Boy Condenado* (*New Boy Condenado*) because of its depiction of a girl being raped by a man in uniform and scenes portraying Philippine poverty. Because they dealt with slums, poverty, and other less-than-beautiful aspects of the "New Society," Brocka's films suffered from government scissors and proclamations. His *Bayan ko: Kapit sa patalim* (*Bayan Ko: My Own Country*, 1985) was disallowed as the Philippine entry in the Cannes Film Festival unless he cut scenes of protest rallies.

With *Maynila: Sa mga kuko ng liwanag* (*Manila in the Claws of Neon*, or *The Nail of Brightness*, 1975), Brocka forged a new direction in Philippine cinema, one that treated film as art, not *bakya*: the film introduced a new trend toward realism and social consciousness, experimented with directorial and acting techniques, and developed new talent. In this fold were Brocka, Ishmael Bernal (1938–1996), Behn Cervantes, Eddie Romero (b. 1924), Mike De Leon (b. 1947), and others who tackled issues such as labor exploitation, marginal people in Manila, poverty, national identity, and the unwanted US military bases in the Philippines.

The "new wave" of aesthetically and politically attuned films did not last, dissipated by the regression of film to formulaic, escapist melodrama, action, and *bomba* types, and the untimely deaths of Brocka and Bernal in the early 1990s. Although the government of Corazon Aquino (1986–1992) dismantled some of the repressive Marcos film infrastructure and legislation, it did little to encourage artful filmmaking or to halt the slide to *bakya*-oriented movies.

Throughout the 1980s, the Philippines ranked among the top ten film-producing countries of the world, although the number of features continued to drop. The industry was beset with problems, some brought on by the monopolization of nearly all aspects of production, distribution, and exhibition by three film studios—Regal, Seiko, and Viva. Major stars were signed to large, exclusive contracts by the big studios, depleting movie budgets and forcing smaller producers out of existence. Filmmaking was increasingly tainted by what scriptwriter Clodualdo Del Mundo Jr. termed the "stench of commercialism."

CONTEMPORARY FILM

The stress on commercialization and monopolization has had debilitating effects on the profession. There are too few trained actors and actresses, and stories are based on "hot" stars, especially those willing to undress. Less expensive, quicker, and easier to produce, sex films thrive, making up well over half of a year's total production and taking on their own persona—typed as FF ("fighting fish"), *penekula* (derived from "penetration"), ST ("sex trip," featuring young actresses having sex at socially appropriate times), and TT ("titillating," with split-second frontal nudity), and featuring actresses who are named after soft drinks or hard liquor, such as Pepsi Paloma, Vodka Zobel.

There have been breakaways from these genres, particularly the works of Marilou Diaz-Abaya (b. 1955), such as *José Rizal* (1998), on the life and death of the national hero; *Muro-ami* (*Reef Hunters*, 1999), on child labor in the fishing industry; and *Bagong buwan* (*New Moon*, 2001), about personal loss in war-torn Mindanao. Starting in the late 1990s and continuing into the present, a new generation of filmmakers has come into prominence. Among its members are Chito S. Roño, who made three thrillers in 1995 alone and later did *Bata, Bata . . . Paano ka ginawa* (*Child . . . How Were You Made?*, or *Lea's Story*, 1998); Joel Lamangan, whose most successful work was *The Flor Contemplación Story* (1995), based on the true story of an overseas worker who killed her Singapore boss; and José Javier Reyes, a prolific filmmaker who wrote and directed twenty-one movies between 1991 and 1996. Also encouraging is the increasing number of independent directors of films and videos who are working either on the periphery or outside the mainstream. These include Raymond Red (b. 1965), who made two historical films, *Bayani* (*Heroes*, 1992) and *Sakay* (1993), and Nick Deocampo (b. 1959), who finished *Mother Ignacia, ang uliran* (*Mother Ignacia, the Ideal*) in 1998. These and other nonmainstream directors have experimented with format, technique, and content, and, increasingly, they hail from areas outside Manila, such as the Visayas or Iloilo.

After the 1997–98 economic debacle, film had a short-lived rebirth. In 1999, the Philippines was the fourth largest film producer in the world, but the number of productions has dwindled precipitously—to eighty-nine in 2001, and fewer since then. A number of factors—some old, some new—account for the slump, including the expensive star system, prohibitive taxation (at least seventeen different taxes that take as much as 30 to 42 percent of earnings), the lack of a quota on imported foreign films, rampant film piracy enhanced by technology, and censorship. Both *Toro* (*Live Show*, 2001) and *Sutka* (*Silk*, 2000) were censored, and, at times, President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo (served beginning 2001) directly intervenes in the filmmaking process. Escalating production costs, especially in the face of the tenuous national economy, continuing government turmoil, and decreasing cineplex audiences have forced some major studios to cut back production schedules. The industry has also faced stiff competition from cable television, video, DVDs, and VCDs.

These are critical times for Filipino film, but they are not necessarily fatal. With the increased worldwide interest in Asian cinema (particularly from China, Hong Kong, India, South Korea, and Taiwan)—and the global tendency of film to reinvent itself through universally appealing content, lavish multifunction theaters, clever capitalization schemes, digital technology, and tie-ins with other media and visual forms—some hope can be held out for film from the Philippines.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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POLAND

As a result of successive partitions of the country by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, Poland had not been as an independent entity for well over one hundred years until 1919, shortly after World War I. The foreign domination of a fiercely nationalistic people—essentially renewed with the German occupation of 1939–1945 and continued by Soviet control of 1945–1989—has strongly influenced the country's cinema even up to the present day and has led to a filmic production heavily dependent on political and historical themes. This nationalistic impulse has been strengthened by subject matter drawn from Poland's rich literary tradition and the fiction and drama of Henryk Sienkiewicz, Stefan Żeromski, Bolesław Prus, Władysław Reymont, Stanisław Wyspiański, and Adam Mickiewicz who have provided an endless source of material. As with other countries of the former Soviet bloc, however, the renewed independence of the post-1989 period has produced almost as many problems in Poland as it has solved, and the disappearance of a state-subsidized (and controlled) system of filmmaking has led to a kind of free-market anarchy that has little respect for either politically-oriented themes or, indeed, for art.

Although Poland has never suffered the mass exodus or silencing of its finest talents as, for example, Czechoslovakia did after 1968, many important directors have chosen to work, either permanently or occasionally abroad but not always for political reasons. Since the 1970s, major figures such as Roman Polański (b. 1933), Jerzy Skolimowski (b. 1938), and Walerian Borowczyk (1923–2006) have created much of their finest work outside Poland. The country's best-known filmmaker, Andrzej Wajda (b. 1926), has made several co-productions in other European countries, as has Krzysztof Zanussi (b. 1939), while Krzysztof Kieślowski's (1941–1996) most famous films were made in France. With a few exceptions, such as Pola Negri (1894–1987), Poland has produced few internationally acclaimed film stars, though Zbigniew Cybulski (1927–1967) achieved widespread recognition during his brief lifetime, and such fine actors as Daniel Olbrychski (b. 1945), Bogusław Linda (b. 1952), Maja Komorowska (b. 1937), and Krystyna Janda (b. 1952) have worked frequently in other European countries.

THE SILENT ERA AND THE 1930s

Polish audiences were exposed to the films of Thomas Edison and the Lumière brothers in 1895 and 1896 before domestic production began a few years later. Early Polish films took the form of newsreels or similar factual material, such as the medical subjects and short documentaries of Polish life produced by Bolesław Matuszewski, who also wrote theoretical articles on the new medium and proposed the establishment of a film archive as early as 1898. The first short narrative film, *Powrót Birbanta* (*The Return of a Merry Fellow*, 1902), was directed by Kazimierz Prószyński (1875–1945), an important pioneer of film technology. This was followed in 1908 by the first short feature, *Antoś pierwszy raz w Warszawie* (*Anthoś for the First Time in Warsaw*), and a spate of literary adaptations, comedies, and melodramas, few of which have survived. During this period, the Sfinks Film Studio turned out patriotic and sensationalist works and several Yiddish films, and the anti-Russian epic *Kościuszko pod Racławicami* appeared in 1913. The leading director of the time was

Aleksander Hertz (1879–1928), and production flourished particularly—and surprisingly—during the war years of 1914–1918. Pola Negri (originally Barbara Apolonia Chałupiec) made eight popular erotic melodramas before leaving in 1917 for Germany and then Hollywood. Another leading female star of the period, Jadwiga Smosarska (1898–1971), specialized in roles that portrayed suffering and sacrificial womanhood, such as in *Trędowata* (*The Leper*, 1926).

The immediate postwar period and the 1920s saw increasing American, French, and German domination of production and distribution. Homegrown films focused on patriotic, anti-German, and anti-Russian themes along with literary adaptations. Józef Piłsudski's coup d'état in 1926 had little effect on film production, but few films of lasting merit were produced. *Wampiry Warszawy* (*The Vampires of Warsaw*, Wiktor Biegański, 1925) was popular and *Huragan* (*Hurricane*), directed by Józef Lejtes (1901–1983) in 1928, proved to be the country's first international success. In 1924, the literary critic Karol Irzykowski published *Dziesiąta Muza* (*The Tenth Muse*), and although it was an early major theoretical work on film aesthetics, Polish filmmaking continued to rely largely on well-worn farcical, melodramatic, patriotic, and sensationalistic themes. Production fluctuated between a low of ten features in 1931 to a high of twenty-seven in 1937.

The conversion to sound came slowly, with the first Polish talkie, *Moralność Pani Dulskiej* (*The Morality of Mrs. Dulska*), appearing only in 1930, and initially resulted largely in highly theatrical works lacking any real sense of film style. Meanwhile, from 1929 to 1930, a group of avant-garde filmmakers and theorists—including Aleksander Ford (1908–1980), Wanda Jakubowska (1907–1998), Stanisław Wohl (1912–1985), and Jerzy Toeplitz (1909–1995)—argued for a more "socially useful" type of filmmaking than what was currently typical. Although their START (Society of the Devotees of the Artistic Film) group was dissolved in 1935, it provided the basis for the revitalized Polish cinema of the post-1945 period, especially in the films of Ford and Jakubowska. Ford's second feature, *Legion Ulicy* (*The Legion of the Streets*, 1932), and his co-directed *Ludzie Wisły* (*The People of the Vistula*, 1937) attracted particular attention. Józef Lejtes and Juliusz Gardan (1901–1944) (especially with his 1938 *Halka*) became important directors, Jadwiga Smosarska remained a popular actress, and the comic actor Adolf Dymsza (1900–1975) starred in films such as *Dwanaście Krzeseł* (*Twelve Chairs*, 1933) and *Antek Policmajster* (*Police Chief Antek*, 1935). The producer Joseph Green (1900–1996) brought about a revival of Yiddish cinema with such films as *Yidl mitn Fidl* (*Yiddle with His Fiddle*, 1936) and *Dybuk* (*The Dybbuk*, 1937).

On the political front, a nonaggression pact between Poland and Germany in 1934 was followed by the death of Piłsudski in 1935 and the establishment of a military dominated "Government of the Colonels." Then came the German invasion of 1 September 1939, followed by yet another partition as the country was divided between Germany and the Soviet Union.

FROM WORLD WAR II TO MARTIAL LAW: 1939–1980

No new Polish films were produced under the German occupation; audiences could see only German and Italian films or Polish films from the prewar period. Many major figures in the industry emigrated, either to the West or to the Soviet Union; others joined the resistance, where several were killed or imprisoned; and still others collaborated with the occupying authorities. The Warsaw Uprising of August 1944 resulted in the near-destruction of the non-Communist resistance, and the Government of National Unity that had been formed in 1945 was replaced in 1947 by one dominated by pro-Soviet Communists. The film industry was nationalized with the formation of Film Polski in November 1945 under the direction of Aleksander Ford, and the Łódź Film School (soon to become world famous) was established in 1948 with Jerzy Toeplitz as rector. The country's frontiers were readjusted, shifting its territory to the west and resulting in a more homogeneous and strongly Catholic population.

The basic infrastructure of the film industry had been destroyed during the war, many leading personnel were lost, and relatively few cinemas survived. Only thirty-eight features were made between 1947 and 1955, and, after an initial period of liberalization, ideological conformity was imposed and Socialist Realism, with its standardized plots and subject matter and distaste for experimental or unconventional techniques, became the only acceptable film style. Some films of genuine quality emerged nevertheless, such as Ford's *Ulica Graniczna* (*Border Street*, 1949), set in the Warsaw Ghetto, and *Piątka z Ulicy Barskiej* (*Five Boys from Barska Street*, 1954), which deals with juvenile delinquency. Jakubowska's partly autobiographical and strongly pro-Soviet *Ostatni Etap* (*The Last Stage*, 1948) was set in Auschwitz. Wajda's *Pokolenie* (*A Generation*, 1955) introduced a major talent, though its politics were later to be judged too "correct" and compromised.

The Poznań riots of 1956 brought about a change of government under the previously disgraced Władysław Gomułka, and a short period of relative liberalization followed characterized by the work of the so-called Polish School. The film industry was reorganized into eight "units" run by the filmmakers themselves, though

Zbigniew Cybulski (left) in Andrzej Wajda's* Ashes and Diamonds *(1958). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ultimate control of theme and style remained with the government's censors. (This system persisted, with some variations and setbacks, to the end of the Communist era.) Foreign films were imported on an increased scale, influencing younger directors in particular. The resulting creative outburst displayed diversity of style and subject matter rather than uniformity. Although political, literary, and historical themes predominated, there was also room for personal, introspective, and psychological studies, and the Black School of documentary provided criticism of bureaucracy and exposed social problems.

Wajda's *Kanał* (1957) and, especially, *Popiół i diament* (*Ashes and Diamonds*, 1958), starring the charismatic Zbigniew Cybulski, were huge international successes and established the director as both celebrating and demystifying Polish "romanticism" in flamboyant and memorable visual images. Andrzej Munk's (1921–1961) more skeptical and antiheroic *Człowiek na Torze* (*Man on the Tracks*, 1957) and *Eroica* (*Heroism*, 1958) announced a talent that may have been even finer but was cut short by the director's early death in 1961. Wojciech Has (1925–2000), with *Pożegnania* (*Farewells*, 1958); Jerzy Kawalerowicz (b. 1922), with *Pociąg* (*Night Train*, 1959) and *Matka Joanna od Aniołów* (*Mother Joan of the Angels*, 1961); and Kazimierz Kutz (b. 1929), with *Krzyż Walecznych* (*Cross of Valor*, 1959), all laid the foundations for prestigious and long-lasting careers in the industry.

Despite tightened censorship after 1960 and attacks on "subversive" Western influences, a new generation of directors attempted a more realistic, personal, and skeptical approach to the traditional themes and to explorations of Polish identity and moral dilemmas. The two leading figures here were Roman Polański, with *Nóz w Wodzie* (*Knife in the Water*, 1962), and Jerzy Skolimowski, with his semiautobiographical early films, such as *Walkower* (*Walkover*, 1965); both directors attacked the conformism and false heroics of Polish society, filtered largely through class or generational conflicts. Both were invited to work in Western Europe, initially in France. Polański then moved to Hollywood, until legal reasons brought him back to France. Skolimowski too

had worked in the United States but returned to Poland in 1967 to make the strongly critical *Ręce do Góry* (*Hands Up!*). When it was promptly banned, he continued his career in Britain and the United States, returning to Poland after the fall of Communism to produce a largely unsatisfactory new version of that film.

Literary adaptations and epic productions such as Ford's *Krzyżacy* (*Black Cross*, 1960) and Kawalerowicz's *Faraon* (*Pharoah*, 1966) flourished, though Ford, like many others, emigrated to Israel in 1968 following a series of officially sanctioned anti-Semitic campaigns. Following worker riots in Gdańsk in 1970, a change of government saw Edward Gierek replace Gomułka, and another brief period of liberalization ensued. Several highly stylized, often symbolic, films appeared, sometimes with "Aesopian" undercurrents that criticized contemporary society within an allegorical or historical framework. Some of the more notable of these are Andrzej Żuławski's (b. 1940) *Trzecia Część Nocy* (*The Third Part of the Night*, 1971), Janusz Majewski's (b. 1931) *Lokis* (*The Bear*, 1970) and *Zazdrość i Medycyna* (*Jealousy and Medicine*, 1973), Kazimierz Kutz's *Sól Ziemi Czarnej* (*Salt of the Black Earth*, 1970) and *Perła w Koronie* (*Pearls in the Crown*, 1972), Wojciech Has's *Sanatorium pod Klepsydrą* (*The Hour-Glass Sanatorium*, 1973), Edward Żebrowski's (b. 1935) *Szpital Przemienienia* (*Hospital of the Transfiguration*, 1978), Walerian Borowczyk's (1923–2006) *Dzieje Grzechu* (*Story of a Sin*, 1975), and Wojciech Marczewski's (b. 1944) *Zmory* (*Nightmares*, 1979). Marczewski's *Dreszcze* (*Shivers*, 1981) was banned, however, as was Żuławski's *Diabeł* (*The Devil*, 1972), and the latter director then left to live and work in France.

Several major figures emerged in this period: Krzysztof Zanussi demonstrated his austere style and concern with moral choices and problems in *Iluminacje* (*Illumination*, 1973) and *Bilans Kwartalny* (*The Quarterly Balance*, 1975); Krzysztof Kieślowski (1941–1996), after several controversial and sometimes banned documentaries, provided similar social criticism in his feature *Amator* (*Camera Buff*, 1979); and Felix Falk's (b. 1941) *Wodzirej* (*Top Dog*, 1978) satirized social climbing and careerism. Agnieszka Holland's (b. 1948) *Aktorzy Prowincjonalni* (*Provincial Actors*) appeared in 1979, as did Filip Bajon's (b. 1947) *Aria dla Atlety* (*Aria for an Athlete*). The groundbreaking films of the period, however, were Wajda's *Człowiek z Marmuru* (*Man of Marble*, 1977) and *Człowiek z Żelaza* (*Man of Iron*, 1981), whose strong political themes both reflected and contributed to another bout of worker unrest and led to the formation first of KOR (Committee to Defend the Workers) and then of Solidarity in 1980.

"THE CINEMA OF MORAL CONCERN" AND THE FALL OF COMMUNISM: 1980–1989

Increased social unrest following the deposition of Gierek in September 1980 led to the imposition of martial law under General Wojciech Jaruzelski in October 1981 and the subsequent arrest of Solidarity leaders, including Lech Wałęsa. The country's grave economic problems, including food shortages, remained unresolved. Enthusiasm for the election of Archbishop Karol Wojtyła as pope in 1978 followed by his visits to his native country in 1979 and 1983 also helped to undermine the legitimacy of the secular authorities. Several controversial films were banned—most notoriously Ryszard Bugajski's (b. 1943) *Przesłuchanie* (*Interrogation*, 1982), which attacked the police-state mentality that seemed to be returning to the country—and screenings of films from the West declined sharply. Meanwhile, television and video, together with overtly commercial films such as *Sexmisja* (*Sexmission*, Juliusz Machulski, 1984), were beginning to drain audiences from serious attempts to understand the country's problems. Nevertheless, Zanussi, Holland, and Kieslowski continued to act as the country's moral conscience in films that examined themes of conformism, corruption, cynicism, and cronyism. Zanussi and Holland, along with Wajda, made important co-productions in France and Germany (Zanussi's *Rok Spokojnego Slonca* [*The Year of the Quiet Sun*, 1984], Holland and Wajda's *Danton* [1982] and *Eine Liebe in Deutschland* [*A Love in Germany*, 1983]). Zanussi also had a brief and unhappy experience working in the United States. Kieślowski emerged as an internationally acclaimed figure with his masterly *Dekalog* (*Decalogue*, 1988), originally made as ten hour-long films for television, though they were subsequently released for cinema screenings as well. Taken together, these emerged as a comprehensive study of contemporary Polish society, examined with acute psychological insight into moral flaws and weaknesses, and also occasional triumphs.

By 1989, the failure of both the Communist experiment and martial law itself had become too obvious to ignore any longer; free elections in 1989 swept Jaruzelski from power, replacing him with a government under the control of Solidarity. The film industry, which had begun its own reorganization in 1987 with a new film law, was now removed from state control completely, forcing filmmakers to receive only minimal state subsidies and to rely increasingly on private financing and commercial success for survival. Previously banned, or "shelved," films such as Bugajski's *Interrogation*, Jerzy Domaradzki's (b. 1943) *Wielki Bieg* (*The Big Race*, 1981), and Holland's *Kobieta Samotna* (*A Woman Alone*, 1981)—controversial, courageous depictions of the events and conditions prevailing in Communist

ANDRZEJ WAJDA
b. Suwałki, Poland, 6 March 1926

Andrzej Wajda remains first among equals in a remarkable pantheon of Polish directors working since World War II, contributing more than any other director to Polish national cinema. Director of more than forty-five films and forty theater productions in Poland and worldwide, he received an Oscar® for lifetime achievement in 2000, characteristically and modestly accepting it as a tribute to all of Polish cinema.

Wajda's early career was deeply affected by his experience of the Polish Holocaust as it affected both Poles and Polish Jews during is youth. He studied painting at Kraków's Academy of Fine Art until 1949 and then joined the Łódź Film School, graduating in 1953. Wajda became assistant to Aleksander Ford on *Piątka z Ulicy Barskiej* (*Five Boys from Barska Street*, 1954), made during the dying phase of Socialist Realism. In 1955, he directed the first part of his famous war trilogy, *Pokolenie* (*A Generation*), followed by *Kanal* (1957) and his early masterpiece, *Popiół i diament* (*Ashes and Diamonds*, 1958).

Until 1989, Wajda had to negotiate the propagandistic demands of the state censorship and funding system even as his Polish audience looked to him for information about its latest imprisonment, having lost its independence for many of the previous two hundred years. He accomplished this through a stylistic hybridity that at the time was seen by some as eclectic and baroque. For instance, in the film *Lotna* (1959), aesthetics overshadowed the film's meaning. This honest film about the brutality of the first day of World War II in Poland turned into a stunning portrayal of Polish cavalry attacking German tanks.

His next great period began with *Wszystko na sprzedaż* (*Everything for Sale*) in 1969, a requiem for his work with iconic actor Zbigniew Cybulski and a reflexive meditation on film. *Krajobraz po bitwie* (*Landscape After the Battle*) in 1970 continued his career-long attempt to grapple with Holocaust representation. His adaptation of Stanisław Wyspianski's *Wesele* (*The Wedding*) in 1973 continued his engagement with the Polish literary canon. This period concluded with the diptych of *Człowiek z marmuru* (*Man of Marble*) in 1977 and *Człowiek z żelaza* (*Man of Iron*) in 1981. Both films described the corruption of the Socialist system and the rise to power of the political opposition in Poland.

After the revolution of 1989, Wajda became a senator until 1991, confirming his place at the interface of politics and culture in Poland. In 1990, he made *Korczak*, one of his finest but perhaps most controversial films. Further work includes his elegiac reading of the national epic poem *Pan Tadeusz* by Adam Mickiewicz (1999) and another adaptation of a Polish classic, *Zemsta* (*Revenge*, 2002), a comedy starring Roman Polański.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Pokolenie (*A Generation*, 1955), *Kanal* (1957), *Popiół i diament* (*Ashes and Diamonds*, 1958), *Wszystko na sprzedaż* (*Everything for Sale*, 1969), *Brzezina* (*The Birchwood*, 1970), *Ziemia obiecana* (*Promised Land*, 1975), *Człowiek z marmuru* (*Man of Marble*, 1977), *Panny z Wilka* (*The Young Ladies of Wilko*, 1979), *Człowiek z żelaza* (*Man of Iron*, 1981), *Danton* (1983)

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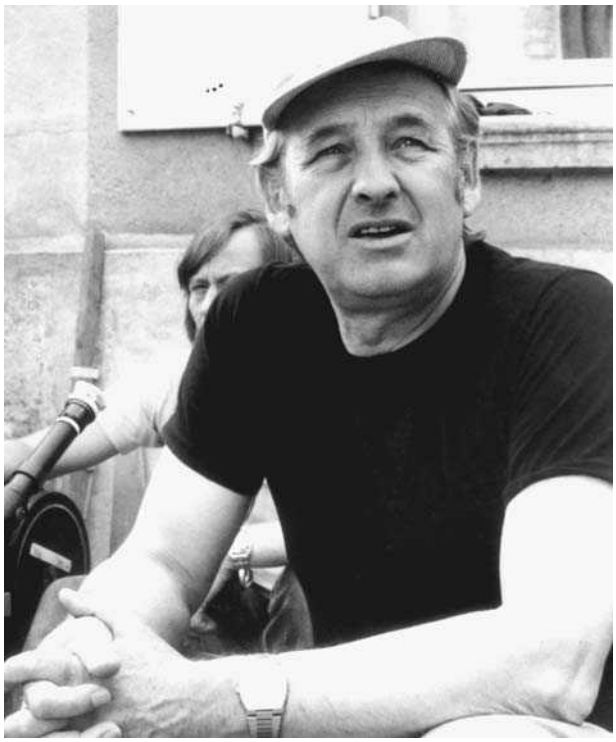
Janina Falkowska

Poland—were released, and Poland witnessed the formation of many independent studios in place of the old film units. Some of the most important studios at the time were Filip Bajon's Dom, Jerzy Kawalerowicz's Kadr, Tadeusz Chmielewski's Oko, Janusz Morgenstern's Perspektywa, Bohdan Porębа's Profil, Krzysztof Zanussi's Tor, Janusz Machulski's Zebra, Jerzy Hoffman's Zodiak, and the Karol Irzykowski Film Studio. As in other countries of the former Soviet bloc, however, audiences seemed to have opted for escapism and sensationalism rather than intellectual and political challenges, and the results of these changes have been, at best, mixed.



Andrzej Wajda on the set of* Danton *(1982). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

FILM IN POLAND AFTER 1989

Several major directions of the New Polish Cinema of this era can be observed: mafia films, primarily in the early 1990s; films about the nation's recent past; comedies; and personal films and documentaries. The so-called mafia films were aimed at creating an alternative to American cinema while the other types employed entirely new, nonconventional approaches and themes in their presentation of the altered social and political realities of Poland. Moreover, these films moved away from strictly national themes (such as those characteristic of Wajda and Kutz, for instance), seeking a more universal appeal.

The early 1990s were characterized by the emergence of many important films dealing with the recent past. Robert Gliński (b. 1952), for instance, produced an award-winning film about Polish citizens deported by Stalin to Kazakstan, *Wszystko co Najważniejsze* (*All That Really Matters*, 1992); other lauded films that honored Poland's recent past are *Przypadek Pekosińskiego* (*The Case of Pekosiński*, Grzegorz Królikiewicz, 1993), *Pokuszenie* (*Temptation*, Barbara Sass, 1995), and Kazimierz Kutz's *Płulkownik Kwiatkowski* (*Colonel Kwiatkowski*, 1995). Other important films of the 1990s are *Dług* (*The Debt*, Krzysztof Krauze, 1999) and *Poniedziałek* (*Monday*, Witold Adamek, 1998), as well as two other films by Kutz: *Zawrócony* (1994) and *Śmierc jak Kromka Chleba* (*Death as a Slice of Bread*, 1994).

The recognizable comedy trend of the 1990s is represented by films such as *Kolejność Uczuć* (*Sequence of Feelings*, Radosław Piwowarski, 1993), as well as the amusingly political films *Rozmowy Kontrolowane* (*Controlled Conversations*, Sylwester Chęciński, 1991), and *Uprowadzenie Agaty* (*Hijacking of Agata*, Marek Piwowski, 1993). Finally, personal films and documentaries, many of these by women filmmakers, contribute to the complexity and wealth of themes presented in the 1990s. The honest, engaging films of Andrzej Barański (b. 1941), Jan Jakub Kolski (b. 1956), and Andrzej Kondriatuk (b. 1936), present provincial Poland in a poignant, touching manner.

Not every filmmaker, however, could find a voice in this new reality. Older masters such as Falk, Kawalerowicz, and Wajda had great difficulty finding new themes and new aesthetics that could interpret the rapidly changing reality around them, for neither their films' themes nor their aesthetics matched the expectations of young audiences. International success came chiefly to Kieślowski, whose 1990s films were co-produced with French and Swiss companies, moved away from political or social content and concentrated on larger human issues. Slow-moving and mysterious, films such as *Podwójne Życie Weroniki* (*The Double Life of Veronique*, 1991) and the *Trzy Kolory* trilogy (*Three Colors*, 1993–94), are widely admired by audiences in Europe and elsewhere and situate Kieślowski with Ingmar Bergman and Federico Fellini—among the great philosophers of cinema.

Jerzy Stuhr (b. 1947), who played major roles in the films of Kieślowski and Holland, carries on the tradition of reflexive film in *Historie Miłosne* (*Love Stories*, 1997), *Tydzień z Życia Mężczyzny* (*A Week in the Life of a Man*, 1999), and *Duże Zwierzę* (*Big Animal*, 2000). Only scarcely alluding to the social realities of Poland in the late 1990s, these films deal with the general issues of love, responsibility, ethics, and morality. Stuhr realistically presents conflicts between public and private spheres in people's lives, depicts the mentalities of both large cities and small towns, and gently advocates tolerance and forgiveness.

The years surrounding the new millennium have brought some optimism to Polish cinema. Among the most important twenty-first-century trends are new adaptations of the Polish literary canon and the return to powerful "social content" films. In the first group, Hoffman's *Ogniem i Mieczem* (*With Fire and Sword*, 1999) and Wajda's *Pan Tadeusz* (*Pan Tadeusz: The Last Foray in Lithuania*, 1999) and *Zemsta* (*The Revenge*,

2002) have proved to be the most commercially successful. In the second group, *Cześć Tereska* (*Hi, Tereska*, Gliński, 2001) and *Edi* (Piotr Trzaskalski, 2002) have shocked audiences with their bleakness. The style of the personal film, made popular in the 1990s also continues to be fashionable; for instance, Zanussi's *Życie Jako Śmiertelna Choroba Przenoszona Drogą Płciową* (*Life as a Fatal Sexually Transmitted Disease*, 2000) is widely acclaimed, having both startled and gripped spectators with its brutal honesty about people's indifference to the fate of the incurably ill.

In the twenty-first century, Polish cinema maintains its lead among its East-Central European peers. The films of promising new Polish filmmakers such as Gliński, Kolski, and Krauze continue to dominate international festivals and gain recognition and acceptance among European audiences.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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POPULISM

In the context of film studies, discussions of Populism tend to downplay the history of the People's Party of the United States, whose organizers themselves helped coin the adjective "Populist" from the Latin *populus* in seeking a less unwieldy journalistic handle. Rather, film critics emphasize a more generally majoritarian sensibility ("The Folklore of Populism," "The Fantasy of Goodwill") typically associated with the New Deal-era films of Frank Capra (1897–1991), especially the "Populist Trilogy" of *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), and *Meet John Doe* (1941).

Apart from the Capra-Populism conflation, the only sustained tradition of linking the Populist Party with film involves Victor Fleming's 1939 film version of L. Frank Baum's *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, though the argument that Dorothy's silver shoes refer allegorically to the "Free Silver" platform plank dear to mining state Populists is undercut in *The Wizard of Oz* by the shift from silver to ruby slippers. Still, it is hard to deny the New Deal resonances of the MGM Wizard's FDR-like pronouncements about the dynamics of courage in the face of soul-daunting circumstances. (By contrast, some see Baum's novel as *anti*-Populist, with the Wicked Witch of the West standing for "capital-P" Populism, an equation made plausible by the prominence of female orators among Populism's organizers and advocates.)

THE MYTH OF POPULISM

To discuss populism *as myth* usually means attending to its retrogressive "Agrarian Myth" elements. From the internationalist perspective of classical Marxism, populism is simply the agrarian myth in action—in venues as disparate as Russia, India, and Latin America—and is inherently reactionary for naturalizing "peasantness" as definitive of a "national" or "ethnic" essence. The American derivation of this small-p populism typically sees the Populist Party as a single episode of a much larger political saga pitting Hamiltonian finance capitalists against Jeffersonian yeoman farmers. Nature, in this picture, is pastoral, Edenic, so that rural hardship is chiefly attributed to conspiratorial elites—bankers, railroad executives, intellectuals—and the urban political machines they control. An obviously influential instance of this agrarian resentment is D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), where the specter of an alien political regime disempowering a native rural aristocracy leads to the birth of the Ku Klux Klan.

Two literary movements or genres are often invoked in charting the populist conflict between rural and urban interests: the "cracker-box" philosopher-humorist tradition stretching from Seba Smith (1792–1868) through Mark Twain (1835–1910) to Will Rogers (1879–1935), and the middle-brow and middle class, mostly magazine fiction of the 1920s and 1930s (Clarence Budington Kelland, Damon Runyon, Rose Wilder Lane, Joel Chandler Harris, Irvin S. Cobb). Capra's *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* combines both strains, in that Gary Cooper's Longfellow Deeds is a common-sense Yankee sage who writes greeting card verse and derives from a story by Kelland.

Scholarship since the 1990s on Will Rogers and Capra alike gives reasons for doubting the strict equation of film populism and political reaction, though Capra's *Lost Horizon* (1937) has been seen as epitomizing the agrarian desire to eschew the modern "rat race" in favor

of an orientalist "Shangri-La"-cum-"chicken ranch." Indeed, some writers have linked the geography of Capra's "Valley of the Blue Moon" Himalayan utopia to Leni Riefenstahl's proto-fascist "Mountain" films (for example, *The Blue Light* [1932]), as exhibiting the more atavistic strain of the Agrarian Myth. And there is a long list of more natively "American" films in which a near-link of populism and fascism is suggested, including Capra's *Meet John Doe* and *All the King's Men* (Robert Rossen, 1949).

THE ECONOMY OF POPULISM

To emphasize the sins of populism—its nativism, its temptation to anti-Semitism in deploring the power of the "money interests" and intellectuals—displaces to the point of denying the economic conditions that gave rise to the Populist Party. After the Civil War, increased production of grains and silver drove commodity prices down and made it increasingly difficult for tenant farmers to make loan payments. In response, self-help farmers' cooperatives advocated (among other things) government control of railroads and a graduated income tax.

Two Hollywood genres depict economic issues relevant to Populism, both associated chiefly with the American 1930s. One is the western, in which banks and railroads and land disputes—many of them historically contemporary with the rise of Populism—come under repeated scrutiny. Though scholarship of the early twenty-first century on 1930s B-westerns points to the conflation of nineteenth- and twentieth-century time cues (cow ponies, motor cars) as confirming the link between the economics of Populism and those of the "Popular Front" New Deal, the best known Populist western is John Ford's *Stagecoach* (1939), wherein a well-fed frontier banker absconds with a recently received payroll and spouts Hooverite slogans ("The government must not interfere with business") while complaining about bank examiners to his fellow passengers.

Another western often associated with Populism is *Jesse James* (Henry King, 1939); what sets Jesse on the path to outlawry is the railroad's strong-arm attempt to take over the family farm, resulting in his mother's death, which Jesse repays by sticking up the railroad, and a bank or two for good measure. Later westerns evoking the rural crises that led to the farmers' revolt of the 1880s and 1890s include *Shane* (George Stevens, 1953) and *Heaven's Gate* (Michael Cimino, 1980). A resonant instance of this tradition is *McCabe & Mrs. Miller* (Robert Altman, 1971), in which William Devane's politically ambitious lawyer invokes William Jennings Bryan, the Populist (and Democratic) Party's 1896 presidential candidate, by way of encouraging McCabe (Warren Beatty) to stand fast against Wild-West corporate thuggery ("McCabe strikes a blow for the little man").

A second strain of movie Populism linked to the 1930s involves films that treat Depression-era agricultural dilemmas directly. *Our Daily Bread* (King Vidor, 1934) literally depicts an agricultural cooperative, as a city couple organizes other down-and-outs to help work the land they are (effectively) tenanting. *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* features a whole army of dispossessed farmers, who see Longfellow's homestead giveaway scheme as their last chance. The "Kansas" portions of *The Wizard of Oz* evoke Depression-era agricultural anxieties. Ford's *Tobacco Road* (1941) depicts an almost surreal clan of Georgia farmers who are saved from eviction when the cash-strapped landlord himself pays the banker to let them stay for one more crop. *The Southerner* (Jean Renoir, 1945) similarly delineates the plight of field hands who turn to tenant farming to improve their lot.

Pride of place in this tradition obviously goes to Ford's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), one of Hollywood's most radical examinations of the kind of agricultural tragedy—narratively the result of "dust bowl" weather but visually the fault of a bank and its Eisensteinian bulldozer—that drove farmers in the 1880s and 1890s to organize. The tradition continues in later films—*Bonnie and Clyde* (Arthur Penn, 1967) and *Thieves Like Us* (Robert Altman, 1974)—where Depression-era outlawry is sympathetically linked to economic hardship and dispossession. And the agricultural iconography on view in *Our Daily Bread* is repeated in "Farm Crisis" movies of the 1980s, *Country* (Richard Pearce, 1984), *The River* (Mark Rydell, 1984), and *Places in the Heart* (Robert Benton, 1984), the last of which is also set in the 1930s.

CAPRA AND POPULISM

The equation of Capra and Populism is perennial but distorting. The most direct link involves *Meet John Doe*, where the montage of the growth of the John Doe clubs emphasizes—via maps and musical cues—the South and the Midwest, regions where Populism was most influential, thus lending chilling credibility to the "iron hand" third party presidential ambitions of media tycoon D. B. Norton (Edward Arnold). In view of Norton's ersatz Populism, it should be remembered that the "pastoral" is itself an urban genre or fantasy. Deeds finds his farmers in New York City, after all, and it is only in Washington, D.C. that Jefferson Smith finds his mature populist voice.

That aside, Capra's "populism" has less to do with the Populist Party than with the "American Dream" version of the Agrarian Myth and its anxious, highly-charged belief in the benevolence of Nature and of human nature. To the extent that "Capraesque" and "populist" are synonymous post-Capra, the Capra legacy

involves a volatile combination of cosmic benevolence and go-for-broke political idealism.

The political strain is evident in the "neo-Capra" movies of the Clinton era—*Hero* (Stephen Frears, 1992), *The Distinguished Gentleman* (Jonathan Lynn, 1992), *Dave* (Ivan Reitman, 1993), *The Hudsucker Proxy* (Joel and Ethan Coen, 1994), *The American President* (Rob Reiner, 1995), and *Bulworth* (Warren Beatty, 1998)—which self-consciously appropriate narrative situations and democratic iconography from Capra's "Populist Trilogy," though rarely with as great a sense of consequence as Capra and his writers (chiefly Robert Riskin [1897–1955]) derived from their circumstances.

The "cosmic benevolence" feature, obviously, derives from the guardian angel framework of *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946). Though Capra's was not the first 1940s film to employ an angelic guardian or mentor—*Here Comes Mr. Jordon* (Alexander Hall, 1941) and *A Guy Named Joe* (Victor Fleming, 1943) come to mind, each of which was eventually remade, the former by Warren Beatty and Buck Henry as *Heaven Can Wait* (1978), the latter by Steven Spielberg as *Always* (1989)—it is probable that the "fantasy of goodwill" phrase stuck to Capra because only heavenly intervention could save James Stewart's George Bailey from himself and also because such narrational sleight-of-hand, for which *Wonderful Life*'s "heavenly projection room" conceit is so wonderfully apt, emphatically confirms the sense in which all of Capra's political morality fables require breathlessly miraculous conversions to arrive at their variously problematic conclusions.

The subjunctive mode of *It's a Wonderful Life*, in which a given life is depicted as being haunted or redeemed by an alternative existence, is also basic to Capra's political fables—in each his populist hero is effectively kidnapped from his ordinary life into some other one—and the dreamlike aura, always on the edge between nightmare and wish fulfillment, rarely dissipates. Hence the frequency with which "time travel" fables like *Peggy Sue Got Married* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1986) or *Field of Dreams* (Phil Alden Robinson, 1989) are described as "Capraesque," and the appellation can as readily be applied to "ghost stories" like *Ghost* (Jerry Zucker, 1990) or *The Sixth Sense* (M. Night Shyamalan, 1999), or to sci-fi films like *Back to the Future* (Robert Zemeckis, 1985) or *Contact* (Robert Zemeckis, 1997), or to *The Majestic* (Frank Darabont, 2001), where cinema is depicted as a source of individual and communal, even political, renewal after a period of personal and cultural amnesia.

It has been claimed that cinema's photographic capacity to "naturalize" fantasy marks the medium itself as "populist" in the regressive sense. It is equally as true that cinema's capacity to haunt our present life with a picture of another world that seems uncannily like our own yet just beyond reach marks it as "populist" in the best sense, as appealing to the better angels of our nature. An American Dream, indeed.

SEE ALSO *Great Depression*

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PORNOGRAPHY

Pornography is a genre that involves the representation of sexually explicit scenarios and is created for the purpose of bodily arousal. The genre employs a particular set of conventions to distinguish "soft-core" from "hard-core" porn. The history of moving-image pornography can be traced from the earliest moments of filmmaking, including single-reel exhibitionist films common to primitive silent cinema. Over time, pornography moved from being exhibited in men's clubs (as stag films) to developing more elaborate narratives that were subsequently shown in grindhouse, sexploitation, and X-rated theaters across the United States. During the late 1970s, the US adult film industry was one of the first areas to take advantage of new videotape technology, and the consumption of sexually explicit materials moved from theatrical exhibition to the home. Since the onset of both digital video disc (DVD) production and Internet services, the production and distribution of pornographic film and video in the United States has grown into a multibillion dollar industry.

The history of moving-image pornography also includes an understanding of the legal parameters that tend to determine the representation, production, and distribution of the genre. The changing definition of obscenity plays an important role in delineating soft-core and hard-core pornography, and evolving cultural attitudes toward porn are connected to trajectories in the women's movement and gay and lesbian activism. In the twenty-first century, almost any sexual practice and/or fetish can be found represented in some niche of the soft-core and hard-core pornographic industry.

BRIEF HISTORY

Before the development of motion picture technology, photographic pornography was available all over the world through the distribution of nude photographs. In the late nineteenth century, Eadweard Muybridge's (1830–1904) motion studies, in the form of a series of stop-motion photographs accompanied by a lecture, were some of the first experiments in pornographic representations—although these motion studies were distinctly soft core as they simulated sexual relations and showed no close-ups or penetration. Images such as two nude women posed together, either smoking a cigarette or being doused in a tub of water, differed markedly from the same motion studies of naked or near-naked men, posed alone either running or jumping. Any titillation occurring from these representations was safely contained by the contextualizing discourses of science and technology.

Mainstream cinematic representations, such as Edison's *The Kiss* (1896), were chaste, but more explicit pornographic films (known as stag films) were also made in the primitive era of filmmaking (1896–1911). These films comprised a single reel (approximately 15 minutes), were silent, black and white, and contained very little narrative structure. These primitive films were more interested in technologically representing authentic bodily movements than creating coherent stories; primitive films were thus termed exhibitionist in the way that they displayed images for consumption and represented documented bodies in motion.

Even after mainstream filmmaking moved out of the primitive era, pornographic films still maintained these primitive attributes. One of the earliest extant American

stag films, *A Free Ride* (dated by the Kinsey Institute as from 1917 to 1919), employs an introductory setup of a man and two women driving in the country. As they take turns relieving themselves in the woods, the crude editing and title cards indicate that the women become turned on watching the man, and the man is aroused by subsequently watching them. These scenes are followed by various close-ups of fellatio, male ejaculation, and a woman being penetrated during intercourse while lying down and standing, all shown in a disjointed manner divorced from narrative structure and narrative modes of identification. Extreme close-ups of genitalia, filmed in an almost clinical manner, are referred to as "meat shots." Through numerous close-ups these films tend to employ a type of theatrical frontality, in which the spectator is often directly addressed by the bodies on camera—a presentation with some historic connections to striptease.

Stag films were primarily (and illegally) exhibited in European brothels and exclusively male clubs in the United States (though sometimes female guests were invited) at gatherings known as smokers. While the reasons behind these group screenings were social and sexual, future exhibition of primitive or stag films became much more solitary. Later stag films or loops, shot largely in color, could be found in adult arcades, where coins would be repeatedly fed into a slot so that the disjointed spectacle could continue as the spectator watched the footage in a private booth. As pornographic films grew to feature length, their narratives became more coherent and sophisticated, supplanting stag films as the standard for explicit sexual representations.

Until 1957, in the United States the distribution of pornography was under state control. American law has differentiated obscenity, which is disgusting or morally unhealthy material, from pornography, which is a representation of sexuality, and there have been problems with the inconsistencies of definition. The First Amendment was generally understood to protect all forms of speech with any social value, while communities could impose some regulation on materials they deemed harmful. Most states in turn allowed communities to maintain tight controls on pornography, while the US Post Office, as mandated by the notorious Comstock Act of 1873, which made it illegal to mail any "obscene, lewd, or lascivious material," regularly searched the mails for offensive material, which had been defined to include information on contraception. This policing of the mails began to wane around 1915, which was a high point in the stag film's popularity.

The first pornography case heard by the US Supreme Court was *Roth v. United States* (1957). In upholding the government's powers, Justice William Brennan defined pornography as "material which deals with sex in a manner appealing to prurient interest." At this time, the term "hard core" entered legal discourse. Brennan also defined pornography as exciting "lustful thoughts" or "a shameful and morbid interest in sex" which could be determined by "community standards." Pornography was considered unprotected speech as it was "without redeeming social importance." Roth proved minimally useful as community standards were difficult to establish and prurient interests were hard to determine. The Court subsequently tried to clarify its standard in *A Book Named "John Cleland's Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure" v. the Attorney General of Massachusetts* (1966), claiming that obscenity had to be "*utterly* without redeeming social value"; but again, this "social value" was difficult to determine. Consequently, the Court began overturning obscenity prosecutions unless the material was sold to minors or advertised in a way that emphasized its sexual nature (*Redrup v. New York*, 1967). Simultaneously, discourses on sexuality were becoming more prevalent and commonplace, as Alfred Kinsey's work at the Kinsey Institute in the late 1950s and Masters and Johnson's research in the late 1960s attest. These cultural changes, combined with a new obscenity standard, led to the easier availability of increasingly explicit sexual materials and fed the campaign against the Warren Court and activist judges.

These obscenity decisions played a role in Richard Nixon's successful presidential election campaign (which was invested in attacking the Supreme Court). However, even Nixon's interest in returning to tradition was subverted by the changing nature of motion picture pornography, as the form moved from stag reels, largely consumed by men, to publicly screened feature films attended by men and women, of which Gerard Damiano's *Deep Throat* (1972) was the most notorious example. Nevertheless, the widespread popularity of these films in theatrical venues was short-lived, as a more conservative Supreme Court attempted and partially succeeded in turning back obscenity laws. In *Miller v. California* (1973) and its companion case, *Paris Adult Theatre I v. Slaton*, 413 US 49 (1973), Justice Warren Berger redefined obscenity by weighing the pornographic materials' social value against its offensiveness and, most importantly, brought the community standards test back to a local (rather than a national) level. State and local governments' power to control sexually oriented materials increased, as the state could act "to protect the weak, the uninformed, the unsuspecting, and the gullible" from their own desires. Still, the ways in which pornographic and obscene materials were perceived and illegalities were prosecuted varied from community to community, and state to state. At the same time, the increased presence of sexuality in public discourse made it difficult to align

Protestors outside a theater playing* Deep Throat *(Gerard Damiano, 1972). © UNIVERSAL/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

sexually explicit films with pornography lacking redeeming social importance.

Hard-core pornography's legitimacy followed a trajectory of sexually explicit films that historically and culturally tested the boundaries of what was allowed. The late 1950s and early 1960s were seen as the heyday of the sexploitation film—soft-core pornographic films that contained copious nudity. These cheaply made American films were known for their spectacular representations of sex (and sometimes violence). One of the earliest "nudie cuties" was Russ Meyer's (1922–2004) *The Immoral Mr. Teas* (1959), which featured a delivery man who, after visiting a dentist, develops X-ray (or X-rated) vision, enabling him to see fully dressed women in the nude. Radley Metzger's (b. 1929) distribution company, Audubon Films, also offered risqué exploitation films, but his foreign pictures, such as Danish filmmaker Mac Ahlberg's *Jag—en kvinna* (*I, a Woman*, 1965), maintained higher production values and a more elite reputation.

In the mid- to late 1960s, the "beaver film" became popular. These films were similar to the illegal stag film in that they consisted of short loops where women stripped and then displayed extreme close-ups of their naked pubis. Beaver films were mostly shown in peep-show arcades and sold through private mail order. "Action" beaver films either showed a woman fondling herself, or another woman touching a woman's genitals and performing cunnilingus; nevertheless, these films did not show hard-core "action," defined as penetration by penis, finger, or tongue. Another form of sexually explicit film of the period was the educational sex documentary. For example *Dansk sexualitet* (*Sexual Freedom in Denmark*, 1969), which ostensibly documented Denmark's burgeoning (and legal) pornography industry, was shown in exploitation and grindhouse theaters. Audiences who went to see these films could watch hard-core pornographic action—including erect penises and penetration—under the guise of gaining knowledge.

With the influx of hard-core film representations in the early 1970s, the feature-length, hard-core pornographic film became prevalent, heralding the rise of "porno chic." *Deep Throat* opened in the summer of 1972 and played at the New Mature World Theater in

Times Square, a typical exploitation theater. Starring Linda Lovelace as Linda, and Harry Reems as her sexologist doctor, the film tells the story of a woman unable to reach sexual fulfillment (that is, orgasm) through sexual intercourse. In the course of her examination, she is found to have her clitoris in her throat and can only climax through the process of "deep throating," where the throat is opened in order to envelop the penis during fellatio. *Deep Throat* stands out as one of the first films that intertwines a cohesive narrative with hard-core sex scenes; critics reviewed the film (often negatively) in the mainstream press, and the film was shown in theatrical venues for audiences of both men and women. The film's success encouraged other notable releases in 1972, ostensibly known as the "golden age of porn": The Mitchell Brothers's *Behind the Green Door*, starring Marilyn Chambers (a former Ivory soap model), and Damiano's *The Devil in Miss Jones*, with Georgina Spelvin and Harry Reems were the most well known.

HETEROSEXUAL HARD-CORE CONVENTIONS

While the stag film and various striptease loops of the primitive era and beyond had already introduced the "meat shot," or extreme close-up of female genitals, it was not until *Deep Throat* that the ubiquitous "money shot" became a staple of hard-core film. Speaking to the documentary truth of the sex act, the visible ejaculation of the male performer allows the truth of male sexual pleasure to become visible. Notably, *Behind the Green Door* contains an extensive, slow motion ejaculation scene, enhanced by psychedelic colors and special effects. The necessity for these penis close-ups is facilitated by numerous scenes of heterosexually-oriented fellatio and scenes of penetrating intercourse where the penis is withdrawn prior to orgasm and then ejaculates onto the female partner—on her breasts, her buttocks, or her face (known as a facial).

Since female porn performers do not have the same visible evidence of orgasm as men, hard-core films make up for this lack by enhanced, nonsynchronous post-dubbed soundtracks where women aurally reveal their pleasure through a series of moans and cries of encouragement; these sound effects also verify the realism of the image shown onscreen. Furthermore, the camera's focus, when not intent on meat or money shots, often stays on the ecstatic reactions of the woman's face as another indicator of sexual pleasure and desire. Thus, for much of the golden age, porn films rarely needed to employ classically "handsome" male actors. The ability to remain erect (or maintain "wood") throughout a scene and ejaculate on command in front of cameras was a challenge that limited the pool of male porn performers. One of the most famous was John Holmes (also known as Johnny Wadd), a performer well known for his exceptional penis size (estimated to be between ten and fourteen inches); he starred in such films as *Johnny Wadd* (1971), *The Life and Times of the Happy Hooker* (1974), and *All Night Long* (1976). Before dying of AIDS in 1988, Holmes had starred in more than 220 pornographic films.

Classic feature-length, hard-core porn films (from the 1970s and early 1980s) have been compared to Hollywood musicals, both in terms of how they alternate scenes of narrative with moments of spectacle and in terms of how their narratives create utopias. Some of the more typical scenarios common to the heterosexual hard-core theatrical film are masturbation scenes, straight sex (male-to-female with penetration through intercourse), lesbianism, oral sex (either cunnilingus or fellatio), ménage à trois (threesomes), orgies, and anal sex. While most of these particular sexual numbers are inserted into typical heterosexual hard-core films, the films with elaborate narratives usually culminate in a final sex scene that displays ultimate fulfillment. For example, in *The Opening of Misty Beethoven* (1976) when Dr. Seymour Love (Jamie Gillis) finds Misty Beethoven (Constance Money) giving hand jobs in a Paris porn theater, his enthusiasm to transform her, Pygmalion-style, into a sophisticated sexual performer motivates a series of training sessions and tests, as Misty becomes increasingly skilled. Over the course of the film, Misty and Seymour develop feelings for each other, and the film culminates in a straight sex number as their heterosexual desire for each other is fulfilled.

Golden era hard-core pornographic films were usually shot with color film, employed fairly cohesive narratives, and were shown in X-rated theatrical venues. This type of film exhibition did inhibit some of porn film's masturbatory potential, and the placement of porn theaters in unsavory or dangerous neighborhoods often hindered women from attending pornographic films. Unsurprisingly, when video technology began to take hold in the late 1970s, the adult film industry pushed for home video's increased development, thereby opening the porn market to more women and couples and creating a wider variety of niche markets aimed at the individual porn spectator—interracial, gay, lesbian, bisexual, girl-on-girl, fetish, and so on. Also, as technology became more accessible in the mid- to late 1980s, the amateur market took off as all variety of couples shot their own porn films and distributed them through amateur porn companies such as Purely Amateur, Home Maid, and Amateur Home Video of California. Additionally, the genre of Gonzo porn—where the camera operator or director takes an overt part in the action, either by talking to the actors or by being a performer himself or herself—popularized by directors such as John Stagliano (also known as Buttman) proliferated due to the accessibility of hand-held and mobile camera equipment.

RADLEY METZGER
b. New York, New York, 21 January 1929

American director, producer, writer, editor, and distributor, Radley Metzger is known for making erotic films. The majority of his work is in soft-core pornography, although he made five sophisticated, hard-core pornographic films between 1975 and 1978.

Metzger initially studied acting and during the Korean War edited propaganda films. Later he dubbed foreign films and soon worked for foreign film distributor Janus Films, where he edited trailers for Bergman, Antonioni, and Truffaut films. At Janus he met Ava Leighton, who would become his partner in distributing art house and foreign films through his own company, Audubon Films. Metzger's first film, *Dark Odyssey* (1961), was a box-office and critical failure, and afterward he focused on distributing and re-editing (for US release) a series of fluffy erotic films that combined light nudity with French sophistication. These films included Pierre Foueaud's *Mademoiselle Strip-tease* (*The Nude Set*, 1957), André Hunebelle's *Les Collégiennes* (*The Twilight Girls*, 1957), and José Antonio de la Loma's *Un Mundo para mi* (*Soft Skin on Black Silk*, 1959)—all starring French sex kitten Agnes Laurent. In 1966, Metzger purchased and re-cut his biggest box-office success, Mac Ahlberg's Danish erotic film *Jag—en kvinna* (*I, a Woman*, 1965).

Following the popularity of his re-edited imports, Metzger began making his own erotic films, beginning with *The Dirty Girls* in 1964. Still, Metzger's career as a director did not really take off until *Carmen, Baby* (1967). Based on Prosper Mérimée's 1896 novel *Carmen*, it was the first of many adaptations that Metzger used as sources for his erotic films, adding to their veneer of high culture. One of Metzger's most visually striking and controversial films, *Therese and Isabell* (1968), photographed in sumptuous black and white, tells in flashback the illicit love story of two Catholic schoolgirls. Metzger followed this film with *Camille 2000* (1969), his version of the celebrated novel by Alexandre Dumas *fils*.

While Metzger's films were often labeled sexploitation, his unique combination of art film aesthetics and spectacular art direction and costume/set design put his films on a par above grindhouse fare. Still, once pornographic films became more acceptable (and accessible) to mainstream adult moviegoers, Metzger decided to take a step towards more sexually explicit representations. His crossover film, the couple-swapping romp *Score* (1973), featured more explicit lesbian and bisexual scenes, but it was not until *The Private Afternoons of Pamela Mann* (1975) that Metzger, under the pseudonym Henry Paris, began to make hard-core pornographic films. Nevertheless, Metzger's hard-core films were exceptionally beautiful narrative features, utterly unique to the genre, as is clear in his most famous hard-core film, *The Opening of Misty Beethoven* (1976).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Carmen, Baby (1967), *Therese and Isabell* (1968), *Camille 2000* (1969), *The Lickerish Quartet* (1970), *Score* (1973), *The Punishment of Anne* (aka *The Image*, 1976), *The Opening of Misty Beethoven* (1976)

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With the onset of home video availability, the structure and style of hard-core pornographic films began to evolve. Films no longer had to hold the attention of a group audience in the same manner, and many narratives became much more episodic, with sex scenes often only connected by a similar theme or performer. The structure of these films, combined with the home VCR, allowed home viewers to rewind, fast-forward, and pause on favorite scenes—and viewing could cease once orgasm was achieved. Hard-core porn shot on video also became much less expensive to produce, and often porn's *mise-en-scène* suffered as a result—costumes would often be dispensed with and scenes could be shot on identical and rather barren sets. Still, some filmmakers, such as Andrew Blake (*Night Trips* [1989] and *House of Dreams* [1990]) and Michael Ninn (*Sex* [1994] and *Latex* [1995]) insisted

Radley Metzger. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

on using film stock and making high-quality porn films that appealed to the couples market. More avant-garde filmmakers, including Rinse Dream (Steven Sayadian), created distinctive films utilizing experimental and art film aesthetics, as in *Nightdreams* (1982) and *Café Flesh* (1982).

Hard-core pornographic films tend to steal iconography from many familiar genres—horror, film noir, westerns, and science fiction. Yet the ''porn comedy'' is often a parody in name only, as films such as *Black Cock Down*, *Finding Nympho*, *Frosty the Blowman*, *Hairy Pooper and the Sorcerer's Bone*, *Lawrence of a Labia*, and *Ordinary Peepholes* do not retain a connection to their parodied text beyond their title. Films and videos that retain their parodic edge rely on the viewer's knowledge of the original text, such as in *Sex Trek III: The Wrath of Bob* (1995), which plays on *Star Trek: The Wrath of Khan* (1982), and *The Ozporns* (2002), which parodies the hit reality show *The Osbournes* (2002–2004).

THE MEESE COMMISSION AND THE SEX WARS—DISCOURSES ON PORNOGRAPHY

In 1970, under President Nixon, a commission on pornography had determined that pornography, unlike violence, had no measurable ill effects. Beginning in 1986, during President Reagan's last two years of office and into the first Bush administration, the Commission on Pornography, headed by Attorney General Edwin Meese, made significant strides in prosecuting and demonizing pornography. Ostensibly, new laws and an Obscenity Task Force were aimed at child pornography, but the elaborate new record-keeping requirements (combined with extensive legal fees) were intended to drive producers of sexually explicit materials out of business. Established in 1987, the National Obscenity Enforcement Unit attempted to eliminate as much sexually oriented material as possible. Frequently the unit would force plea bargains and settlements on defendants who wished to avoid prosecution; in one instance, plea negotiations with the Adam & Eve Company demanded that the company stop selling even mild soft-core porn, including marriage manuals like *The Joy of Sex* (1972). A federal circuit court ultimately ruled that the Unit did violate the company's First Amendment rights. During the late 1980s, the unit also began ''Operation Porn Sweep,'' pursuing major producers of porn videos. One of the most notorious cases that undermined the adult film industry was that of Tracy Lords, an underage actress who had been working for several years in the industry under a false name. Her illegal status rendered almost all of her work ''child pornography,'' and the films were either seized or destroyed in order to avoid prosecution. The industry lost millions of dollars and suffered extensive fees due to this case alone.

Unlike the 1970 commission, which relied upon the analysis of scientific data, the Meese Commission relied on anecdotal presentations in order to make its claims. Some of the more significant testimonies and claims were presented by such anti-pornography feminists as Andrea Dworkin, Catherine MacKinnon, and Robin Morgan. These women, initially forming in the 1970s as Women Against Violence in Pornography, were invested in the belief that all pornography was degrading to women, and that the consumption of porn by men maintained a causal relationship to the violence perpetrated on women in contemporary society. Indeed, for anti-porn feminists, violence was inherent in the heterosexual sex act, and any women who might enjoy fantasies of violence or submission were considered victims of false consciousness. During this period, Dworkin and MacKinnon drew up city ordinances, most notably for Indianapolis, that ostensibly censored pornography, openly recognizing that pornography's postures and acts were demeaning to women. (While these city ordinances were ultimately rendered unconstitutional, Canada eventually drafted laws against pornography that drew upon the Dworkin-MacKinnon model). Due to anti-porn's vocal presence, hard-core pornography did indeed evolve,

so that representations of rape and violent coercion were not allowed in films that showed penetration.

What resulted from this fusion of feminism and right-wing social moralizing was the subsequent scapegoating of unorthodox or alternative sexual practices, which were thereby rendered perverse. Thus the sexual role-playing characteristic of butch/femme relationships and sexual practices involving bondage or sado-masochism quickly came under fire. During the mid- to late 1980s, and in the midst of backlash against the women's movement, anti-porn feminists represented a popular media force, and various members (including Gloria Steinem) were held up as the definitive feminist perspective throughout the United Stattes. Unsurprisingly, this vision of white, middle class, educated feminism did not account for the diversity of women concerned with issues of sexuality. Many of these tensions became pronounced at the notorious Barnard Conference ''Towards a Politics of Sexuality'' held in New York City in 1981; the subsequent divisiveness that held sway for many years in the feminist movement became known as The Sex Wars. Opposed to anti-porn views stood anti-censorship feminists, who believed that different sexual practices were defensible and that censoring some types of pornography would create a hierarchy of these differences. While these women were not necessarily amenable to all forms of pornography, they did hold to beliefs that the censorship of sexual materials would create overwhelming limitations on sexual expression and the pursuit of sexual knowledge. Since then, with the continuous growth of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender activism and acceptance, along with what might be considered the ''pornification'' of mainstream commercial culture, anti-porn feminism has fallen out of fashion and hard-core pornography has grown increasingly acceptable.

Since the onset of the home video boom, legal porn's exhibition and consumption has been largely relegated to the private, as opposed to, the public sphere. Subsequently, DVD and streaming video technology available on the Internet has increased the accessibility of hard-core sexual representations; and with the emergence of sophisticated cellular phone technology, porn viewing will become highly mobile as well. In turn, hard-core pornography has gained new legitimacy, with porn actresses hosting special shows on the E! Entertainment Network. Mainstream films have explored the adult film industry, including *Boogie Nights* (Paul Thomas Anderson, 1997) and *Wonderland* (James Cox, 2003), and performers have become the topic of several mainstream documentaries, including *Porn Star: The Legend of Ron Jeremy* (Scott Gill, 2001) and *Inside Deep Throat* (Fenton Bailey and Randy Barbato, 2005). The dividing line between art and pornography has become increasingly blurred as foreign directors such as Catherine Breillat (b. 1948) have made dramatic films that feature hard-core penetration and employ male porn actors, such as Rocco Sifreddi (*Romance* [1999] and *Anatomy of Hell* [2004]). Even more dramatically, porn superstar Jenna Jameson released the national bestseller (co-written with Neil Strauss) entitled *How to Make Love Like a Porn Star: A Cautionary Tale* (2003).

The perception of the soft- and hard-core pornographic industries has also changed substantially in academic circles, especially after the publication of Linda Williams's groundbreaking book on the hard-core film genre, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure and the "Frenzy of the Visible"* in 1999. Williams's book, which analyzes the cultural and social debates surrounding pornography and examines the theoretical discourses that affect porn's definitions and meanings, was the first text to seriously analyze hard-core pornography as a film genre. Since its publication, academic courses devoted to analyzing sexually explicit representations have emerged across the United States, and what is known as Third Wave Feminism has come to embrace issues of sexual expression and pleasure as fundamental to feminist identity. Books on gay male porn, such as Thomas Waugh's *Hard to Imagine*, and histories of exploitation cinema, like Eric Schaeffer's *"Bold! Daring! Shocking! True!"*, have opened the door to further explorations of both soft- and hard-core pornographies by academics, students, and porn consumers alike. Still, in the twenty-first century the United States is mired in what are known as The Culture Wars, and the divisions over popular and acceptable representations of sexuality are so intractable that dissension over pornography's production, distribution, and consumption will continue to splinter cultural opinions for years to come.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Exploitation Film; Feminism; Gender; Sexuality*

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POSTMODERNISM

It is now a truism to say that the term *postmodernism* has been stretched to the breaking point. Defining postmodernism has often proved a messy task because of the sundry ways in which the term has been used in application to an astounding diversity of sociocultural phenomena. Building facades, gallery artwork, political and advertising campaigns, historical periods and sensibilities, and philosophies are referred to as indicative of postmodernism. To add to the confusion, some thinkers consider postmodernism as a symptomatic appearance or strategy found in some or many recent cultural products, while others regard our very age as intrinsically postmodern. In approaching the concept, then, it is best to look at how the term has been used and how it differs from the "modern," and which features of recent and current filmmaking, film theory, and film reception might be identified as postmodern. In brief, postmodernism may be thought of as an attitude which eschews an essential, transcendent subject, rejects teleology and historical destiny, and discredits faith in totalizing grand narratives. In art, specifically film, this postmodern attitude has been described as having precipitated (negatively or positively, respectively) either the exhaustion or the playfulness that produces intertextuality, self-referentiality, pastiche, a nostalgia for a mélange of past forms, and the blurring of boundaries between "high" and "low" culture.

THEORIZING THE POSTMODERN

Vis-à-vis film, postmodernism has not led to a particular school or method of theoretical analysis, as for example psychoanalysis, Marxism, or structuralism have. This is unsurprising: writers on the postmodern see life and society as fractured and recycled circulations no longer able to be summarized into unified theoretical frameworks. Theorists of the postmodern have much more so contributed to our understanding of film by unsettling the assumptions and certainties of earlier theories that underpinned how film has been conceptualized.

It is on these terms that Jean-François Lyotard's *The Postmodern Condition* (1984) addresses our society. Lyotard designates the postmodern as a questioning attitude to the "metanarratives" of Western thought. By "metanarratives" Lyotard means the hegemonic paradigms for human organization and behavior, such as Marxism, Christianity, science, fascism, or language. In this basic sense his work is aligned with the fundamental tenets of poststructuralist thought. Furthermore, Lyotard's definition of the postmodern suggests that he understands the modern to be the Enlightenment project of system, reason, order, and symmetry found in the philosophies of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), Voltaire (1694–1778), and John Locke (1632–1704), rather than the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century artistic modernism typified by the architecture of the Bauhaus school or classic narrative cinema. Since "postmodern" has become to some extent a negative epithet used to describe naïve, ahistorical cultural products, it is important to note the attitude theorists of the postmodern take towards their object of inquiry. Lyotard, for example, views the postmodern condition as fundamentally ambivalent. He does not suggest that we are experiencing a postmodern age that has neatly superseded the modern one; for him, the postmodern does not signify the end of modernism but rather a new thinking in relation to modernism.

Unlike Lyotard, Jean Baudrillard, another important theorist of the postmodern, sees its development as decidedly negative. He bemoans above all the way in which media images and signs have usurped real experience for the modern subject. Although Baudrillard focuses on television as the distribution nexus for these images, his critique of the circulated image does have bearing on the postmodern and cinema. Baudrillard reads twentieth-century history as the transition from a manufacturing-industrial society to an order based upon communication and the circulation of signs. Baudrillard claims that not only is our world cluttered with these images, but also, crucially, that these signs have become our reality. In this capitalist "hyperreality" of simulations, referentiality has dissolved; images no longer have any connection to what they are supposed to represent; signs are more real than reality itself. By this logic, Baudrillard claimed in 1991 that the Gulf War (1990–1991) did not take place. With night-vision images of bombings in Iraq and Kuwait, for Baudrillard the Gulf War was little more than a virtual video game consumable in bite-sized doses.

According to Fredric Jameson, postmodernism is characterized by its emphasis on fragmentation. Fragmentation of the subject replaces the alienation of the subject, modernism's calling card. Unlike Lyotard, Jameson sees postmodernism as the successive stage to the high-art modernism of the early twentieth century. Postmodernist works are often characterized by a lack of depth, which has been replaced by a surfeit of surface. Also distinctive of the late capitalist age is its focus on the recycling of old images and commodities. Using examples from cinema, Jameson catalogs key features of postmodern culture: self-referentiality, irony, pastiche, and parody (*Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, 1991). He takes to task Hollywood films which pillage film history and thereby create a flat kind of spatialized temporality. Jameson refers to this cultural recycling as *historicism*—the random cannibalization of various past styles. For example, Jameson argues that a neo-noir film such as *Chinatown* (1974) simulates the past through references to older films in a way that erases historical depth—with stylistic gestures without deeper meaning—and thus fails to recreate a "real" past. The actual organic tie of history to past events is thus lost. Many are careful to call Jameson a "theorist of the postmodern" rather than "postmodern theorist" because of the clear "metanarrative" that informs his thinking: Marxism. Adopting a stance on postmodernism, so Jameson argues, means taking a position on multinational capitalism.

POSTMODERNISM AND FILM

Before addressing the postmodern features of individual films—by far the more common approach to the postmodern in film that scholars have employed—one should take note of the postmodern nature of technology and distribution in the film industry today. In Hollywood's golden age, a typical film was shot on 35mm celluloid by one of a handful of studios. The cast and crew were under contract to that studio. When the film was finished, prints were copied and sent out to cinemas, which then projected the film for customers who paid a fixed price to see it, typically as part of a larger program. Today the situation is much different. Films are often shot on a digital format by the major studios (now subsidiaries of multinational corporations), but also by independent studios, independent filmmakers, or even amateurs (*The Blair Witch Project* [1999]). Stars are no longer bound to long-term contracts with the major studios. They, and also most of a film's cast and crew, have agents who negotiate rates per feature, not to mention publicists who try to generate press for them so as to elevate their prestige among fans and in the industry and thereby their salaries. Today studios bombard cinemas with prints according to saturation-release strategies. *Star Wars: Episode III—Revenge of the Sith* (2005) opened with a staggering 18,700 prints around the world, including 9,700 in 3,700 North American theaters. Some studios will only provide prints to multiplexes who agree to show the film a certain number of times per day. With the transfer to digital technology, it has been predicted that in the near future "prints" will be e-mailed or beamed via encoded satellite channels directly to cinemas—assuming cinemas will exist in the future. It is now much more likely that one will watch a given film on DVD, video, TV, in an airplane, or downloaded (legally or illegally) via the Internet. Films are now shown with a number of advertisements before the film and, increasingly, in the film itself. The famous sequence from *Wayne's World* (1992), when Wayne overtly holds a Pepsi and intones that it is the "choice of a new generation" with a wink and a nod, is doubly postmodern. First, it is an example of product placement—the (usually) discreet integration of a name, product, packaging, or logo into a film—advertising, entertainment, and "art" are merged. Second, it cannily responds to the increasing cynicism vis-à-vis such marketing ploys, letting the audience in on the joke even while the film still benefits financially from it.

This portrait of the current film industry provides several entry points into a discussion of the postmodern, including the transition from celluloid to digital filmmaking. In classic film theory, the ontological basis for cinema—that is, how many film theorists accounted for its existence—was the celluloid format: light (and actors, trees, a set, or whatever stands before the camera) hits the film stock filtered through a lens and is recorded on the celluloid. André Bazin called this process the unveiling

GUY MADDIN

b. Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, 28 February 1956

Guy Maddin's films contain uncanny worlds that, at once strange and familiar, are archives of film and culture references from high to low. Born and raised on the Canadian prairies, Maddin is the best-known exponent of "prairie modernism," which developed around the Winnipeg Film Group.

Aesthetically, Maddin betrays a fondness for black-and-white cinematography and a silent-film look lit from a single source. But color footage often intrudes at unlikely places, accompanied by intentionally discordant music and ambient sounds. Errors in continuity or film equipment in the shot are par for the course in Maddin movies, which have been filmed in abandoned warehouses, a grain elevator, a foundry turned garbage depot, or in his mother's beauty salon. Capturing the essence of a Maddin film is difficult. *Archangel* (1990), for example, takes place in the Russian city of the title during World War I and involves several cases of mistaken identity. The plot is conveyed with visual references to F. W. Murnau and Josef von Sternberg, aged film stock, crackling soundtrack, and strange breaks in the action. All suggest a film that appears to be a relic from the 1920s, but with 1990s irony. *The Saddest Music in the World* (2003) is a fable set in 1933 Winnipeg: a brewing magnate with beer-filled glass legs announces an international contest to perform the world's most sorrowful song. Part imaginary (film) history, part madcap musical melodrama, *The Saddest Music in the World* is an offbeat film that is unmistakably postmodern.

In interviews, as in his films, Maddin refers to influences as diverse as Pablo Picasso, the film director Douglas Sirk, the punk group the Ramones, Mexican wrestling movies, hockey star Mario Lemieux, the 1933 musical *Footlight Parade*, Euripides, and Mary Pickford. His short *The Heart of the World* (2000), commissioned for the 2000 Toronto International Film Festival as part of its Preludes series by ten Canadian directors, is perhaps his masterpiece. In a mere six minutes he perfectly captures the style and tropes of Soviet montage cinema of the 1920s.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Tales from the Gimli Hospital (1988), *Archangel* (1990), *Careful* (1992), *Twilight of the Ice Nymphs* (1997), *The Heart of the World* (2000), *Dracula: Pages from a Virgin's Diary* (2001), *The Saddest Music in the World* (2003)

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potential of film, the possibility to depict reality. For Siegfried Kracauer, another realism theorist, by recording and exploring physical reality, film "redeems" reality. What then, does the digital format, which depends on the transformation of light information received through the lens into combinations of 0s and 1s and can be recorded and copied without data loss, mean? For Baudrillard, this new configuration would surely serve as an example of how film has become pure simulacra: the distinction between original and copy is lost. The digital age of cinema represents its introduction into hyperreality. For theorist Paul Virilio, the digital revolution signals the further substitution or displacement of reality, in which a technological or virtual reality replaces the human one and the distinction between factual and virtual becomes meaningless.

In addition to the postmodern features of film as an industry and medium, how might individual films themselves be postmodern? Intertextuality, self-referentiality, parody, pastiche, and a recourse to various past forms, genres, and styles are the most commonly identified characteristics of postmodern cinema. These features may be found in a film's form, story, technical vocabulary, casting, *mise-en-scène*, or some combination of these.

Perhaps the most renowned postmodern director is Quentin Tarantino. The dialogue of films such as *Reservoir Dogs* (1992) and *Pulp Fiction* (1994) rely heavily on seemingly meaningless chatter about TV shows, pop music, B movies, and celebrity gossip. In *Jackie Brown* (1997) Tarantino cast the actress Pam Grier, relying on her past image as a sex symbol in 1970s

Guy Maddin. **© IFC FILMS/ZUMA/CORBIS.**

blaxploitation films such as *Coffy* (1973) and *Foxy Brown* (1974) in order to channel that legacy into his own film. This postmodern casting move has also been used famously by directors such as Pier Paolo Pasolini, who in his *Mamma Roma* (1962) cast Anna Magnani as the title character, consistently quoting and twisting the iconic image she acquired in Roberto Rossellini's *Roma, Città Aperta* (*Rome, Open City*, 1945). Jean-Luc Godard's casting of Fritz Lang as the director in *Le Mépris* (*Contempt*, 1963) is similar. Tarantino has made it a hallmark of his cinema, drawing on former stars such as John Travolta in *Pulp Fiction* and Darryl Hannah in the *Kill Bill* films (2003–2004).

Tarantino's casting is an example of postmodern intertextuality—a work's quoting, plagiarizing, or alluding to other films or cultural artifacts—a phenomenon that abounds in postmodern cinema. For example, in the first few minutes of *Lola rennt* (*Run Lola Run*, 1998), Lola (Franka Potente) receives a phone call from her boyfriend Manni that he needs money desperately. Lola throws up the telephone receiver, which director Tom Tykwer films in slow motion, alluding to the famous cut from the bone to the space station in Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968). She then lets out a glass-shattering scream, just like Oskar's in Volker Schlöndorff's *Die Blechtrommel* (*The Tin Drum*, 1979). The two sentences at the beginning of the film, "the ball is round" and "the game lasts for ninety minutes," are famous quotations from Sepp Herberger, a well-known German soccer coach. Finally, the painting which hangs over the casino scene is of Kim Novak's back, alluding to the painting in *Vertigo* (1958) that Novak's character obsessively stares at in the museum.

The system of allusion and quotation such as that found in *Run Lola Run*—which mixes both "high" art and "low" popular cutlture from various time periods and cultures—is a typical feature of postmodern cinema, and is often referred to as *pastiche*. For Jameson, parody refers to the use of various styles, genres, or texts for a critical purpose, while pastiche is a blank form of parody, blithely mimicking past forms without an underlying critical perspective. This distinction may be construed as problematic, however, since whether a film engages in parody or pastiche with its intertextuality is largely a matter of interpretation. Does *Jackie Brown* meditate on the legacy of blaxploitation films in the presence of Pam Grier, or does she merely constitute an in-joke for the initiated? Is *Run Lola Run* an attempt to come to terms with (German) film history, or are the allusions empty gestures of an exhausted film industry? The answers to these questions are hardly clear-cut.

Many argue that the postmodern has also infiltrated the narrative form of many films. Unlike in Hollywood's heyday, when the plot was transmitted in the most seamless fashion possible, many twenty-first century films, both Hollywood and independent, strive for a narrative that defies linear logic. *Run Lola Run* presents three different scenarios for Lola's quest to save her boyfriend, and she seems to learn from the past attempts, a narrative configuration that some have likened to the logic of a video game rather than a typical feature film. Likewise, films such as *Blind Chance* (1987), *Sliding Doors* (1998), and *Melinda and Melinda* (2004) present alternative stories. *Rashomon* (1950) and *Jackie Brown* are films in which a single story is told from several different perspectives, but *Jackie Brown* parodies Kurosawa's canonical modernist experiment in *Rashomon* by relocating these point-of-view sequences from the epic landscapes of a Japanese forest and ruined temple to the banal setting of a nondescript US shopping mall. Other films use postmodern intertextuality as the sine qua non of their narratives. *Forrest Gump* (1994) is unthinkable without the fictional Forrest's postproduction insertion into documentary footage of real US presidents and celebrities; Woody Allen's imaginary history *Zelig* (1983) works along similar lines. These films function by blurring the boundaries between fact and fiction, history and story. Finally, some see the blockbuster's "narrative" to be a consequence of the postmodern.

Guy Maddin's allusive* Archangel *(1990). © ZEITGEIST FILMS/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Rather than functioning as a cause-and-effect story, the blockbuster often organizes itself as a series of attractions (special effects, explosions, car chases) that spectators anticipate and enjoy. What the film is "about" becomes inconsequential or, at best, secondary, to a string of shocks designed to overload the senses.

The matter of style is another tricky question in the context of postmodern cinema. Is the "machine-gun" editing in Darren Aronofsky's *Pi* (1998) and *Requiem for a Dream* (2000), Guy Maddin's *The Heart of the World* (2000), and MTV music videos necessarily or equally postmodern? How are these projects different stylistically from early Soviet filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein's *Stachka* (*Strike*, 1925), *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925), and *Oktyabr* (*Ten Days that Shook the World* and *October*, 1927)? The question of intention, taboo in poststructuralist thinking, might nonetheless help us here. Whereas the modernist Eisenstein made his films as propaganda tools aimed to garner support for a metanarrative (Leninism), Maddin is much more interested in evoking the mood or style of Soviet montage filmmaking, but with tongue firmly planted in cheek.

Finally, production design is often cited as a yardstick of postmodern cinema. Whereas the modernist architecture of Le Corbusier and the Bauhaus school called for a marriage of form, function, and social utility, examples of postmodern architecture might mix elements reminiscent of the Renaissance, baroque, neoclassical, Gothic, and modernist in the same facade. So too, for example, does Bo Welch create Gotham City in Tim Burton's *Batman Returns* (1992), which pays homage to several German expressionist films along with art deco and other stylistic touches. The dystopic Los Angeles of Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner* (1982) has often been cited as the postmodern cine-city par excellence. The film's production design cites numerous historical influences

including, most obviously, film noir. As Giuliana Bruno has noted, the city in *Blade Runner* is not a vision of ultramodern skyscrapers and orderly, mechanized interiors, but rather a hodgepodge aesthetic of recycled decay (''Ramble City'').

It is ironic that in spite of theorists' desire to proclaim the end of grand narratives in the age of postmodernism, there is the tendency in their writings to generalize and universalize the postmodern nonetheless. But the generation of Lyotard, Jameson, Baudrillard, and Virilio, which diagnosed the postmodern largely as an inevitable symptom of cultural exhaustion or capitalistic excess, is giving way to a younger generation of theorists less eager to predict doomsday scenarios. D. N. Rodowick, for example, has outlined a philosophy of the transition from analog to new media technologies which acknowledges the new ontological basis for digital films without claiming that this new basis must signify the end of referentiality, as Baudrillard has.

SEE ALSO *Parody*

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PRE-CINEMA

The cinema's prehistory is frequently narrated though the enumeration of various technologies whose invention slowly but surely led to moving pictures. Indeed, the capacity to produce and project moving pictures did depend on notable inventions such as photography, flexible roll film, intermittent mechanisms for projectors, and forms of artificial illumination such as limelight and electric light. However, it is important to keep in mind that the cinema itself was rarely, if ever, the goal of the scientists, experimenters, entertainers, and photographers who developed the optical toys and screen entertainment that ultimately made moving pictures mechanically feasible. They had other objectives in mind—such as proving a scientific hypothesis about human vision and locomotion or expanding on the aesthetic and commercial possibilities of painting and photography. Moreover, the history of cinema must take into account certain social, cultural, and political changes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which enabled the success of commercialized leisure, such as magic lantern shows, panoramas, and, ultimately, the cinema.

During the Enlightenment in eighteenth-century Europe, experimentation in optics and physics led to the development of the scientific and mechanical principles on which many forms of nineteenth-century visual culture are based. In turn, the French and American Revolutions and the decreasing importance of the church and monarchy in everyday life created new opportunities to develop secular culture, democracy, and the bourgeois and middle classes. The spread of popular education in the latter half of the nineteenth century, particularly in the United States, fostered literacy and intellectual curiosity among the working and middle classes, creating a market for dime novels, comic books, and philosophical toys, which were devices meant to demonstrate a scientific principle while providing amusement, such as the thaumatrope and the phenakistoscope. The rise of industrial capitalism in the nineteenth century caused a massive shift in populations from the country to urban centers in Europe, England, and the United States, creating a market for cheap, urban forms of mass entertainment for office and factory workers who sought respite from their daily toils and who had a modicum of leisure time and disposable income available for leisure activities. Moreover, industrialization demanded technological innovations—such as the railway, steamship, telegraph, telephone, and electric power—to help accelerate the efficient production and circulation of natural resources, finished products, and workers to and through urban centers. Such inventions cannot be separated from the technologies used in new urban forms of entertainment. For example, Thomas Edison (1847–1931) first conceived of the phonograph as an aide to office workers, while transportation technologies were very quickly converted to the purposes of leisure: not only did the streetcar shuttle thousands to amusement parks, it also provided the technological basis for the roller coaster. These changes led to an explosion in urban commercial entertainment. The history of the various forms of visual culture and entertainment that preceded the cinema developed from this broader social, political, and economic context, which might broadly be identified as "technological modernity."

OPTICAL TOYS

Many nineteenth-century optical toys delighted spectators by creating the illusion of motion from static images. This

illusion depends on the exploitation of the optical phenomenon known as persistence of vision, a characteristic of human perception first theorized by the English physician Peter Mark Roget (1779–1869) in 1824. Roget explained that the eye and brain retain an image on the retina for a fraction of a second after the image has been removed from the field of vision. Hence when a series of images are perceived in rapid succession, the eye will "fill in" any gap between them. Put differently, the human eye fails to see the gap that separates images presented in rapid succession, simply because the retina retains an impression of each image for a brief moment even after it has disappeared, thereby allowing one image to blend into the next. The exploitation of the persistence of vision is the foundation of all philosophical toys and optical devices that create the illusion of continuous motion.

In London in 1825 John Paris (1785–1856), a doctor, popularized a philosophical toy called the thaumatrope ("magical turner" or "wonder turner"), which demonstrates the eye's fusion of two static images into a single image when shown in rapid succession. The thaumatrope was a simple device made of a paper disk illustrated on both sides. Strings attached opposite one another on the perimeter of the disk on either side of the illustration allowed the disk to be twirled between the viewer's finger and thumb. The illustrations themselves tended to be separated elements of a single picture—for example, a horse depicted on one side and its rider on the other, a bird painted opposite its cage, or a bald man separated from his wig. Twirling the thaumatrope creates the illusion that the two images have fused into a single "complete" picture: a man riding a horse, a bird inside a cage, or a man with ample hair.

After 1830 more complex toys using multiple images created the illusion of movement by relying on the use of a shutter mechanism. In the early 1830s the Belgian scientist Joseph Plateau (1801–1883) constructed his "phenakistocope" ("deceptive view") to demonstrate the findings of his research into optics, the afterimage, and the persistence of vision. The earliest phenakistoscope consisted of a single disk mounted on a handle, much like a pinwheel. The disk itself was divided evenly into eight or sixteen segments, each of which contained an illustration depicting a single phase of some dynamic action (e.g., a figure jumping rope or juggling, a bird flapping its wings in flight, a galloping horse) alongside a small slot cut into the disc. The phenakistoscope created the illusion of motion when the illustrated side of the disc was held facing toward a mirror and spun. As the viewer looked through each of the passing slots, its accompanying image was briefly visible in the mirror. When spun rapidly, the phenakistoscope caused the successively viewed images to create the illusion of continuous motion out of the static images, thanks to the persistence of vision. Commercial versions of the phenakistoscope (the Phantasmascope and later the Fantascope) were available by 1833. Like the thaumatrope, the phenakistoscope was a popular parlor toy that educated as it entertained.

The Zoetrope was a popular toy in the second half of the 19th century. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS.

Shortly thereafter, in 1834, George Horner (1786–1837) created a device that he called the daedalum, which was to be known commercially as the Zoetrope ("live turning"). This device operated according to the same principles as the phenakistoscope but had the added advantage of allowing multiple viewers to enjoy the toy simultaneously without the aid of a mirror. Viewers gathered around an open-topped revolving drum illuminated from above. Illustrated strips of paper (again depicting individual phases of a single motion) lined the inside of the drum. These images were visible through evenly spaced, narrow slots placed between them, and the individual images appeared to merge into a single continuous motion when the device was spun. The illustrated strips of paper were changeable, allowing viewers to enjoy a range of animated images. The daedalum was renamed the Zoetrope in 1867 by William F. Lincoln, an American who patented the device and made it available for popular consumption.

THE INFLUENCE OF LOUIS DAGUERRE

One of the most important figures in the development of various forms of optical culture that preceded and contributed to the development of the early cinema was Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1789–1851). In 1822 Daguerre displayed an invention called the diorama, which featured natural and urban landscapes—such as mountain views, cathedrals, and city street scenes—painted on both sides of a massive (approximately 71 feet by 45 feet), transparent linen canvas. At Daguerre's Diorama theater in Paris, the canvas was viewed through a proscenium arch by an audience seated on top of a platform that could rotate the audience to face two different screens. Daguerre illuminated his canvases from behind and in front by means of sunlight admitted through ground-glass windows. This light was filtered through numerous colored, transparent screens and shutters controlled by a system of pulleys and counterweights. Daguerre manipulated light, shadow, and the opacity and transparency of his pigments to create stunning representations of the sun rising and setting or to represent the approach and departure of a storm. A newspaper review of Daguerre's first diorama, *The Valley of Sarnen* (1822), described the changing effects of his mechanical aestheticization of natural light:

> . . . from a calm, soft delicious serene day in summer, the horizon gradually changes, becoming more and more overcast, until a darkness, not the effect of night, but evidently of an approaching storm—a murky, tempestuous blackness—discolors every object. . . . This change of light upon the lake (which occupies a considerate proportion of the picture) is very beautifully contrived. The warm reflection of the sunny sky recedes by degrees, and the advancing dark shadow runs across the water—chasing, as it were, the former bright effects before it. (Quoted in Gernsheim and Gernsheim, p. 17)

As this description suggests, the diorama's visual pleasure was closely linked to the illusion of the passing of time and motion on screen. Later dioramas created the illusion of human movement. Daguerre's *A Midnight Mass at Saint-Étienne-du-Mont* depicted an empty church at sunset; as daylight faded, candles were lit at the back of the church and slowly a congregation appeared to fill the church in preparation for mass.

As exhibitors increasingly used artificial light sources (such as gaslight) to illuminate these canvases, they became vulnerable to fire, and indeed in 1839, one of Daguerre's dioramas in Paris went up in flames. Like other popular pre- and proto-cinematic forms of visual entertainment, the diorama visually transported audiences to distant landscapes and landmarks without requiring any movement on their part, and they made such an experience both repeatable and available to a large audience. Spectators took delight in the unprecedented realism of the depicted scene and the persuasiveness of the illusions it offered to the eye; that pleasure was heightened by the knowledge that these were, in fact, only illusions, dependent on the exhibitor's virtuoso deployment of new technologies and scientific principles. In short, the diorama made pleasurable the intersection of rational knowledge and "magical" illusion and made such an experience commercially available on a relatively wide scale.

MAGIC LANTERNS

Like the diorama, the magic lantern was central to the popular success of commercialized forms of visual culture. Like other optical devices ultimately used for entertainment, the magic lantern had its origins in scientific experimentation. In his book *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae* (*The Great Art of Light and Shadow*, 1645–1646), the Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher described a device he called the catoptric lamp, which could create illuminated images by catching sunlight on a mirror and reflecting it through a lenticular lens (that is, shaped like a double-convex lens) onto the wall of a darkened chamber. An opaque image or word (with letters inverted) embossed upside down on the mirror would be directed (but not quite projected) by the reflected sunlight on the darkened wall. Kircher used transparent paints to color his images and would employ two or more lamps to allow multiple images and words to appear on the wall simultaneously. In the absence of natural sunlight, Kircher demonstrated that illumination sufficient for projection could be obtained by condensing candlelight through a glass sphere filled with water. The catoptric lamp was the precursor to the very popular magic lantern.

In 1659 the Dutch physicist Christian Huygens developed his *lanterne magique*, a device that contributed to the development of projected images. Huygens's correspondence describes how he painted images on glass slides (rather than a mirror) and directed artificial light through a lens to project his images. The Danish lens grinder and teacher Thomas Rasmussen Walgensten is known to have publicly demonstrated his magic lantern before small, exclusive audiences (such as royal families) between 1664 and 1670. The magic lantern did not move out of closed circles of private demonstrations for scientists, experimenters, and privileged audiences until the 1790s (once the social and economic conditions became ripe), when the Belgian Etiènne Gaspard Robért (1764–1837) developed the magic lantern for the purposes of commercial entertainment with great success. Robért changed his name to Robertson and premiered his spectacular magic lantern show, the

Fantasmagorie, at the Pavillion d'Echiquier in Paris in 1799. He professed that his magic lantern would help dispel his audiences' belief in the existence of ghosts and spirits while simultaneously delighting them with the terror that his display of illusory specters inspired.

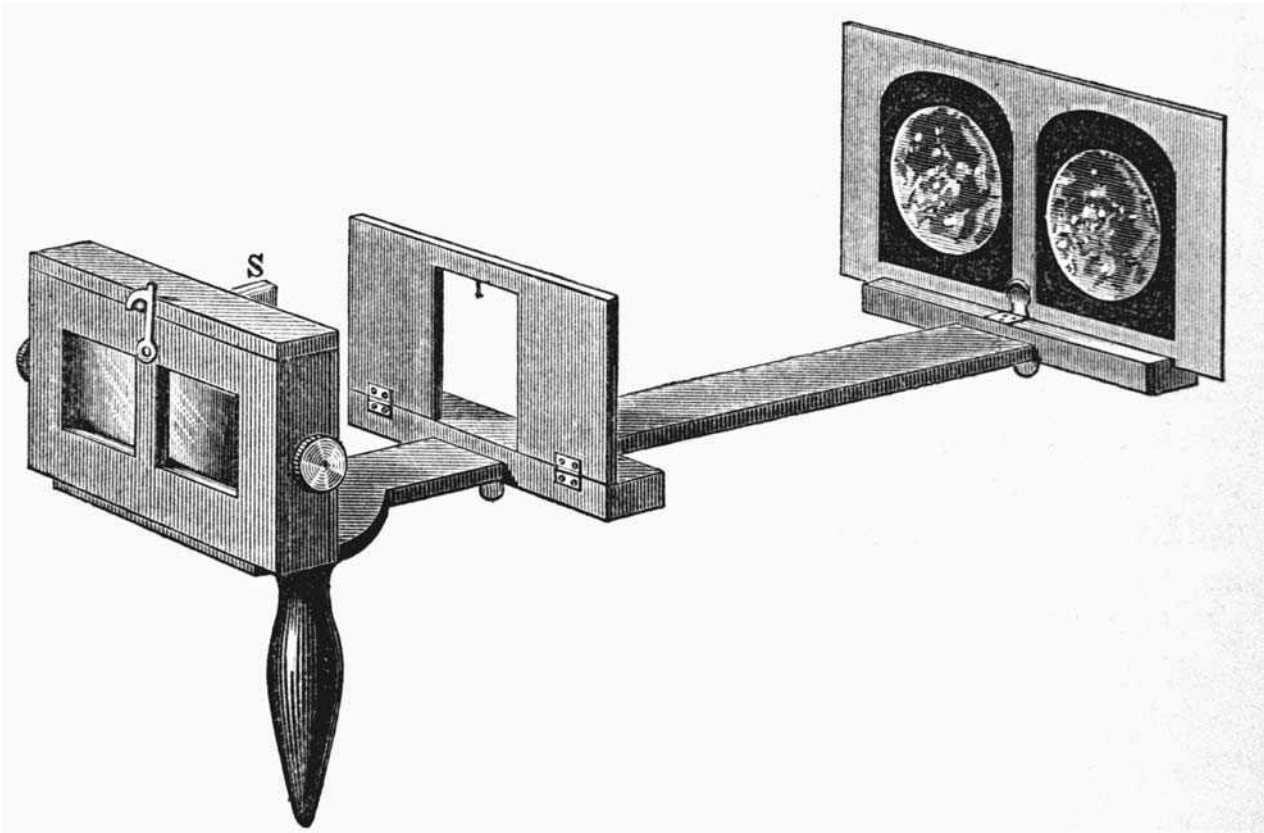
Several years later, Robertson transformed the chapel of an abandoned Capuchin monastery into an atmospheric venue for his show. Robertson exploited the inherent spookiness of this setting and established an atmosphere of terror by shuttling his audiences through dark corridors to a chamber illuminated only by glowing coals. The space was decorated with skulls and mysterious markings, and the death knell of tolling bells and other sound effects established an ominous mood. Once his audience was seated, Robertson threw chemicals on the glowing coals to make smoke billow from them; he then extinguished all the lights, cloaking his audience in a terrifying darkness. Images of ghosts, ghouls, demons, distorted human faces, and skeletons were projected onto the clouds of smoke by magic lanterns that had been craftily concealed from the audiences' view, thanks to Robertson's use of rear projection. The billowing smoke gave an illusory movement to the static images that were skillfully painted on glass slides and projected through the lantern's lens. Robertson also projected images onto thin gauze that had been treated with wax to make the fabric translucent and allowed the rear-projected image to be visible through its surface. As film historian Erik Barnouw explains, the gauze was hidden behind black curtains, which were drawn back once the venue was thrown into darkness. To further conceal the source of the projected apparitions and thereby intensify the illusion, Robertson darkened the area of the glass slides surrounding the illustration, so that when the images of ghosts and phantoms were projected they seemed to hang eerily in the darkness. He also mounted his magic lanterns on an apparatus that would allow him to slide the lanterns forward and back. This had the effect of making the projected image appear to grow and approach the audience when the lantern was moved forward or shrink and move away from the audience when it was moved backward. When the lantern's focus was expertly adjusted in sync with the movement of the apparatus, the illusion of emergence and retreat intensified the sensationalism of the spectacle. Robertson not only projected images of phantoms and ghosts but also made reference to the contemporary political context by projecting an image of the recently executed Robespierre along with other images of the famous dead, such as Voltaire and Rousseau.

Two significant technological developments improved on Robertson's magic lantern. In 1822 Sir Goldsworthy Gurney developed limelight, a source of very bright artificial illumination first used in lighthouses but later put to numerous uses in theater and entertainment, including as a light source for magic lanterns. In the 1830s the magic lanternist Henry Langdon Childe developed the "dissolving view," a process for transitioning from one image to the next by fading in one image as the other fades out.

THE BEGINNINGS OF PHOTOGRAPHY

As magic lantern shows became increasingly popular and prevalent in the 1820s and 1830s, the first photographic images were being created in Europe. In 1826 Joseph-Nicéphore Niepce (1765–1833), a French physicist, began his experimental processes of recording images by a chemical reaction initiated by sunlight hitting a sensitized surface. Though revolutionary in and of themselves, Niepce's images required eight hours of exposure time, were temporary, and lacked detail. Some of these problems were solved by his partner Daguerre, who in 1839 recorded images on a silvered copper plate with an exposure time of half an hour. Popularly known as daguerreotypes, these early photographic images were extremely fragile and had to be contained in decorative cases to protect them from damage. Each daguerreotype was a positive and could not be reproduced except by photographing the original. William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877), an English physicist, established the foundation of modern photography by creating a paper negative (using a sodium chloride emulsion) that could be used for the production of unlimited positive copies. Despite this development, entertainers and magic lanternists were unable to project photographic images until the perfection of the albumen process (patented by John A. Whipple and William B. Jones) and the collodion process (perfected by Frederick Scott Archer) in the late 1840s. These developments allowed the image to be captured on a transparent glass surface, whereas previous processes used opaque paper or copper plates.

In 1851 the brothers William and Frederick Langenheim, noted Philadelphia photographers, projected their photographic slides, initially called hyalotypes, at the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London. Their exhibition featured hand-colored images of notable landmarks and locations from around the United States. In the 1860s projected photographic or steropticon slides enjoyed particular commercial and critical success in New York City. As with earlier demonstrations, the slides featured photographs of landscapes, architecture, landmarks, and works of art from all over the world. Other steropticon shows featured images from the Civil War, including photographs of battlefields and military personnel from the Army of the Potomac. Reviewers marveled at the realism and detail of these images; the reality effect of painted magic lantern slides paled in comparison. Indeed, the introduction of photographic slides endowed the projected image with such unprecedented



The American Grandfather, a 19th-century stereoscope. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

realism that one reviewer for the *New York Tribune* remarked, "The dead almost appear to speak" (quoted in Charles Musser, p. 31).

Whereas the steropticon displayed life-size images before large audiences, a peephole device called the stereoscope provided photographic views to an individual spectator. The optical research into binary vision carried out by the British physicist Charles Wheatstone and the Scottish physicist Sir David Brewster in the 1820s and 1830s led to its invention. The stereoscope featured two pictures of an object or scene that had been photographed twice from slightly different perspectives. When the spectator looked through the peephole, he or she saw a single image in depth. The illusion of three-dimensionality was created by the reconciliation of two nonidentical images into a single image, which gave the impression that the pictured views were arranged around receding perspectival planes. The stereoscope became a popular form of parlor entertainment as slides featuring celebrated personalities, landmarks in famous cities, natural wonders, and works of art were produced for home consumption.

By focusing on photographic images of geographically and chronologically distant places and events, the steropticon and the stereoscope, like other advances in modern technology, provided audiences with visual access to far-flung locations that might otherwise take days or weeks to reach by travel. In this respect, these pre-cinematic inventions altered the way audiences experienced time and space. The early cinema would later have even greater power to satisfy—and further instill—the viewer's desire to see astonishingly realistic images that brought the distant near: films displayed images of natural wonders and "exotic" locations unlikely to be visited in person by those who could not afford to travel, sites of recent disasters (such as floods and earthquakes), city street scenes, and important personalities.

The photograph's infinite reproducibility was of signal importance. Hand-painted magic lantern slides were produced individually by skilled painters; each was unique, could not be copied, and took time and money to produce. This limited the number and variety of the slides in each exhibitor's repertoire, causing the demand for new slides to outstrip the supply. The relative ease

with which a photographic slide was made and reproduced vastly expanded the number and variety of photographs an exhibitor might display in various thematically oriented "programs," tailored to appeal to a range of audiences and contexts. As would be the case with the first moving picture shows, variety, realism, and the power to alter perceptions of space and time were paramount to the pleasures and profitability of nineteenth-century visual culture. Hence, as Charles Musser has shown, photography brought efficiency, standardization, and profitability to the production and projection of slides, which became a business in its own right and helped create a broader audience for commercialized screen entertainment.

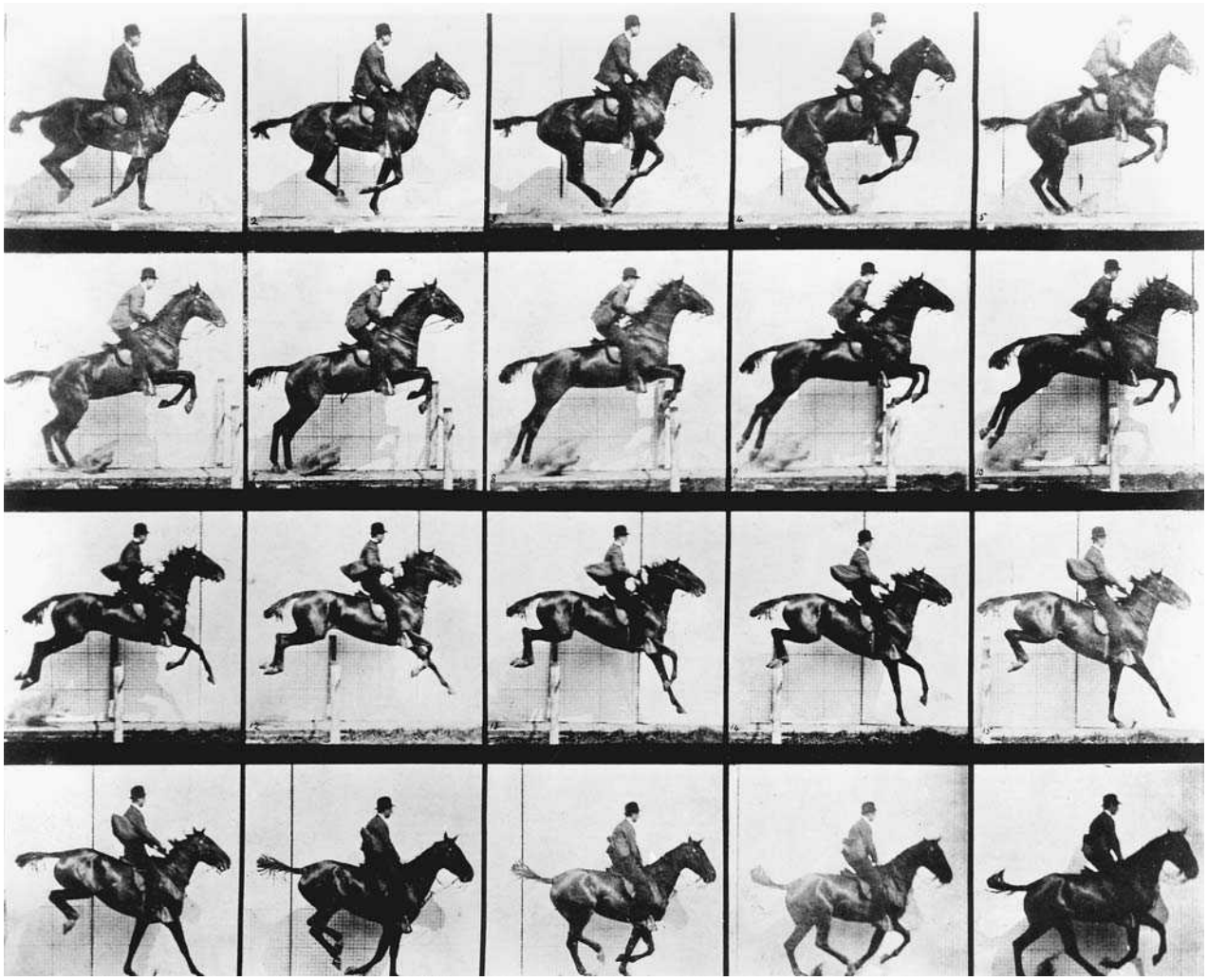
PHOTOGRAPHING MOTION

The next step in the development toward moving photographic images required applying the principle of the persistence of vision to the display of a series of photographs depicting the phases of a single motion. This possibility was successfully pursued by the English-born American photographer Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904), who became the first photographer to take pictures of subjects in motion. Muybridge's photographs of galloping horses depicted phases of movement normally imperceptible to the human eye and therefore deviated significantly from traditional representations of a horse's gait used by painters for centuries. To emphasize this contrast, Muybridge presented his images alongside artists' depictions of equine motion. Whereas Muybridge's first experiments in series photography aimed to decompose motion to allow otherwise imperceptible phases of movement to become visible to the eye, he next turned to the reconstitution of recorded movement through a mechanism called the zoopraxiscope, which allowed him to project moving images. Zoopraxography, the study of animal movement, should not be confused with motion pictures: the actual images projected were illustrations, not photographs, and the technology Muybridge used simply synthesized older technologies such as the magic lantern and the phenakistoscope.

Between 1884 and 1885 he resumed his experiments in animal locomotion, expanding the range of animals he photographed and refining his methods for producing images. He switched from wet collodion plates to dry plates and rearranged his cameras into a semicircle around his subject so that photographs of a single motion shot from multiple angles could be taken simultaneously. He also began to photograph athletes as well as mostly unclothed men, women, and children engaged in everyday activities. Muybridge photographed these subjects against a black wall striated by a grid, giving the images themselves a more scientific appearance (though the actions themselves were never measured or quantified).

Muybridge's studies in animal and human locomotion caught the attention of the French physiologist Étienne-Jules Marey (1830–1904), who was also experimenting with photography to make visible aspects of motion otherwise invisible to the unaided human eye. Even more so than Muybridge, Marey was primarily concerned with the photographic decomposition of motion for the purposes of scientific analysis. Marey photographed phases of human and animal locomotion using a method called chronophotography ("photography of time"). Marey devised an ingenious instrument called the chronophotographic gun, which captured twelve instantaneous photographs per second on a rotating glass plate. However, Marey was displeased with the use of the revolving glass plate because it limited to a set quantity the number of discrete images that could make up a series (a problem when photographing rapid movement, such as a bird in flight). This technical glitch was resolved in 1888 with the invention of paper roll film by the American inventor and industrialist George Eastman (1854–1932); this film, to be used in Eastman's new Kodak box camera, ultimately enabled the chronophotographic gun to take twenty pictures per second. (In 1889 Eastman made transparent celluloid roll film commercially available—the type of film stock ultimately to be used in the making of motion pictures.) However, in order to take clear individual photographs on flexible roll film, Marey had to devise an intermittent mechanism that would allow the filmstrip to pause briefly before the lens to allow each frame to be exposed to light. Some of Marey's human subjects were outfitted in black clothing and photographed against a black background. The subject's arms and legs were embossed with bright white lines that connected to bright white dots at the joints. The results were fairly abstract images of white lines and curves against a dark background. Because he was primarily interested in the dissection of motion, Marey was only minimally interested in reconstituting it through the projection of his images. Ultimately, he was unsuccessful in his attempts to construct a projector.

Around the time Muybridge began his motion studies in the United States, the Frenchman Émile Reynaud (1844–1918), a teacher of mathematics and science, turned his attention to improving optical toys based on the principle of the persistence of vision. In 1877 he built the projecting praxinoscope. In principle, this device was similar to the Zoetrope: its main mechanism was a spinning drum lined with a series of images. However, the praxinoscope made its images visible to viewers through their reflection off of multiple mirrors. Because the images were not seen through slots, the "flicker" effect of other slot-based devices was eliminated. In 1892



Zoopraxography: animal locomotion serial photography by Eadweard Muybridge (c. 1872). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Reynaud premiered his exhibition of moving drawings, Théâtre Optique, at the Musée Grévin in Paris. He devised a mirror and lantern mechanism to display rear-projected images onto a screen painted with scenery. Reynaud's images were hand-painted onto long bands of individual frames. These were difficult to produce, and by 1895 he began to use cameras to produce his images. However, Thomas Edison and the Lumière brothers had invented far more practical and simpler devices for projecting moving photographic images, making the praxinoscope obsolete by the end of the century.

PANORAMAS

Also important to the increasing popularity of commercialized forms of visual entertainment was the panorama (sometimes called the cyclorama in the United States). First introduced by the Irish artist Robert Barker in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1787, panoramas ("all-embracing views") were massive circular paintings that provided a continuous, 360-degree view of a famous battle, landscape, cityscape, or seascape. The paintings were lit from above by natural sunlight and featured an astonishing degree of precise detail rendered in perfect perspective. The realism of such paintings frequently gave spectators the overwhelming sensation of being present at the depicted scene. Moving panoramas were first presented to the American public by John Banvard in 1846 (they were called dioramas in the United States but should not be confused with Daguerre's diorama). These were made up of individual canvases joined together to create a painting one thousand (or more) feet long and eight to twelve feet high. The canvas was wound like a scroll

EADWEARD MUYBRIDGE

b. Edward Muggeridge, Kingston-on-Thames, England, 9 April 1830, d. 8 May 1904

Eadweard Muybridge immigrated to the United States in 1852, where he began his career as a landscape photographer, producing stunning images of the US Pacific Coast, San Francisco, and Yosemite Valley. He also provided photographic surveys of the Central Pacific Railroad and documented the Modoc Indian Wars. In 1872 he was hired by the former governor of California, Leland Stanford, to prove that, at a particular moment in its gait, all four hooves of a galloping horse leave the ground. This required that Muybridge photograph a horse in motion—yet photographing a moving subject had never been done before. Muybridge produced the evidence confirming Stanford's theory, although no prints of this experiment survive.

In 1874 Muybridge shot and killed his wife's lover, Harry Larkyns. He was ultimately acquitted of murder charges on the grounds of justifiable homicide. He quietly left the country for Central America, where he photographed Guatemala and Panama. In 1876 Muybridge returned to California and, with Stanford's financial support, resumed his study of equine locomotion. In 1876 he built a track and lined it with a battery of cameras featuring electromagnetic shutters that allowed him to capture sequential photographs of a horse in motion. He stretched wires from each camera across to the opposite side of the track, directly in the pathway to be followed by the horse. As the horse galloped down the track, it tripped the wire connected to each shutter, effectively taking pictures of its own movements. Each shot had an exposure time of 1/500 of a second. The interval between each shot was 1/25 of a second. The resulting photographs, presented at the San Francisco Art Association on 8 July 1878, were highly acclaimed.

Following this success, Muybridge expanded his study to include series photographs of cows, elephants, oxen, and deer in the process of walking, leaping, or hauling heavy loads. In 1879 he invented the zoopraxiscope, a device that allowed him to project moving images. He painted copies of his photographic images around the circumference of a glass disk attached to a magic lantern. Another disk featuring a series of slots was mounted opposite the illustrated disk. When the two disks were spun in opposite directions, the slots functioned like a shutter and allowed for the individual static images to be projected as moving images. The zoopraxiscope debuted on 4 May 1880 at the San Francisco Art Association and was presented at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

After taking the zoopraxiscope on a celebrated lecture tour throughout Europe, Muybridge returned to the United States in 1882. Between 1884 and 1885 he resumed his experiments in animal locomotion at the University of Pennsylvania, where he struck up a relationship with the painter Thomas Eakins. He vastly expanded the kinds of animals he photographed and challenged the social conventions of the time by photographing nude men, women, and children engaged in a broad range of activities, from boxing and wrestling to bathing, ascending a staircase, and smoking cigarettes. In 1887 Muybridge published *Animal Locomotion: An Electro-photographic Investigation of Consecutive Phases of Animal Movements,* which featured over 19,347 photographic images.

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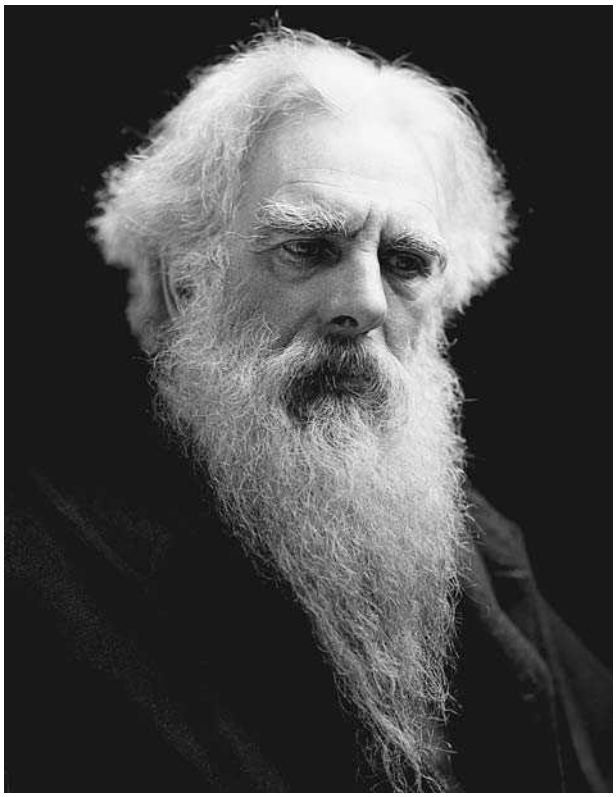
Kristen Whissel

around two vertical rollers concealed by a proscenium arch. Banvard's first painting—which he claimed was three miles long—depicted a trip down the Mississippi River. Other moving panoramas similarly focused on lengthy trips down the Missouri River and across the newly settled territories of the American West. The extremely popular subject matter of moving and circular panoramas suited the political context of the time: Manifest Destiny in the United States and European imperial wars instilled on a broad scale the desire to see



Eadweard Muybridge. **© HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS.**

newly conquered territories. The emphasis on travel and views of famous landscapes also exploited the fashionable desire to visit distant destinations but at a fraction of the cost and effort of actual travel.

As with many of the optical toys and screen entertainments (with the exception of photography) that preceded them, moving and circular panoramas were displaced by the rise of the cinema in the 1890s. Invented by the entrepreneur George C. Hale, an amusement called Hale's Tours premiered at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904. Hale's Tours allowed spectators to take imaginary trips to distant places for only ten cents. Seated in a venue decorated to resemble a railway car, up to seventy "passengers" watched films shot from motion picture cameras shot from the front or back of a moving locomotive. The films were accompanied by sound effects (such as a train's whistle) and cars rocked to simulate the motion of train travel. However, the realism and variety of moving pictures clearly outstripped that which could be provided by Hale's Tours, circular and moving panoramas, magic lantern shows, and dioramas. Nevertheless, it was nineteenth-century forms of visual culture that helped create the social, cultural, and economic context in which the cinema ultimately thrived: they were the forerunners of modern culture's new conception of space and time; they fostered and satisfied a desire for spectacles based on astonishing machine-made illusion and persuasive realism; they made relatively affordable, repeatable forms of entertainment available to large urban audiences; and they took advantage of new technologies and scientific discoveries to do so.

SEE ALSO *Camera; Early Cinema; Film History; Film Stock; Technology*

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Kristen Whissel

PRIZES AND AWARDS

A vast number of prizes and awards are given by a wide array of sources for different kinds of films. While the artistic and creative merit of these various awards varies enormously, some provide potential promotional and financial benefits. For instance, Hollywood companies, in particular, use various awards that originate both inside and outside the film industry to attract attention and acclaim to their films. Any kind of nomination or award is typically used extensively in advertising and promotional activities, and sometimes it can influence a film's overall revenues. Undoubtedly, the best-known awards for film are the Academy Awards®, although other awards and prizes are given by other industry groups, as well as other organizations. In addition, many awards are often associated with film festivals, as discussed below.

ACADEMY AWARDS®

The Academy Awards®, or Oscars®, are presented by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, a professional honorary organization composed of over 6,000 motion picture professionals who are associated with the US film industry (or Hollywood). The awards are intended to recognize "excellence in film-making achievement." The Academy Awards® were first organized in 1929 and have grown to become benchmarks for filmmaking, as well as playing an important economic role in the industry.

The Academy's regular awards are presented annually for outstanding individual or collective efforts of the year in up to twenty-five categories, including Best Picture, Actor, Actress, Director, Editing, Cinematography, and Costumes. As many as five nominations are made in most categories, with balloting for these nominations restricted to members of the Academy branch concerned; directors, for instance, are the only nominators for Achievement in Directing. Nominations for awards in the foreign language and documentary categories are made by large committees of members drawn from all branches of the industry. Best Picture nominations and final winners in most categories are determined by vote of the entire membership.

Each January the Academy mails nomination ballets to its members (over 5,600 voting members in 2002). The secret ballots are returned by members to PricewaterhouseCoopers, the professional services firm formerly known as Price Waterhouse. The results of nomination balloting are announced in late January or early February. Then, final ballots are mailed in early February and members have two weeks to return them. After ballots are tabulated, only two partners of PricewaterhouseCoopers are said to know the results until the envelopes are opened on stage during the awards presentation ceremony at the end of February. The Academy Awards® Presentation televised program is itself a media event, attracting worldwide audiences and extensive media coverage.

The nominations and awards are considered some of the best ways to promote a film and can potentially lead to a substantial increase in revenues. Dodds and Holbrook (1988) evaluated the impact of Academy Awards® on film revenues and found significant effects of Best Picture, Best Actor, and Best Actress awards on post-award revenues. The authors of another study found that theatrical revenue can increase from 5 to 10 percent

if a film is nominated, while actually receiving an award can enhance a film's value for cable and network television by 50 to 100 percent (Donahue, 1987, p. 81).

Thus, receiving a nomination and ultimately an award is seen as adding value to a film commodity. Serious efforts are made to attract these honors, and expensive campaigns to influence voting begin in November each year. In the past, elaborate strategies involved targeted advertising and promotional gimmicks. The major Hollywood studios, independent distributors, and publicists use various strategies to make sure that the Academy members view their films. Special screenings are held, free admissions are offered to commercial runs of a film, or videocassettes or DVDs are shipped to the voters. For several years, the Academy has aggressively monitored award campaigning and has issued guidelines that limit company mailings.

However, at least one author and film critic believes that the campaigns around the Academy Awards® have become "nastier, more aggressive, more expensive and more sophisticated." Emanuel Levy, chief film critic for *Screen International* and the author of *All About Oscar®: The History and Politics of the Academy Awards®,* notes that "aggressive campaigns have been run for Oscars® as far back as the 1940s." (p. 212)

The campaigning may indeed affect the outcome, as over the years there have been some classic examples of films that won (or did not win) because of political and/or economic reasons. For instance, in 1941 *Citizen Kane*, directed by Orson Welles and based on the story of newspaper mogul William Randolph Hearst, lost to *How Green Was My Valley*. It was widely suggested that Hearst's influence in Hollywood had much to do with ensuring that Welles did not triumph. Although in 1959 screenwriter Nedrick Young failed to win an Oscar® for *The Defiant Ones* because he was blacklisted, his pseudonym, Nathan E. Douglas, won it instead, and in 1998 heavy spending by Miramax was believed to have helped *Shakespeare in Love* defeat *Saving Private Ryan*, which was widely regarded as the more worthy film.

Indeed, there seems to be a general sense that Academy Awards® have neglected some great films, as well as great directors, actors, and actresses. Looking back at Oscar® winners, many have argued that numerous great films did not win awards, while other important films were not even nominated. While the designation of "great film" is highly subjective, many films generally deemed important did not win Best Picture. In addition to the previously mentioned *Citizen Kane* and *Saving Private Ryan*, other neglected "great" films include *Sunset Boulevard* (1950), *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951), and *Five Easy Pieces* (1970). Some of these oversights may be explained by an abundance of good or great films in one year. However, there have been films now regarded as important that received no Oscars® at all, including *The Maltese Falcon* (1941), *The Magnificant Ambersons* (1942), *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946), *Psycho* (1960), *Taxi Driver* (1976), and *Blade Runner* (1982). Other significant films were not even nominated for a single Academy Award®: *King Kong* (1933), *Modern Times* (1936), *The Searchers* (1956), and *Paths of Glory* (1957).

These misguided decisions or omissions have been explained by a politicized voting process that leads to various kinds of biases, by the neglect of certain genres, or by the simple argument that Oscars® are merely "popularity contests." Others have maintained that Hollywood is rather conservative, or "middle-brow," when it comes to recognizing its own artistic and creative excellence.

It might be noted that the Board of Governors is empowered to offer Scientific and Technical awards, Honorary awards, Special Achievement awards and other honors, in addition to the regular annual awards conferred by vote of the membership. Recent examples of Honorary Award recipients have included Sidney Poitier, Robert Redford, Peter O'Toole, and Blake Edwards, while at the turn of the millennium Special Achievement awards tended to focus on achievements in visual and sound effects. Meanwhile, the Academy also presents Scientific and Technical awards for "any device, method, formula, discovery or invention of special and outstanding value to the arts and sciences of motion pictures—and employed in the motion picture industry during the awards year."

CRITICS' AWARDS

Around the world, many different critics' associations present film awards. One of the best known is the Hollywood Foreign Press Association, which presents the Golden Globe Awards at the end of January every year. Made up of international journalists who work in Hollywood, this group began awarding films in 1944, and awards for television were added in 1956. Golden Globe statuettes are awarded annually in several categories, including Best Dramatic and Comedic Motion Pictures, Best Foreign-language Film, Best Director, Best Actor and Actress, Best Supporting Actor and Actress, and Best Dramatic and Comedic Television series. In addition, the Cecil B. DeMille Award is given for lifetime achievement in motion pictures.

Meanwhile, The Golden Satellite Awards are presented by the International Press Academy (IPA), a splinter group of the Hollywood Foreign Press Association. The IPA asserts that it is the largest entertainment press organization in the world, made up of

more than 250 full-time professional entertainment journalists from the United States and abroad. Formed in 1996, it covers the world of entertainment through the print and broadcast media, as well as the Internet. Its annual awards, which are made each January, honor outstanding achievement in the fields of film, television, and multimedia.

The National Board of Review hands out awards that often serve as "signposts" to the winning Oscars®. This organization was created as a censorship group in 1909, but in 2005 its board was composed of approximately 150 members from varying professions, including educators, doctors, lawyers, historians, and a few former Hollywood insiders. The membership is said to be a mystery to most people in the film business. Although the group's selections tend to favor the specialty market, with an emphasis on breakthrough performances and emerging talent, since 1980 the board's choice has agreed with 41 percent of the Academy's best picture choices.

Other film critics' awards are also considered to be reliable precursors to the Academy Awards®, particularly the critics' associations in Los Angeles and New York. The National Society of Film Critics Awards are significant because of organization membership and lack of regional bias. The organization is known for its "highbrow winners," which are often foreign-language films. The group was formed in 1966 by magazine writers who had been refused admittance to the New York Film Critics Association.

Some consider the Big Four of critics' awards to be those of the National Board of Review, the New York and Los Angeles critics' awards, and The National Society of Film Critics. However, other critics' associations have become important, including the London and Boston critics awards associations, and other critics' associations in many parts of the world also present yearly accolades.

OTHER FILM INDUSTRY AWARDS

In addition, the Hollywood labor organizations, or guilds, also present awards. What has been called Hollywood's pre-Oscar Final Four—the quartet of guild award shows the first two weekends of March—includes trophies from the Producers Guild, the Writers Guild, the Screen Actors Guild, and the Directors Guild.

Other film industries around the world offer awards as well. For instance, UK film and television awards are presented annually by the British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA). The organization was formed in 1959 as a result of the amalgamation of the British Film Academy (founded in 1948) and the Guild of Television Producers (founded in 1954). Film and television awards are presented for both production and performance categories.

The European Film Awards are presented by the European Film Academy, which held its first awards ceremony in Berlin, Germany, in November 1988. At that time, the group was called the European Cinema Society, but it was renamed in 1991. The trophy was named Felix for the statuette presented from 1988 to 1996, but in 1997, the awards ceremony was relaunched and a new statuette was introduced.

FILM FESTIVAL AWARDS

Many festivals are devoted to different kinds of films and award prizes in various categories. Some key film awards for feature films are associated with film festivals. Perhaps the best-known and most prestigious is the Palme d'Or (or Golden Palm) award presented at the Cannes Film Festival (or Festival International du Film de Cannes) in Cannes, France. However, prizes from other major festivals are highly valued, as well, including those at festivals in Berlin, Venice, and Toronto. Meanwhile, independent films are honored at such festivals as the Los Angeles Film Festival and Sundance Film Festival, in Salt Lake City, Utah.

OTHER AWARDS

Throughout the world, there are literally hundreds of other prizes and awards given by various organizations, including national film industry associations, cinema organizations, film workers organizations, and film fan groups. There are also numerous awards for independent films, including the Independent Golden Spirit Awards (in addition to other awards organized by chapters of the Independent Feature Project), and the Chlotrudis Awards, offered by the Society for Independent Film. Fan awards are given by various groups, including the online site, *Moviefone* (owned by America Online, http://www.movies.aol.com), which has organized the Moviegoer Awards since 1995, and *AtomFilms* (http://www.atomfilms.com), which offers the Star Wars Fan Film Awards.

Of course, there are also awards honoring the worst films of the year, including the "Razzies," presented by the Golden Raspberry Award Foundation since 1980, and the "Stinkers," awarded by the Bad Cinema Society since 1979. For more information, see, the film-oriented Website, *Internet Movie Database* (http://www.imdb.com), which offers an extensive list of awards and festivals—from the Ariel Awards (in Mexico) to the Zulu Awards (in Denmark)—and lists awards for individual films by year from 1893 to the present day. Another site that follows film (and other

show business) awards is *Showbiz Awards' Gold Derby* (http://www.goldderby.com).

SEE ALSO *Academy Awards®; Festivals; Publicity and Promotion*

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PRODUCER

In the most general terms, a film producer is responsible for the entire production of a film from its inception through its completion. The producer supervises all phases of production (development, pre-production, principal photography, post-production) and oversees or actively participates in a film's conceptualization, financing, budget controls, casting, and director and crew selection. The producer can also contribute significantly to a film's marketing and distribution. The producer's work is, at its core, managerial, administrative, financial, and creative. It is crucial to the realization of any film.

The work of the film producer has always been multifaceted and often difficult to define, particularly when compared with those of other major talents involved in filmmaking. Actors act; screenwriters write; directors work with the actors on staging and with cinematographers on camera placement and movement; cinematographers light and shoot films; editors cut them. In the case of the producer, by contrast, the range of responsibilities varies depending on the country, industry, studio, or production company in which the producer works and on the personal working habits of the producer. This elasticity of definition applies to the producer's work even today to the extent that the Producers Guild of America (PGA) has created a Producer's Code of Credits to help establish a system for awarding credit to film and television producers.

THE FILM PRODUCER'S FUNCTIONS

In American fiction feature filmmaking, the producer's work begins with the development phase of a production. The producer's work is first of all conceptual: he or she decides that a particular story and genre will prove profitable or at least attract a wide viewership. The story for the film can be an original idea or a pre-sold property (the *Harry Potter* series, the long-running musical *The Phantom of the Opera*) to which the producer obtains the rights to make a film version. The producer works with a screenwriter to develop a treatment (a relatively short prose summary) as a basis for gaining initial financing and getting stars or actors to commit to the project. If the producer is not working with the backing of a distribution company or studio, she or he also must raise the funds for the production after estimating a budget for the project. Hence, the producer's work is also financial in nature. When financing is secured, the producer typically works with the screenwriter on developing and completing the script. As an alternative to initiating a script, the producer can option a completed screenplay for possible production; even in this case, the producer may work with the writer to revise the script.

During the pre-production phase, the producer chooses the above-the-line talents for the project, most importantly the director and principal cast if they are not already associated with the project as a package. (If the producer is working on a studio-backed production, the studio executives also have a say in the choice of director and the casting.) The producer and director agree on the lead and supporting role casting, hire the below-the-line talents (the crew, including the cinematographer, production designer, costume designer, editor, special effects team, sound crew, composer, unit production manager, and casting director), and together scout locations. Many times these choices are based on the talent and crew's prior work and their skill in filmmaking within particular

genres. Finally, the producer and director (and, if appropriate, studio executives) approve the final shooting script, the final budget for the film, and the timetable for realizing the film. The budget decisions in particular affect many major aspects of the project, particularly its casting and its visual design. Conversely, getting the interest of a major star early on may enable the producer to develop a bigger budget for the project. Whatever the cost, if a film goes over budget or over schedule, the producer is held responsible. (In the case of a film produced for a major studio, the director and cinematographer may also assume fiduciary responsibility.)

During production, or principal photography, the producer supervises subordinate or co-producers, troubleshoots problems that arise on the set, and keeps track of how closely the production adheres to the budget and schedule. During principal photography, the producer typically can review the rushes (uncut footage of the day's shooting) with the director; he or she may or may not be present during the shooting on set. The producer can also negotiate between the demands of the studio financing the film or other financiers on the one hand and the needs of the creative talents on the other. Ideally the producer fosters a creative atmosphere in which the talents can work. She or he can also make concrete suggestions to the writer if a scene needs new dialogue or action; direct particular scenes if for some reason the director cannot; and troubleshoot problems on the set whether they involve personnel or technical difficulties.

Throughout post-production, the producer confers with the director and the editor on cutting and recutting the film for a first rough cut to show to the film's financial backers. The producer also consults with the director about, or directly confers with, the music supervisor and the composer and with the sound crew (which redubs dialogue for clarity and mixes sound effects, music, and dialogue). Beyond sound and editing, the producer can confer, again typically alongside the director, with the special effects team. The producer also ensures the proper credits are on the film, in accordance with union requirements. (If the project is a studio-financed film, company executives also review the credits.) When a final cut is completed, some producers arrange previews with audiences that might affect the film's final form (that is, audience comments could inspire the reshooting or recutting of certain scenes or the addition of new ones, such as changing the ending of a film). Some directors also have a right to hold previews of their final cut. When they finance the film, studios typically require several previews with audiences of different demographic groups, which can be arranged by the studio's marketing department. The producer also works with the director (recutting if necessary) to earn a contractually agreed-upon rating from the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA); often, this is a rating that ensures that the largest possible audience can attend the film without age restrictions as appropriate for the film's content. (For example, the producers may strive for a PG-13 rating rather than an R rating, or an R rating instead of NC-17.)

As the film takes its final form, the producer can work on its marketing and distribution by participating in the decisions made for the film upon its initial theatrical release. In this case, the producer confers with the film's distributor on release patterns (limited or saturation booking) and marketing plans, specifically its publicity and advertising for theatrical, broadcast, and home video distribution. Here, the producer can suggest which aspects of the film should be emphasized in posters, trailers, television spots, and so on. The producer can also confer on these aspects of a film's marketing for ancillary (post-domestic theatrical) venues such as foreign markets, airline screenings (for which alternative shots have been taken of potentially offensive scenes), pay or free cable or satellite television channels, and home video. This arena of distribution now extends to video on demand via cable television and the Internet.

Thus the film producer's functions are creative, conceptual, financial, managerial, administrative, and promotional, and they extend across the entire filmmaking process into marketing and distribution. Moreover, the producer's work can be defined and subdivided further. A producer's credit today, according to the PGA, means an individual has "taken responsibility for at least a majority of the functions performed and decisions made" in the various phases of the film's production and distribution, in terms of the film's creative and financial features. An associate producer has fulfilled one or more of the producer's tasks (conceptual, financial, organizational, managerial) in the course of a film's production, but this type of credit is notoriously applied so freely that it may be assigned to an individual who has done something as minimal as finding a shooting script. The PGA defines the executive producer as a producer who has made "a significant contribution to the development of the literary property" for the film or has facilitated at least a quarter of the film's financing, or both. In practice, the executive producer may bring one or more elements of a project package to the table, introduce above-the-line talents to each other, give the director feedback, or even just be willing to back a film without actually doing so. The executive may simultaneously be the film's line producer. A line producer oversees the actual production and post-production phases of a film project that has been packaged, financed, and is ready for production. The specialization of the producer's function

in filmmaking further testifies to its multifaceted, complex nature.

STUDIO AND INDEPENDENT PRODUCERS

In the Hollywood studio era (1920–1950), different producers performed these various functions (creative, conceptual, financial, managerial, promotional) to a greater or lesser extent. At one of the major studios (Columbia, MGM, Paramount, RKO, Twentieth Century Fox, Universal, Warner Bros.), the executive in charge of production could be creatively involved in the details of all or most of his or her company's films. This was especially the case during the 1920s, and at some studios through the 1950s, under a central producer system of production. For example, Irving Thalberg (1899–1936), the head of production at MGM from 1924 through 1932, conferred with screenwriters on script drafts, with directors on revised scripts, on the rushes shot during principal photography, and on film editing. Darryl F. Zanuck (1902–1979), the head of production at Warner Bros. through 1933 (responsible for the studio's major hits in the gangster and social problem genres such as *Little Caesar*, 1931; and *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang*, 1932) and then at Twentieth Century Fox from the mid-1930s through the 1950s (and intermittently in the 1960s), likewise was intimately involved in the creative process of making films.

Moreover, production executives like Thalberg or Zanuck chose the property, cast, screenwriter(s), and director for each film, and they also estimated its budget. They did not raise the funds for their studio's annual slate of films; instead, they worked within the annual budget handed them by the exhibition (theater-owning) division of their company. They divided the yearly amount into the budgets for different categories of films (such as programmers and prestige films) featuring various studio stars. Both Thalberg and Zanuck defined their respective studio's house style, genre preferences, and technical qualities (MGM's glossy, tasteful, high production values and Twentieth Century Fox's biopics, Americana films, and musicals).

Executives such as Thalberg and Zanuck either personally produced certain films (usually prestige productions) or assigned subordinates to several properties they had selected for filmmaking that year. By the early 1930s, studio producers sometimes were working with particular production units, comprised of stars, directors, contracted talents, and technicians, which turned out distinctive films in particular genres that added diversity to a major studio's slate of releases during a year. At MGM, Harry Rapf (1882–1949) worked on Joan Crawford melodramas, while Albert Lewin (1894–1968) produced sophisticated play adaptations.

These producer units were a successful way of organizing studio filmmaking, and at several studios (RKO, Paramount in the early 1930s, and MGM after Irving Thalberg's illness in 1933) this system replaced the central producer system. Val Lewton's (1904–1951) unit at RKO turned out memorable, minimalist horror films in the early 1940s (*Cat People*, 1942; *I Walked with a Zombie*, 1943; and *The Body Snatcher*, 1945). From 1939 onwards, Arthur Freed (1894–1973) ran a unit at MGM that produced some of the best musicals in Hollywood history, including *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), *On the Town* (1949), *An American in Paris* (1951), *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), and *The Band Wagon* (1953). In such cases, the producer formed productive, collaborative relationships with major directors: Lewton with Jacques Tourneur and Freed with Busby Berkeley, Vincente Minnelli, and Stanley Donen. Freed also had such relationships with major stars (Judy Garland and Gene Kelly).

The term "independent producer" is, if anything, more difficult to define than the work of the film producer. Defined strictly, the term can be applied to any filmmaker who does not work with or for a Hollywood studio or distributor. In this broad sense, independent production would extend to avant-garde independent filmmakers, such as Maya Deren (1917–1961); to documentary filmmakers, such as Barbara Kopple (b. 1946) or Errol Morris (b. 1948); to race filmmakers, such as Oscar Micheaux (1884–1951) and Spencer Williams (1893–1969); and to former Hollywood talents who left the industry, such as the blacklisted filmmakers of *The Salt of the Earth* (1954), Herbert J. Biberman and Michael Wilson. Most commonly, however, the term independent producer is applied to narrative filmmakers or filmmaking companies with no corporate ties to major studios or distributors beyond contracting for the distribution and financing of a single film or series of films. The term, however, is used very loosely.

Individual independent producers could be more or less involved in the realization of a film than studio producers and studio executives. David O. Selznick (1902–1965), one of the industry's major independent producers and best remembered for his blockbuster adaptation of *Gone with the Wind* (1939), led several independent companies (Selznick International, Selznick Picture Corporation, Vanguard Films Production). He financed his own films with bank loans and the proceeds from company stock, which he sold to himself, his family, and wealthy friends. He owned his own studio facilities. He placed major stars, directors, and technical crew members under contract to himself. But he also hired

IRVING THALBERG

b. Brooklyn, New York, 30 May 1899, d. 14 September 1936

Irving Thalberg is widely regarded as one of studio-era Hollywood's most successful producers and production executives. Under Thalberg's leadership, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) rose to the position of the most glamorous, technically accomplished, and prestigious studio in the industry from 1924 through the mid-1930s. Thalberg entered the film industry in 1918, rising to the post of special assistant to Universal Studios head Carl Laemmle before becoming head of production within a year at the age of twenty. He moved to Mayer Productions in 1923, which merged the following year into MGM, where he became vice president and supervisor of production. At MGM, Thalberg defined the term "boy wonder" in the industry as he instituted many budget and scheduling efficiencies.

Thalberg also had an excellent eye for filmable properties (often pre-sold projects such as successful plays and novels) and a superlative sense of casting (drawing from among MGM's "all the stars there are in the heavens"). The film industry admired him for maintaining high production values and "good taste." While an executive who assigned films to a team of producers, Thalberg also worked directly on several successful films, collaborating with creative personnel at every stage. He personally supervised as much as one-third of the studio's annual output, including *The Big Parade* (1925), *Ben Hur: A Tale of the Christ* (1925), *Flesh and the Devil* (1926) with Greta Garbo, and *Grand Hotel* (1932). Sometimes Thalberg required extensive, costly reshooting and recutting of films after negative previews, and he famously dismissed Erich von Stroheim from the post-production of *Greed* (1924).

Thalberg was effectively demoted from his executive position after suffering a heart attack in 1932, but he continued to produce many of the studio's most prestigious projects, including an adaptation of the stage hit *The Barretts of Wimpole Street* (1934), starring his wife, Norma Shearer. He also produced Ernst Lubitsch's musical comedy, *The Merry Widow* (1934), the Clark Gable-Charles Laughton seafaring adventure, *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935), and the Marx Brothers' *A Night at the Opera* (1935), as well as backing or personally producing (or both) such unusual films as King Vidor's common man melodrama, *The Crowd* (1928), his all-black cast musical, *Hallelujah* (1929), and Tod Browning's cult horror film, *Freaks* (1932). A year after Thalberg's death, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (which he helped found) created the Irving G. Thalberg Memorial Award "for the most consistent high level of production achievement by an individual producer." He was also the model for F. Scott Fitzgerald's Monroe Stahr in the writer's last novel, the unfinished *The Last Tycoon* (1941).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Big Parade (1925), *Ben Hur* (1926), *Grand Hotel* (1932), *The Merry Widow* (1934), *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935), *A Night at the Opera* (1935)

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these talents under contract at the major studios, and with a few exceptions, he produced films for major studio distribution or through United Artists, which had no studio. In this, he was like Samuel Goldwyn (1882–1974) and Walt Disney (1901–1966). Releasing films through the major distributors facilitated financing, since the distributors could actually advance funds or guarantee bank loans for particular films. The effect of these arrangements was that Selznick's independent filmmaking made him closely bound to the major distributors. For *Gone with the Wind*, for example, Selznick gained some production financing for what was the most

Irving Thalberg. **PHOTO BY RUSSELL BALL/EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

expensive Hollywood film to date (over $4 million), but he had to grant MGM the right to distribute his epic in exchange for the casting of MGM contractee and major star Clark Gable in the lead as Rhett Butler.

Still, independent producers like Selznick could gain greater creative autonomy than they would enjoy at a major studio as an executive or studio producer. Selznick worked with various scriptwriters to adapt Margaret Mitchell's best-selling novel, fired one director and hired another during principal photography, and made major decisions in the post-production phase about which scenes to retain and which to discard, and within each scene, which shots to use. In short, Selznick was completely in charge of the films he produced.

Not all studio-era independent producers enjoyed Selznick's autonomy or chose to be so involved in film production. Samuel Goldwyn financed his own films almost entirely by himself and he owned his own studio facilities, but he generally let his screenwriters and directors work without his detailed participation in production and was content to comment on the overall results. Walter Wanger (1894–1968), who—like Goldwyn and Selznick—released through United Artists in the 1930s, was not financially independent. His production companies always relied heavily on bank loans and distributor advances and contracts from major studios, which meant his productions were subject to the oversight of the banks and distribution companies. Yet, Wanger was still considered an independent producer in the studio era, one who, like Selznick, had worked as both a production executive and a studio producer beforehand, and he produced several controversial political films (*The President Vanishes*, 1934; *Blockade*, 1938; and *Foreign Correspondent*, 1940) that major studios and other independents would not have backed. The differences among Goldwyn, Selznick, and Wanger demonstrate how elastic the term ''independent producer'' was during the studio era.

DIRECTORS AND STARS AS PRODUCERS

With the rise of *auteur* criticism in America in the 1960s—which argued that the best Hollywood studio-era films were the result of their directors' ability to impose their artistry and vision on studio films—classical Hollywood producers, whether studio executive, studio producer, or independent producer, were regarded as obstacles to (most often) the film director's personal expression. In certain cases, producers certainly were. At Universal, Thalberg notoriously refused to let Erich von Stroheim (1885–1957) complete *Foolish Wives* (1922) and drove him off the production of *Merry-Go-Round* (1923); at MGM, he refused to release von Stroheim's multi-hour version of *Greed* (1924), cutting the film down to two-and-a-half hours. Thalberg's implementation of systematic, efficient, and budget-conscious filmmaking at both Universal and MGM impressed the entire industry, and his assertion of authority over von Stroheim was emblematic of a shift in creative authority from directors to producers by the mid-1920s.

Other films suffered from producer interference in the studio era. MGM's production executives famously insisted that Fritz Lang (1890–1976) provide happy endings to *Fury* (1936), his social problem film about lynching, and the film noir *The Woman in the Window* (1945), casting the events of the film as a nightmare, even thought this latter film was produced for an ''independent'' company releasing through RKO. Orson Welles's *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942) was dramatically recut by then-RKO editor Robert Wise at the behest of studio head George J. Schaefer (1920–1997) while Welles was abroad shooting a never-completed film, ''It's All True.''

Yet the evidence of the Lewton and Freed units also demonstrates how the input and support of producers aided and improved the realization of particular films. Producer Hal Wallis (1899–1986) contributed the memorable final line (''Louis, I think this is the beginning of a

beautiful friendship'') to *Casablanca* (1942), a film whose ending was uncertain during principal photography. The degree to which an actively involved film producer helped or ruined a particular film depended on the production policies at the studio or ''independent'' company involved and the proclivities and personality of the particular producer. Studio-era producers also handled the challenge of negotiating with the Production Code Administration to keep controversial subject matter (illicit sexual relations, criminal behavior, and so on) in screenplays and finished films. This could be another arena in which the producer supported the aims and desires of the director, screenwriter, and cast.

Other producers secured the financing, hired the talents, and let them create their films with a minimum of interference. George J. Schaefer granted Orson Welles unprecedented creative freedom under a contract that led to the making of *Citizen Kane* (1941). Walter Wanger contributed only studio space and financing to one of his most famous and financially successful films, John Ford's *Stagecoach* (1939). Wanger did the same for one of Ford's most unusual box-office flops, *The Long Voyage Home* (1940). In such instances, Wanger in effect allowed Ford to function as his own producer. As these examples suggest, the same producer (Schaefer) could remain hands-off for one project and hands-on for another, and the same policy of granting a director complete autonomy (Wanger's) could result in box-office success or failure.

In the studio era, many directors craved the autonomy, creative authority, and responsibility that Wanger granted Ford. In the 1910s only the most successful directors and stars had gained such power; key examples were the director D. W. Griffith (1875–1948), the actor-director Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977), and the stars Mary Pickford (1892–1979) and Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939), the quartet who owned their own studios and formed United Artists in 1919 to distribute their films. Beginning especially in the 1940s, some Hollywood directors and stars assumed the producer's role as well (in part because it was advantageous from an income-tax standpoint). Many directors (as well as stars) formed their own companies or negotiated with major studios for producing powers: Frank Capra (1897–1991), George Stevens (1904–1975), and William Wyler (1902–1981) created Liberty Films; Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) was a producer-director on all his films after his contract with David O. Selznick ended in the late 1940s; and screenwriter-directors like Billy Wilder (1906–2002) and Joseph Mankiewicz (1909–1993) had also assumed the function of producer on their own films by the 1950s. Stars such as James Cagney (1899–1986), Kirk Douglas (b. 1916), and Burt Lancaster (1913–1994) formed their own production companies, making important films for major studio distribution and claiming a share of their film's profits. As with Disney, Goldwyn, Selznick, and Wanger in earlier decades, these companies were considered ''independent producers'' despite their mutually beneficial relationship with the major distributors. For in all these cases, whether they had their own production company or not, directors and stars secured distribution and financing through the major studios.

Independent producers could do this by the mid-1950s in part because of the US Supreme Court's *Paramount* decision of 1948. This ruling forced the majors to sell off their theaters and thus lose their guaranteed income from ticket sales, in response to which the studios let go of hundreds of talents under contract. In this context, the way Hollywood producers worked changed significantly. Instead of drafting talents under contract at the studios where a producer worked or formed an affiliation, the producer during development and pre-production typically assembled talent from around the entire film industry: a bankable star or stars, a screenwriter, and a director for his or her property, as well as the crew. Under this new ''package'' system, which United Artists pioneered in the early 1950s, once the independent producer assembled the package, she or he would try to interest a studio, a distributor, or both in investing in the project. The studio could also help with providing or guaranteeing financing and providing or facilitating the rental of sound stages and equipment, as well as distribution and promotion. Stars themselves could more easily become their own producers. Warren Beatty (b. 1937), for example, produced and starred in the landmark gangster film *Bonnie and Clyde* in 1967 for Warner Bros. Agents also became packagers (albeit without producer credit) because of their representation of many types of talent whom they could easily package for a film. One such agent, Lew Wasserman (1913–2002), became head of the entertainment conglomerate MCA, which owned Universal Pictures.

FILM PRODUCERS TODAY

Twenty-first century Hollywood producers, whether they are single-threat producers or stars, managers, directors or screenwriters, still work to assemble films by packaging a project during the development and pre-production phases of filmmaking described above and they fulfill various producer responsibilities in the subsequent phases of filmmaking as well. It should be noted that none of the studios have producers on staff, as regular employees. Rather, they have studio executives ''greenlight'' productions which non-studio producers realize, and which the studio executives oversee in all phases of filmmaking. To succeed, both the studio production chief and the

Jennifer Beals in* Flashdance *(1983), a high concept film produced by Jerry Bruckheimer. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

individual producer cultivate relationships with directors, major stars, and other talents (including other producers), and they develop ideas or properties to offer them.

Major Hollywood studios typically contract with ''independent producers'' to realize films which the studios can help finance and then distribute and market. If such a partnership is successful, the distributor can gain the right of first refusal for any project the ''independent producer'' develops. One example of this arrangement is producer Brian Grazer and director Ron Howard's Imagine Entertainment. After directing films for different distributors (*Splash*, 1984, for Touchstone; and *Gung Ho*, 1986, for Paramount), Howard joined forces with producer Grazer to form their company. The first Imagine film was *Willow* (1988, for MGM); the following year, Imagine produced *Parenthood* for Universal distribution and inaugurated an association with Universal that continued through *Apollo 13* (1995), the Academy Award®-winning *A Beautiful Mind* (2001), and *Cinderella Man* (2005, co-produced with Touchstone and Miramax), with the exceptions of *Ransom* (1996) and *The Alamo* (2004) for Touchstone. As an independent company, Imagine Entertainment is a corporate entity separate from Universal, yet the distributor's backing facilitated the production of more than twelve Imagine titles, and Universal distribution (for even more Imagine productions) ensured that Imagine's films received the widest distribution. Ron Howard was credited as a producer for only four of the twelve films; partner Brian Grazer was a producer for all of them.

Other directors also produce many of their own films: Steven Spielberg produced nine of the sixteen films he directed between *E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial* (1982) and *Munich* (2005). Stars can do likewise. Tom Cruise has produced several of the films he has starred in since *Mission: Impossible* (1996) via his own company, Cruise/Wagner Productions, in collaboration with Paramount Pictures. It is relatively rare for a single-threat

JERRY BRUCKHEIMER

b. Detroit, Michigan, 21 September 1945

Jerry Bruckheimer may be the best-known single-threat producer in contemporary Hollywood. He is famous for producing fast-paced action films with major stars that thrive at the box office. As of 2003, his films collectively had grossed over $3 billion in theatrical release alone.

Bruckheimer came to filmmaking from advertising. His first producer credit (along with three other producers) was for the neo-noir *Farewell, My Lovely* (1975), which revived Robert Mitchum's status as a film noir icon, and his first solo producer credit was for Paul Schrader's *American Gigolo* (1980) with Richard Gere. In 1981 Bruckheimer partnered with Don Simpson, a former Paramount production executive, to create a series of high concept films (movies easy to summarize and advertise), such as *Flashdance* (1983) and *Beverly Hills Cop* (1984), that were extremely successful. The team crystallized its formula with the Tom Cruise vehicle *Top Gun* in 1986, a flag-waving action film about navy pilots in training that certified Cruise as a major star. The partnership flourished through 1995, the year of *Bad Boys*, with Will Smith and Martin Lawrence, but the pair split up shortly before Simpson died of a heart attack in 1996.

Subsequently, Bruckheimer has continued to make action films, often pairing older male stars with up-and-coming leads, as in *The Rock* (1996), with Sean Connery and Nicolas Cage; *Armageddon* (1998), with Bruce Willis and Ben Affleck; and *Enemy of the State* (1998), with Gene Hackman and Smith again. On these films he has tended to favor particular directors with distinctive visual styles: Tony Scott for *Top Gun*, *Beverly Hills Cop II* (1987), *Days of Thunder* (1990), *Crimson Tide* (1995), and *Enemy of the State*; and Michael Bay for *Bad Boys*, *The Rock*, *Armageddon*, *Pearl Harbor* (2001), and *Bad Boys II* (2003). But he also has varied his output more, moving into other genres as well as producing highly successful shows for series television, including CBS's *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* (beginning 2000), which has three spinoffs set in specific cities, as well as *Without a Trace* (beginning 2002) and *Cold Case* (beginning 2003).

Bruckheimer is closely involved in the production process, insisting on authentic historical recreations for *Blackhawk Down* (2001), defending Johnny Depp's casting and performance in *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2003), and having the film re-scored shortly before its premiere. Bruckheimer produces most of his films for Disney; Disney, in turn, provides him with $10 million a year to develop projects and set up his extensive production office and staff, and it pays him $5 million plus 7.5 percent of the studio's income from each film. Bruckheimer's skill at packaging (often original) stories, scripts, and stars with mass appeal is undeniable: *Pirates of the Caribbean* alone reportedly earned $654 million in domestic, international, and ancillary markets and another $360 million in DVD sales. His 2003 box-office grosses were greater than those of MGM and DreamWorks combined.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

American Gigolo (1980), *Thief* (1981), *Beverly Hills Cop* (1984), *Enemy of the State* (1998), *Remember the Titans* (2000), *Black Hawk Down* (2001), *Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl* (2003)

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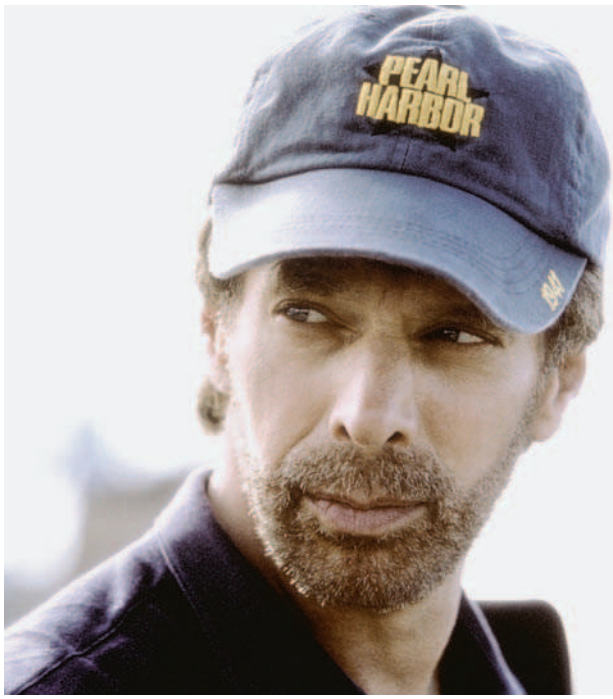
Matthew H. Bernstein

film producer to be a household name today; Jerry Bruckheimer (b. 1945), the producer of many popular television shows and box-office hits, especially action films, from *Beverly Hills Cop* (1984) through *Top Gun* (1986) to *Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl* (2003), is one.

The term "independent producer" in the twenty-first century is more accurately applied to filmmakers working outside of Hollywood, but it is still as unsystematically applied as is the producer label. Typically, independent producers realize a film project without a contract with a major distributor for financing or distribution. This



Jerry Bruckheimer. **© BUENA VISTA/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

situation can give filmmakers (especially the screenwriter and director) greater creative freedom than working on a project for a major distributor might allow. The producer here arranges financing sources, which range from family members, domestic banks, and loan companies to the sale of film rights to foreign television or for foreign distribution. For American distribution, the independent producer shows the completed film to major or so-called mini-major companies, such as the "boutique" divisions of the majors (Miramax at Disney, Sony Pictures Classics at Sony Pictures, Paramount Classics at Paramount Pictures, Focus Features at Universal, Fox Searchlight at Twentieth Century Fox), or to autonomous small distributors, such as Magnolia Pictures, IFC (Independent Film Channel) Pictures, Lions Gate Films, and Newmarket Films; the latter distributed *Memento* (2000) and *The Passion of the Christ* (2004) when other distributors would not.

The presentation of the independently produced film to distributors often happens at film festivals such as Cannes, Toronto, or Sundance. Jim Jarmusch's *Stranger Than Paradise* (1984), Spike Lee's *She's Gotta Have It* (1986), Richard Linklater's *Slacker* (1991), and Kevin Smith's *Clerks* (1994) are all examples of successful independent productions that ultimately received national distribution and box-office success, in part because of their extremely small budgets. Examples of independent production companies that produce feature films would include Film Colony, Ltd. (*Finding Neverland*, 2004), Good Machine (*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, 2000; and *Brokeback Mountain*, 2005), and Killer Films (*Boys Don't Cry*, 1999). The boutique distributors (among which Miramax was a pioneer before its 1993 acquisition by Disney) also co-produce independent films; their subsidiary status again demonstrates how hazy the term "independent production" can be when applied to contemporary filmmaking.

Whether a film is studio produced or independently produced, its producer fulfills a major function in a project's realization. No film is made without a producer; this is one reason why film producers are listed when films are nominated for Best Picture Academy Awards® and why they accept the statuette when their film wins. This seems appropriate, given the varied and essential nature of the producer's contribution to the making of a film.

SEE ALSO *Auteur Theory and Authorship; Independent Film; Production Process; Studio System*

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Matthew H. Bernstein

PRODUCTION DESIGN

Production design is the creation and organization of the physical world surrounding a film story. The term was coined by producer David O. Selznick (1902–1965) to describe the greater-than-normal contribution of designer William Cameron Menzies (1896–1957) to *Gone with the Wind* (1939), but the exact responsibilities of a production designer inevitably vary from film to film. In some cases, the production designer is almost completely responsible for the overall look of a film; in others, particularly when working with directors with strong visual styles, a designer's contribution tends to be much more limited. Art direction and production design often overlap, although credit for production design is seen as more inclusive. During the studio era, production designers, as opposed to art directors, were the exception.

The production designer's primary, though by no means exclusive, responsibility is the design of the sets. Exact responsibility varies from one film industry to another. In the United States, for example, production design and costume design are usually two separate professions. In other major film industries, the two responsibilities are often held by a single person. Before designing anything, the designer develops a "design concept," an overarching metaphor for the film's appearance that governs individual choices. This "concept" may or may not be established in conjunction with the director. Once settled upon, however, it structures all decisions made, helping the art staff to give an individual film visual distinction.

REALISM AND STYLIZATION

As in every cinematic subdiscipline, designers begin with the script and make their contributions within the limits and opportunities the story provides. The options available to them move along a spectrum from realism to stylization. (In this context, "realism" should be understood as a particular *style* that seeks to convince viewers they are watching events unfold in the real world.) The approach a designer takes (strict realism, heavy stylization, or something in between) is often predetermined by the genre of film on which he or she is working.

At the "realistic" end of the spectrum are stories such as war films, police dramas, and westerns. These genres derive much of their power from the illusion of occurring in the here and now. The violence and horror of the war film is most effective when viewers believe a soldier can be maimed or killed by the grenade dropped in the trench next to him, while the police drama convinces audiences that real criminals are being chased when both pursued and pursuer pound the pavement of real cities.

Such a strict notion of realism, however, is just one approach to production design. Another, at the opposite extreme, creates thoroughly unrealistic, heavily stylized environments that make no attempt to convince viewers they are watching any real, lived-in or *live* world. These designs try instead to create an alternative environment with an internally consistent logic that lasts as long as the film's duration. Films from genres such as fantasy, science fiction, and the musical are often heavily stylized. Fantasy and science fiction require an extreme attention to consistent, self-referring design because of the extra difficulty of creating a world that by its very nature appears odd. In musicals, the alternative reality is less one of space and technology than of psychology, as the

WILLIAM CAMERON MENZIES

b. New Haven, Connecticut, 29 July 1896, d. 5 March 1957

Probably most famous as the production designer for *Gone with the Wind* (1939), William Cameron Menzies had a long, distinguished career as an art director and production designer, as well as a less well-known one as a director. As a designer, Menzies's work displays a distinctiveness unusual for Hollywood. While most Hollywood art direction and production design is unimaginative and inexpressive, Menzies had a talent for creating environments that impress for themselves, regardless of story requirements.

His work for *Gone with the Wind*, for example, has a larger-than-life quality in keeping with the film's inflation of a romantic melodrama to pseudo-epic proportions. The film's impossibly lush and glossy environment is historically accurate, but far too rich (and clean) for a truly realistic depiction of the antebellum South. This somewhat overstuffed environment can no doubt partly be attributed to the pretensions of *GWTW*'s producer, David O. Selznick. *Invaders from Mars* (1953), however, which Menzies directed and over which he presumably exercised greater control, has an equally assertive, if very different, physical environment. In his designs for *Mars*, Menzies goes to the opposite extreme of *GWTW*, creating images so spare they verge on the abstract. And while the camera angles in *GWTW* are largely the dull, actor-centered, heads-on middle-distances of romantic melodrama, those in *Mars* are frequently angled to accentuate visual rather than dramatic impact, relegating the actors to little more than décor.

Menzies's most famous film as a director was his adaptation of H. G. Wells's *Things to Come* (1936), for which he was not credited with production design. Visually, it bears greater similarity to *Mars* than to *GWTW*, possibly because both are science fiction films. Menzies's propensity for low angles that pose the actors against the set and show off the architecture is notable in both films. What is certainly as true of *Things to Come* as of either *GWTW* or *Mars* is the assertiveness of the physical environment. It is therefore possible that much of Menzies's reputation as one of Hollywood's preeminent production designers rests on the obviousness of his contributions. While most Hollywood films from the classical period deliberately and systematically suppressed the physical world in favor of story, Menzies managed to make viewers aware of the physical environment. His triumph was to impart a degree of individual expression to the typically impersonal world of Hollywood design.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

As Production Designer: *Gone with the Wind* (1939), *King's Row* (1942), *Pride of the Yankees* (1942); As Director and Production Designer: *Invaders from Mars* (1953); As Director: *Things to Come* (1936); As Associate Director and Associate Art Director (uncredited): *The Thief of Bagdad* (1940)

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Charles Tashiro

characters live in a world in which they express themselves through song and dance.

Somewhere between these two poles of realism and stylization are genres such as the period film or the detective story. Period films are unique because the antiques they pull together to provide the realistic illusion of a particular period are by definition different from contemporary reality, and therefore provide a form of stylization. For example, the audience's expectation of realistic spatial representation would immediately mark an automobile or cell phone that appeared in a story set in 1700 as "wrong." Disbelief could not be suspended, and the reality of the fictional world could not be established. At the same time, objects that period characters might take as everyday objects, such as handcrafted woodworking tools, are unfamiliar to contemporary audiences.

With mysteries, the primary appeal is intellectual rather than emotional. The goal of the filmmakers is to keep one step ahead of the viewer's ability to figure out

Production designer William Cameron Menzies shows his drawings to star Ann Sheridan and director Sam Wood during the filming of* King's Row *(1942). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the solution. The physical environment then takes on a uniquely assertive presence, as objects themselves (murder weapons, stolen jewels, bits of clothing evidence) become a greater focus of attention than in most films. Who owns what particular object, or when it was visible or available and so on are central questions to unraveling the mystery. The British television series *Poirot* (beginning 1989), for example, takes the mystery genre's attention to objects to such an extreme that the series verges on the fetishistic.

Of course, there are innumerable exceptions to these generalizations. Generic precedents are at most guidelines filmmakers know about when starting a film, but which they are always free to ignore. Generic expectation is important in understanding how a designer may approach an individual project. Designers naturally stress how their choices have been shaped by an individual story; nonetheless, prior models always operate in the designers' minds as they make decisions. While the options available are vast, they are not unlimited, nor are they as wide as filmmakers would often like the public to believe.

The relationship between the look of films in the same genre becomes apparent over time, when the publicity used to distinguish one film from another has died away and nothing is left but the films themselves, For instance, Hollywood musicals from the early 1950s, despite being examples of one of the most stylized of genres, theoretically should be individually distinctive; yet they are remarkably similar visually, with spare sets, bright Technicolor photography, posh upper or upper-middle class settings, and so on. Biblical-era epics from the same period manage to make ancient Rome and

The sleek futuristic design of* Things to Come *(1936), designed and directed by William Cameron Menzies. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Judea look remarkably the same, regardless of whether they are telling the story of Christ (*The Robe* [1953], *Ben-Hur* [1959], *King of Kings* [1961], *Barabbas*, [1953]), dramatizing earlier events from the Bible (*Solomon and Sheba* [1959], *David and Bathsheba* [1951]) or dealing with nonreligious topics (*Spartacus* [1960]).

When a film does manage a distinctive look, it frequently becomes a model for others so that its innovative style gets lost in a sea of imitation. The highly stylized evocation of Fascist Italy created by designer Ferdinando Scarfiotti (1941–1994) for *Il Conformista* (*The Conformist*, 1970) became the model for several subsequent fascist revival films in the 1970s. The vision of the future as a bleak, wet, trash-filled nightmare so powerfully evoked by designer Lawrence Paull (b. 1938) in *Blade Runner* (1982) became almost an instant cliché in 1980s dystopian science fiction. Even as highly unrealistic a period environment as that created by Luigi Scaccianoce (1914–1981) for *Fellini Satyricon* (1969), which consciously avoids the clichés for depicting ancient Rome, has direct descendants in films such as *Caligula* (1979).

Undue emphasis should not be placed on the relationship between story and design. For while designers start with the script, there are often competing demands that emerge from the effort to serve the story. The most common factor competing for the designer's attention is the demands of characters when they work against the overall design scheme for the story. For example, the hard-edged, material glitter that structures the design for *The Thomas Crown Affair* (1999) gives way to fairly drab, routine materials in scenes in the police station, or in the police lieutenant's home.

PRODUCTION REALITIES

Even the best and most famous production designers are constrained by the collaborative work environment of the

typical movie production. While charged with creating the physical world for a movie, the designer usually has little control over how the design is lit or photographed, or how actors will be positioned in relation to his or her sets. The look of a film is really achieved in collaboration at least with the director of photography (DP), who in turn answers to the same master, the director.

At the simplest level, this collaboration dictates how much of an environment the designer has to create. In a brute, literal sense, a production design always ends exactly at the edge of the frame. Thus the designer must have a sense of how much of a set or location a director or DP wants to show, which in turn is determined by the photographic process (academy ratio vs. widescreen, or anamorphic widescreen vs. matted) and lens choice (does the director prefer wide angles, or have a fondness for close-ups?) Also, different film stocks may have particular sensitivities that discourage the use of colors in a given range, or be particularly poor in resolving objects in shadow. At a more sophisticated level, the designer has to consider technical issues, such as whether or not the DP wants some kind of "practical" (i.e., visible) lamps on the set to serve as the (illusory) lighting source. Will the characters enter a dark room at night and turn on the light that will become the "key light" (primary illumination) for the scene? If so, the production designer will not only have to find or make a lamp that fits into the design concept, he or she will also have to be certain that its placement will not interfere with the lights on the set that are the true illumination.

Similarly, when working with a director who plans to use a lot of camera movement, the designer and DP must be certain that some walls can be rolled out of the way quickly to accommodate the camera crew as it moves with the action, that there is sufficient space for the camera and crew regardless of where the camera is pointed and where it is moving, and so on. Sufficient space for camera and crew is one of the major considerations in deciding whether or not to use a sound stage. If the director insists on elaborate camerawork, and a location set cannot accommodate camera and crew, a sound stage is a must.

Beyond such technical considerations, there is the subtle, ineffable, but necessary question of what simply feels "right" for a particular design. While designers may have a lot of say in creating or finding these details, it is ultimately the director who decides what is included or excluded from the frame. And because it is ultimately the director who makes such decisions, it is also ultimately the director, not the designer, who determines the final visual style of a project.

Fernando Scarfiotti stylized Fascist Italy in* Il Conformista *(*The Conformist*, Bernardo Bertolucci. 1970). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

FERDINANDO SCARFIOTTI

b. Potenza Picena, Marchesa, Italy, 6 March 1941, d. 20 April 1994

A successful scenic designer before entering film, production designer Ferdinando Scarfiotti rose to prominence on the basis of his collaborations with directors Luchino Visconti and Bernardo Bertolucci. It was Scarfiotti's first film with Bertolucci, *Il Conformista* (*The Conformist*, 1970), that especially assured his reputation. While not as well known as Bertolucci or cinematographer Vittorio Storaro, Scarfiotti is at least as responsible for the influential look and feel of the films they made together.

Although there is a tendency towards the baroque in much of Scarfiotti's work, like that of most production designers it embraces a wide range of styles. Such blatantly stylized and designed environments as those created for *Flash Gordon* (1980) and *Scarface* (1983), for example, contrast with the more realistic environments in *Morte a Venezia* (*Death in Venice*, (1971), *Daisy Miller* (1974) or *Ultimo tango a Parigi* (*Last Tango in Paris*, 1972). His work in *The Conformist* brings together artifacts, fashions, and architecture from the 1930s that are perfectly believable as everyday objects, but which nonetheless have been carefully selected for their visual distinction. The film has a complex richness, not inherent in any one object, but present *in toto*. *American Gigolo* (1980) seduces the viewer into sympathy with an unattractive character by wrapping him in the sexy stylishness of high fashion and self-conscious design. In *Death in Venice*, the protagonist's loneliness and ill health are made compelling by cushioning him in lush *fin-de-siècle* trappings almost suffocating in their rich heaviness. It is impossible to imagine any of these films without their environments, for their spaces and objects are integral to their meaning.

By contrast, Scarfiotti's more obvious designs are less successful. In the quasi-Camp environment of *Flash Gordon*, for example, one is aware of the intention to produce a comic-book world, but it never comes to life. The fantasy sequences in *Cat People* (1982) are sketchy and under-realized, as if both director and production designer were not quite certain what the sets were meant to achieve. The over-the-top visuals in *Scarface* convey nothing more than the effort to be flamboyant.

Scarfiotti's main gift, and probably his greatest influence, was his ability to create highly stylized visual environments that were never completely removed from what seemed at least theoretically possible in the everyday world. His legacy lies in finding that point of equilibrium wherein production design ceases being a passive background and becomes an integral part of a film's meaning without overwhelming it with visual excess, even as it creates a hyper-real sensuality.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Il Conformista (*The Conformist*, 1970), *Morte a Venezia* (*Death in Venice*, 1971), *Ultimo tango a Parigi* (*Last Tango in Paris*, 1972), *Daisy Miller* (1974), *American Gigolo* (1980, uncredited), *Cat People* (1982), *Scarface* (1983, uncredited), *The Last Emperor* (1987), *The Sheltering Sky* (*Il Tè nel deserto*, 1990) *Toys* (1992)

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Charles Tashiro

DIRECTORS AND DESIGNERS

While it cannot be quantified or otherwise evaluated scientifically, there are differences between the contributions of a production designer and a director with a strong visual sense. To understand why, it is necessary to understand what the two positions have in common and what they do not. After the director, the production designer is the person with the most comprehensive artistic overview of a project. Their functions are so close in pre-production and early production that it is not much of an exaggeration to think of the production designer as a second director.

Once production begins, however, the designer's importance diminishes considerably. While designers are likely to remain on payroll through production, and are often asked to perform work during shooting, their creative input at that stage moves from the conceptual to the technical. That is, they are less involved in making artistic choices than in supervising the execution of decisions made earlier. The creative function has shifted from

Ferdinando Scarfiotti. JOHN BARR/LIAISON/GETTY IMAGES.

the design to the photography and staging, to the realms of the director of photography, the actors, and the director. And, of course, the designer is not needed at all in post-production.

However, many directors do not involve themselves in these matters either. This is a significant factor in whether or not the director's work will, in fact, have a strong personal style or will be mainly a record of collaboration. In the latter case, the designer's impact on the film's visual style will be much more apparent as the trace of the primary personality involved in the creation of its visual aspect. Yet even in such cases, it is rare for designers' work to have as distinctive a look as that of visually assertive directors. In other words, when working for a director with a weak visual sense, the resulting images will almost certainly represent the designer's sensibility more than the director's; but that sensibility will be difficult to discern in other films, particularly when the designer works for a strong director, because of the designer's subordinate position. The relative strengths of a designer and a director can be found by looking at the work of famous designer/director pairings, and comparing them to work either partner has performed with others. Such partnerships as Richard MacDonald (1919–1993) and Joseph Losey (1909–1984), Ferdinando Scarfiotti and Bernardo Bertolucci, and Santo Loquasto (b. 1944) and Woody Allen offer object lessons in understanding the contribution of design to cinematic visual style.

The partnership between MacDonald and Losey is one of the most famous, and Losey openly acknowledged the importance of production design to his work. While each was responsible for over thirty feature films, they worked together on nine. MacDonald worked with several other well-known directors, including Ken Russell, Fred Schepisi, and John Schelsinger; Losey worked with at least one other designer, Alexandre Trauner (1906–1993), as well known as MacDonald. There is little in subject matter to tie the late film noir atmosphere of Losey's *The Criminal* (1960) to the quasi-comic melodrama of *The Romantic Englishwoman* (1975) and even less to tie either to the theatrical artifice of *Galileo* (1975) or *King and Country* (1964). The photographic styles do not help much either, veering between the low-key, chiaroscuoro black-and-white lighting of *The Criminal* to the bright, colorful, op-art-inspired *Modesty Blaise* (1966).

Yet all nine films exhibit a similar sensitivity to architecture and its relation to the human form. This in itself is a clue to who was primarily responsible for their look, since the director, not the production designer, would place the actors in a space. Similarly, the nine films Losey and MacDonald made together tend to have few close-ups; scenes often play out in relative long shot, maximizing our perception of the characters in relation to their surroundings. While this sensitivity to architecture and self-conscious positioning of characters in relation to it is a common visual trait in these nine films, the collaborations between Losey and Trauner (*Don Giovanni* [1979] and *La Truite* [1982]) reveal the same fascination with architecture and the human form. There are differences in emphasis in the Losey-Trauner collaborations. Losey's work with Trauner tends to be more decorative, with very lush details filling out the frame. But the angles are just as wide as Losey's work with MacDonald, the compositions just as elaborate and self-conscious.

MacDonald's work with Schlesinger and Schepisi is similar enough in subject to his collaborations with Losey that one might expect similar visual environments. Yet while there is some of the same architectural sophistication in *Plenty* (1985, which, like *Galileo*, was based on a play), it is largely absent from *The Russia House* (1990). Similarly, while *The Day of the Locust* (1975) exhibits

some visual excess similar to Losey's collaborations with Trauner, MacDonald's other collaborations with Schlesinger are marked by a realism that verges on the mundane and invisible. None of the work MacDonald and Schlesinger did together shows that effort to use architecture expressively as in the Losey-MacDonald collaborations.

PRODUCTION DESIGN AND THE AUDIENCE

While there have been many examples of film design initiating or participating in fashion crazes, and while it has become almost common since the success of the *Star Wars* films for movie companies to merchandise objects and memorabilia related to blockbuster releases, production design's most influential relationship with the audience is both more subtle and powerful than individual merchandising strategies. It is the cumulative effect of the narrative feature's designed environment that has to be understood to realize the significance of production design in audiences' daily lives. Production design's influence in these matters arises more from a general expectation that life may be as ordered and beautiful as the average film image. In this regard, it is not significantly different from standard advertising, with one major exception. Because the television commercial or glossy magazine spread is obviously selling a way of life, the ad can be rejected. The narrative feature, on the other hand, is not obviously selling anything beyond itself, while at the same time creating the illusion that the perfect images and ordered lives it presents are feasible.

If it is assumed that the least noticeable production design is at the realist end (because the filmmakers are striving to provide the illusion that the fictional events are occurring as viewers watch them), it also may be assumed that to some extent the designers are trying to embed the story in a physically plausible environment. In other words, the world on the screen has to convince audiences it actually exists in order for the realism of the story to succeed. At the same time, in fiction films even the most realistic of cinematic environments provide a structured, dramatically heightened world. Details are included for their thematic and symbolic relevance to story and character; atmosphere is subordinated to dramatic need. So even a reasonably realistic view of, say, an average, suburban middle-class American home will be improbably neat and tidy because everyday messes are not necessary for the story. And unless it figured in the story in some way, the action would be unlikely to show anyone cleaning or tidying up. For example, despite the fact that *Mildred Pierce* (1945) works all day at home to make ends meet, has two daughters (one of them a physically active tomboy), an unemployed husband under foot, and no one to help her, her home is impeccably spruce.

Nor is the source of the money that supports these environments depicted very often. When the protagonist of *American Beauty* (1999) leaves his job, there is no material change in his way of life; it is as if the lush furnishings and draperies of his home exist apart from such contingencies. Even when a character's work is included, it tends to be subordinated to his or her emotional concerns. (Unemployment is significant for the hero of *American Beauty* because it is part of his midlife crisis, not because he is unable to pay his bills.) In other words, nearly every action in the story is focused on those aspects of a character's life that are "interesting" or "dramatic," rather than grounded in daily, grubby activity. This is the inevitable distortion of art. When combined with physically rich environments and effective cinematography, such dramatic heightening is expressed not only in the story and characters, but also in the spaces they inhabit. Created by sophisticated technicians, production design provides a richly saturated ideal, the contemporary measure of style.

SEE ALSO *Cinematography; Crew; Direction; Lighting; Production Process*

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Charles Tashiro

PRODUCTION PROCESS

Film production involves a complex set of processes that balance aesthetic, financial, and organizational needs. These processes have changed over time: some changes have arisen in response to the different kinds of film that have dominated various industrial eras; some have arisen from the changing shape of industrial organization; and others are a function of the ways in which technology has evolved. Yet even in the present day, filmmaking practices used to create different types of film can vary greatly. The production processes of a live-action film and an animated film, for instance, will differ substantially. Nevertheless, the main stages through which production moves are normally clearly identifiable regardless of the type of film involved. This process is conventionally divided into four parts: development, which deals with conceiving, planning, and financing the film project; preproduction, when key resources such as cast, crew, and sets are assembled and prepared; principal photography, during which time the film is actually shot; and postproduction, which involves editing the raw footage and adding the visual effects and soundtrack.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTION PROCESS IN THE UNITED STATES

Early films dating from the 1890s were far shorter and less technically complex than feature films in the twenty-first century. As a rule, they did not require either a script or a large crew. Many were nonfictional films, known as *actualités*, which in some instances simply involved setting the camera up in front of a street scene (or other view), filming for a short while, developing and printing the film, and then screening it unedited. The Lumière brothers' (Auguste Lumière, [1862–1954]; Louis Lumière, [1864–1948]) celebrated Cinématographe served this type of filmmaking well, as it was a movie camera, printer, and projector all in one. A camera operator equipped with this device could be supplied to vaudeville theaters, which regularly included films in their program; he or she would film local scenes, print them, and project them, all on the same day.

Other popular genres of the time were filmed variety acts and "trick films," which centered on special effects. These films, unlike their documentary counterparts, required staging, rudimentary sets, costumes, and props. Trick films also demanded more innovative production techniques than *actualités* or variety acts. For example, *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots* (1895) involved stopping the camera after Robert Thomae, the actor playing Mary, laid his head on the execution block, and then using a dummy for the head-chopping sequence.

Trick films and variety acts were most easily made in a studio. *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots* was shot in the first dedicated film studio: Thomas Edison's (1847–1931) "Black Maria," which opened in New Jersey in 1892. Although basic by modern standards, it was carefully designed to deal with the various contingencies that filmmaking faced at the time. It had an open roof to allow in sunlight—essential for a period when all filming relied on natural light—and the whole structure rested on a revolving pivot to maintain an alignment with the sun. Other filmmakers followed suit, both in the United States and abroad, including the Biograph Company, which built a rooftop studio in New York in 1896, and Georges Méliès (1861–1938), who constructed a glass-encased studio near Paris in 1897.

Staged films demanded preplanning. In the early days, however, this tended to be minimal and was left mostly in the hands of the film's director. As film companies moved towards mass production, more methodical planning processes were instituted. Careful scheduling allowed efficient use of resources and also ensured a regular flow of product. Increasingly, producers rather than directors assumed greater control over planning projects. Directors, for their part, were progressively relegated to the role of project managers, subject to strict schedule and budgetary controls, and required to shoot the film according to a script developed elsewhere in the system.

Two important management innovations did much to change the balance of power between producers and directors. The first was the institution of production schedules around 1907 to 1909. The second was the introduction of continuity scripts, which were in regular use by the early 1910s. Production schedules helped to manage the flow of activity in order to ensure maximum utilization of studio capacity and human resources. These production schedules depended, in turn, on continuity scripts which provided detailed outlines of each individual film project. As longer narrative films became the dominant type of film production, continuity scripts played the crucial role of indicating the resources such as actors, crew, set, and equipment that would be needed for the production as well as ensuring that the plots were well planned in advance. While these innovations came about partly in response to a growing reliance on narrative films, making it easier to plan and produce them reinforced the eventual dominance of this type of film.

This system, which was firmly entrenched by 1916, came to be known as the "multiple director-unit system." Under this system, each company had several filmmaking units, with each unit headed by a director and including a full production crew. Other resources, such as actors, were drawn from pooled resources which the production company made available to each unit as required. Later modifications to this scheme led to the "central producer system" in which producers took responsibility for supervising a number of simultaneous productions and overseeing the directors who worked on them. This way of organizing film production was the basis of the system used throughout the US "studio era" (c. 1920–1960), which was dominated by a handful of large, integrated production-distribution-exhibition companies. It quickly came to be seen as a model of best practice for other national industries, many of which adopted its techniques.

The production process established under the US studio system remains in use and dominates filmmaking to this day. There are various reasons for the survival and dominance of this model. To begin with, many of the basic technical requirements of filmmaking have not changed significantly over the years. Second, most of the skills needed for making films are now embedded in craft knowledge and professional practices protected by unions and occupational communities. Finally, the systems of project management that were refined during the studio era continue to yield significant practical and economic benefits. Although the different stages of the production process were developed to meet the needs of live-action fictional feature films, many aspects of this system are used to produce other types of films, such as documentaries and shorts.

DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING

The growing reliance on feature-film production that displaced the dominance of short films required an increasing upfront commitment of financial and human resources. Allocating and using these resources effectively required planning, which resulted in greater attention given to development and preproduction within the US studio system than had existed previously.

During the studio era, development and planning was undertaken by company executives and was shaped by two factors: first, by the estimates made by the head of distribution as to the number and nature of films required to meet theatrical exhibition needs; and second, by the need to make optimal use of internally held resources such as specialized staff, sets, and costumes. Top studio executives decided the overall budget for the year, and based on this budget, allocated expenditures for individual motion-picture projects.

Once the range of projects was decided in terms of budget and genre, work commenced on planning the individual films. Projects normally originated with the script department, a unit all major producers had instituted by 1911. Normally, potential scripts were selected by readers from existing sources such as novels, plays, radio shows, or even existing movies. *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), for instance, had previously existed in all these forms by the time it was put into production. Other films began life as original screenplays, normally by writers under contract to the studio, since producers rarely purchased original screenplays from freelance writers for fear of copyright infringement.

Whilst some projects were selected on their individual merits, many were genre pieces or sequels that capitalized on proven success and available resources. Examples include the Warner Bros.' musical *Gold Diggers of 1933* (1933) and Universal's horror franchise entry, *Frankenstein Meets the Wolf Man* (1943). Some

scripts were commissioned as vehicles for contracted stars, such as *Road to Morocco* (1942), which was one of a series of original scripts written for Bob Hope and Bing Crosby.

Once the script department had made its recommendations for potential productions, selected scripts were allocated to associate producers who oversaw the development and production process. This process normally began with a scenario describing the plot in prose form. It was followed by a treatment providing more detail about individual scenes. Next a screenplay was prepared which included dialogue. Finally, a shooting script broke the action down into individual shots and provided guidance for staging and camera positioning.

Scripts conformed to a standardized format, with brief camera and set instructions in the left-hand column and dialogue to the right. Each step of the process was subjected to detailed critical evaluation and numerous revisions before it was allowed to progress to the next stage of writing. As the project evolved, other elements of the production, such as casting, were discussed and decided, and these decisions in turn often led to further script development. The successive drafts were often the product of different writers. Some received on-screen credit and others did not. Carried to an extreme, this process resulted in films such as *Forever and a Day* (1943), which credited the contributions of an astonishing twenty-one writers.

The meticulous process of script development was intended to ensure not only that the story would be entertaining and engaging, and hence popular with audiences, but also that the resources needed to transform it into a film were available, and that the entire process could be performed within budget and on schedule. The continuity script acted as a blueprint for the tasks required during preproduction, such as casting and set building. Once filming began, it functioned as a detailed template for the day-to-day activities involved in shooting the film. The tasks to be performed, such as the creation of different camera setups, were known in advance and therefore could be scheduled for maximum efficiency. The continuity script also had the added virtue of making it far easier for the production office to monitor the progress of the shooting, and to intervene early when problems arose. This often occurred when scenes proved unexpectedly difficult and expensive to shoot, and could lead to ongoing script revision.

During the studio era, planning and resource allocation decisions were made within the context of multiple projects. The logic was one of portfolio investment in which decisions on individual projects were strongly related to what the studio intended to produce and release in a given year. The breakdown of the studio system in the early 1950s saw a return to the planning of films as individual units, a process known as the ''package-unit system.'' This approach became dominant through the 1950s and 1960s when the studios began to cut back production. The cutback was partly a response to antitrust decrees that forced the studios to dispose of their exhibition business, with consequent loss of control over release. It also responded to the decline in cinema attendance, which was caused by a range of factors such as the baby boom and the growing popularity of television. The production cutbacks meant it was no longer viable for the studios to retain costly personnel under contract. Nor was it worthwhile, once control over exhibition was lost, to maintain an infrastructure that depended on a continuous flow of film production.

Personnel were therefore let go, physical assets were sold, and in-house departments such as wardrobe and props were shut down. Filmmaking returned to the logic of individual production that prevailed during the earliest days of the industry. When planning a film, it became necessary to negotiate for the main elements—stars, director, and script—separately. Once the main elements were secured, production finance was sought on a film-by-film basis. In the contemporary film industry most film projects originate with entrepreneurs. As a rule, they are financed largely on their individual merits, instead of by virtue of their contribution to the production and distribution strategy of a large studio.

The change in the way the industry is organized has had important repercussions for the development stage of film production. Because the key players are all independent contractors rather than attached to a studio, it has become harder to ensure that all of them remain committed to seeing a project through to completion. As a rule, key personnel such as actors and directors become contractually committed to a film only when financing has been obtained and a date for principal photography has been set. Unlike the studio era, when financing for individual films came from internally allocated budgets, in the poststudio era it is usually negotiated piecemeal from a variety of companies or individuals. This process may take so long to conclude that directors or actors who were originally enthusiastic about a film may move on to other projects.

The impact of financing uncertainty on the commitment of key personnel paradoxically tends to increase the uncertainty of financing itself. Financial backers often make their participation contingent on stars or high-profile directors. If key individuals exit the project financing arrangements may unravel—which may lead to postponements which, in turn, may lead to further exits by key personnel, bringing to an end a project originally seen as highly promising.

The problems of obtaining and committing sufficient financing for production have increased exponentially since the breakdown of the studio system. The multiple sources of finance which prevail in the twenty-first century increase the probability of endless postponement and ultimate failure. If the financiers do not have confidence in the way development is progressing, or if their financial situation changes, they may choose not to make the movie, putting the project into "turnaround," a stage at which the producer may seek finance elsewhere. Monetary uncertainty, combined with constant changes in personnel, often means that the development process can be extremely protracted. Director Richard Attenborough's pet project, *Gandhi* (1982), went through twelve screenplays and seventeen years of development before it reached the preproduction stage.

Conversely, some films of the poststudio era have had much shorter periods of development than films made under the studio system. This has sometimes resulted in critically and/or commercially successful films. Some of the best-known examples were made by the American entrepreneur Roger Corman, who achieved particular renown in the field of low-budget exploitation films. *The Little Shop of Horrors* (1960) was inspired by standing sets. It was conceived and written in the space of a couple of weeks and filmed in slightly more than two days in order to take advantage of the sets before they were torn down. Another director who capitalized on standing sets was Wayne Wang. Immediately after shooting *Smoke* (1995), he filmed *Blue in the Face* (1995) in six days, based on ideas noted down by writer Paul Auster during the shooting of the first movie. It was assembled from largely improvised scenes and used many of the same actors along with a host of quickly marshaled celebrity cameos.

Short periods of development may appear attractive at first sight, but they often have negative consequences for the integrity of the film. When Corman filmed *The Terror* (1963) using the sets and stars assembled for his production of *The Raven* (1963), it was based on only a handful of hurriedly written scenes without a clear idea of narrative. Far from replicating the efficiency of *The Little Shop of Horrors*, this project required a further nine months of shooting scenes piecemeal to accumulate enough footage to transform it into a feature film. The filming of this jumble of sequences was completed by another five uncredited directors, including Francis Ford Coppola, Jack Nicholson, Monte Hellman, Dennis Jacob, and Jack Hill, and became one of the most protracted production processes of Corman's career.

Many independent productions have suffered from too little time spent in development, since the producer may not receive payment until the film goes into preproduction, encouraging the fastest possible progression to this stage. Yet even large-budget studio productions have sometimes been marred by insufficient development, such as the $35 million *Star Trek: The Motion Picture* (1979), which began shooting without a completed script.

PREPRODUCTION

Once basic agreement on the script is achieved, early preparations begin for the actual filming. Director, cast, and film crew are assigned while script development continues. Suggestions made by the director are incorporated, and the script is tailored to fit the image of the selected stars. Each member of the crew is provided with a copy of the script to assist preparations for principal photography. Decisions are made about which parts of the film will be shot on studio sets, and which on location. In general, studio shooting is preferred as it allows a greater degree of control over both the artistic and practical elements of the production process, and avoids the expense of transporting and accommodating cast, crew, and equipment. Filming on location is preferred for greater realism. If it is a location shoot, locations are selected during preproduction and all the practical arrangements are made in preparation for the arrival of the cast and crew.

Under the studio system, the larger production companies employed not only a variety of sound stages, but also extensive grounds on which potentially flexible sets remained standing for repeated use. For instance, parts of the Jerusalem set built for Cecil B. DeMille's *The King of Kings* (1927) can also be seen in *King Kong* (1933), *The Garden of Allah* (1936), and *Gone with the Wind,* (1939), amongst other films. The redressing of sets, with superficial alterations, disguised their repeated use and was an important factor in the economy of the studio system. Standing sets would be readied for production and new sets built when necessary (although the latter expensive and time-consuming activity was avoided when possible). In addition to standing sets, the large studios also maintained vast collections of costumes, furniture, fake weapons, and even live animals, all of which individual productions could book for use. During the studio era these activities were organized internally by heads of departments who worked to ensure that all these resources were selected and made ready during preproduction. Following the dismantling of the studio system, it has become common for productions to rent studio space, costumes, props, and other materials from independent businesses that provide specialized services to the film industry.

Before filming begins, a shooting schedule is prepared. This describes the order in which scenes will be

filmed, which usually differs from the order in which they will appear in the finished film. The plan allows the film to be shot as quickly and cheaply as possible. All the scenes using a particular set or location are normally shot consecutively. The availability of actors can also dictate the order in which scenes are filmed. For instance, *Goldfinger* (1964) began shooting in Miami without its star Sean Connery, who was still working on *Marnie* (1964) at the time. *Goldfinger*'s Fontainebleau Hotel set later had to be reconstructed at Pinewood Studios in England once Connery became available, and back projection was used to incorporate footage shot on location.

Some directors regard the practice of shooting out of sequence as artistically compromising. In some rare instances directors insist on shooting films completely in sequence—a practice that allows actors to fully engage with their roles, but is costly in other respects. Ken Loach, the British director of *Raining Stones* (1993), *Ladybird, Ladybird* (1994), and *Sweet Sixteen* (2002), is one famous advocate of shooting in sequence, since strong performances are always the lynchpin of his films.

PRINCIPAL PHOTOGRAPHY

By the first day of filming, every member of the crew is expected to be familiar with the shooting schedule, and all the necessary equipment for the day's work should be available. Each member of the crew is provided with a call sheet, itemizing when and why they are required on set. The sets will have been built and dressed, and lights positioned in accordance with the scheme agreed by the director and the director of photography. Cameras and microphones are positioned and camera movements and lighting adjustments are rehearsed with the help of stand-ins who walk through the actions. Marks are placed on the floor to ensure that actors make the same movements when the scene is shot. While this is going on, the actors spend time in costume, hair, and makeup. Once the technical aspects of shooting the scene have been firmly established and the actors are dressed, they are called to the set. At the discretion of the director, some time is normally spent rehearsing before the scene is filmed.

When the director is ready to shoot, an assistant calls for silence. If filming takes place in a studio, the doors are closed and a red light switched on above them to signal that entry to the set is forbidden. The director instructs the camera operator and sound recordist to begin recording. The scene and take numbers are read out and the hinged clapperboard snapped shut, which assists with marrying sound and image in postproduction. The director then calls "action" and the actors begin their performance.

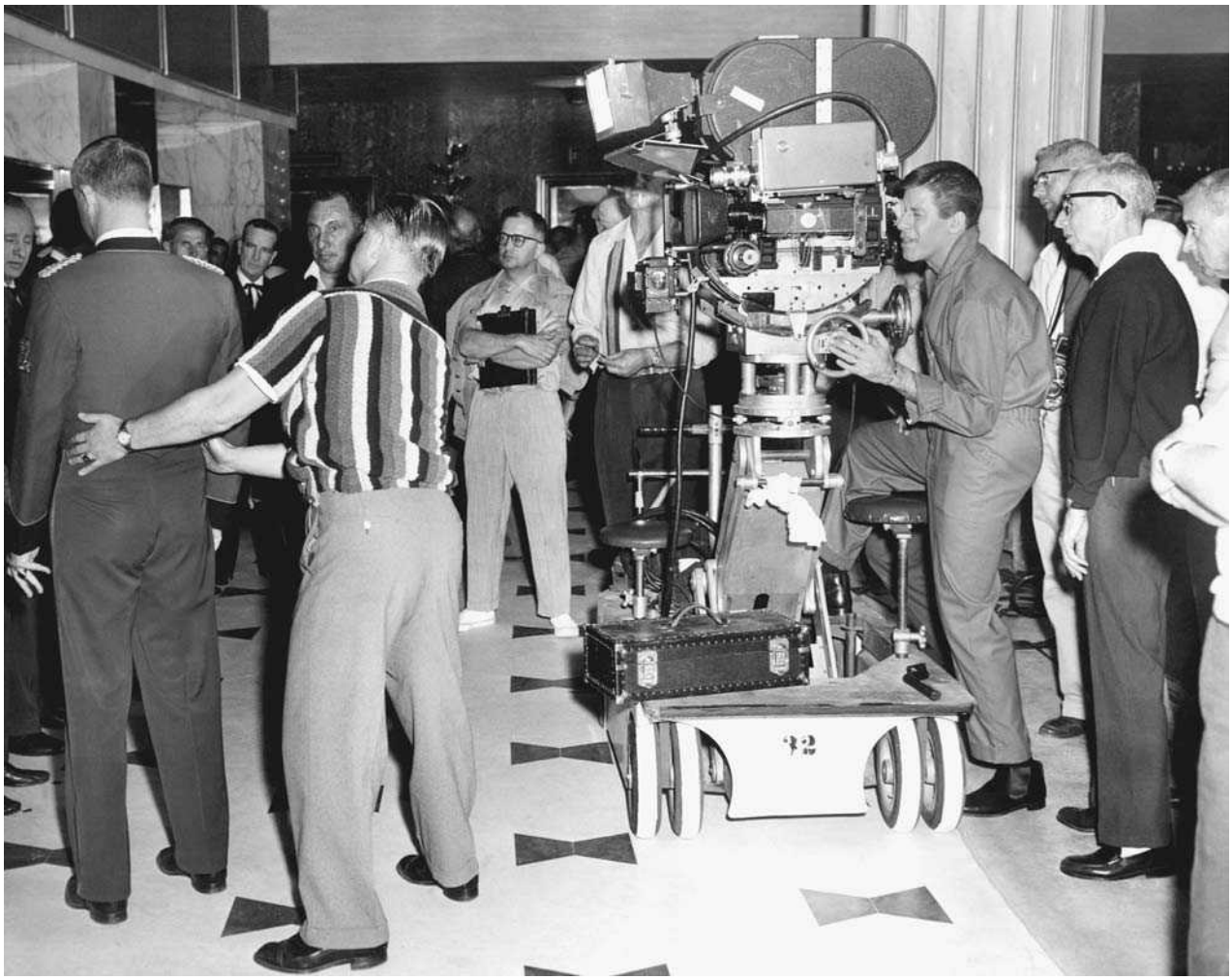
The first take is not always successful. It may be spoiled by actors flubbing their lines or marred by errors in camera movement or focus, or by lights or microphones making their way into the frame. Repeated takes are therefore often unavoidable. Some directors, such as W. S. Van Dyke, nicknamed "One-Take Woody," have always endeavored to keep these to a minimum, while others, such as Fritz Lang and Stanley Kubrick, developed reputations for demanding an extraordinarily high number of takes before their exacting standards were met. Few go to such extremes as Charlie Chaplin did when he went through 342 takes of a scene in *City Lights* (1931) in which his Little Tramp buys a flower from the blind girl (Virginia Cherrill). In general, careful planning and rehearsal can help keep the number down and reduce unnecessary waste of expensive film stock.

The difficulty of deciding whether a take is satisfactory has been much reduced since video was introduced into the process. The practice was pioneered by the actor and director Jerry Lewis when filming his feature debut, *The Bellboy* (1960), in which he also starred. Lewis sought a way to instantly review the recording of his acting performance. He decided to use a video camera linked to the main film camera and recording the same material. This invention came to be known as the "video assist." The recent advent of digital filmmaking has meant not only that master footage can be viewed at any time, but also that it is economically realistic for the director to request a greater number of takes than with 35mm, or even 16mm, film stock, since digital videotapes are considerably less expensive.

When the director is satisfied with a take, he or she will ask for it to be printed. The same scene may still need to filmed again from different camera angles, though. Alternatively, a scene may be shot with more than one camera at once. This allows a range of options when it comes to editing, and it is an especially valuable technique where a scene can only be filmed once due to danger or expense. *Gone with the Wind*, for instance, used all seven of the Technicolor cameras then in existence to shoot the sequence depicting the burning of Atlanta.

At the end of each day's shooting, the film is developed and the takes the director has selected are printed and screened for the director and production company executives. This material is known as the "dailies," or "rushes," and is used to evaluate the film's progress. It also reveals mistakes overlooked during the day's filming and directs attention to scenes that must be reshot while actors are still available and sets still standing.

While the director concentrates his attention on filming the main scenes—normally the ones in which the stars appear—the task of shooting other footage may be assigned to other units. A second unit is often used for filming in other locations, for shooting fights or



Jerry Lewis directing* The Bellboy *(1960), for which he invented the video assist. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

other action in which the main actors are not engaged, or for filming street scenes, animals, landscapes, and other such material. Many well-known directors such as Don Siegel, Robert Aldrich, and Jonathan Demme served as second-unit directors early in their careers. The special-effects department may also shoot some footage separately from the main unit, such as the model animation so central to *King Kong.* During the studio era, some companies also had centralized resources for providing certain services. If, for instance, a film required a close-up of a newspaper headline, the task of filming this would fall to the insert department rather than a crew member dedicated to the particular film. Sometimes standard scenes, such as a cavalry charge, were not filmed at all. Instead, the filmmakers incorporated stock footage drawn from the production company library. This was a far cheaper option than reshooting scenes for each individual picture and was unlikely to be noticed by most viewers.

Principal photography is probably the most difficult part of the production process in terms of investment and effort. Motion picture production is haunted by stories of shoots that have brought projects to the brink of collapse. A production that illustrates the difficulty of location shooting is *Apocalypse Now* (1979). The production's problems ranged from difficulties with its stars—the drug-addled Dennis Hopper, the intractable Marlon Brando, and the heart attack-stricken Martin Sheen—to having to deal with monsoons and logistical crises. Another example is the German director Werner Herzog's magnum opus, *Fitzcarraldo* (1982), which experienced comparable difficulties with location, logistics, and climatic conditions. In the case of *Fitzcarraldo*, matters were made worse by the loss of two main actors halfway through the filming (Jason Robards left due to serious illness and Mick Jagger left due to a prior commitment with The Rolling Stones). This meant principal

photography needed to be restarted from scratch. As difficult as production on these films proved to be, the directors could take comfort that they were completed and went on to receive considerable critical acclaim. Terry Gilliam's abortive production of *The Man Who Killed Don Quixote* is one of the rare instances in which the difficulties of principal photography led to abandonment of production. The saga of this unfortunate production is recounted in detail in the fascinating feature documentary *Lost in La Mancha* (2002).

Although problems encountered during principal photography are common to many films—difficult locations, poor logistics, and recalcitrant actors—the methods that filmmakers use to address them can be very different, as are their outcomes. *My Son John* (1952), *Solomon and Sheba* (1959), *Dark Blood* (1993), and *The Crow* (1994) all had to deal with the deaths of their lead actors during their shoots. *My Son John* was completed by incorporating outtakes of Robert Walker from his previous film, *Strangers on a Train* (1951). *Solomon and Sheba* recast the role of Solomon, replacing Tyrone Power with Yul Brynner, and reshot all of Power's scenes, while *The Crow* succeeded in resurrecting its star, Brandon Lee, through the use of computer animation. *Dark Blood*, however, was abandoned after the death of River Phoenix in 1993, as the insurance company considered this to be the cheapest option.

POSTPRODUCTION

After principal photography is concluded, the production process moves to postproduction. Postproduction transforms the thousands of feet of raw footage into a finished film. One of the most important elements of postproduction is the editing process in which shots are selected and assembled in an appropriate order. Attention is then turned to the soundtrack. While the majority of US films record dialogue on set, some parts may be rerecorded due to poor sound quality. Music and sound effects must be recorded and the different tracks combined into a final mix. Opening and/or end credits must also be added, and other optical and visual effects work may be required.

Editing, like script development, goes through several stages. Traditionally, the editing process has involved working with a physical copy of the film, cutting and splicing pieces of footage manually. It is now more common to load the images onto a computer using a system such as Final Cut Pro or Avid, which allows easy experimentation with different ways of arranging the shots. Whichever method is used, the basic processes remain the same. First, the dailies are assembled in the order specified in the shooting script. Excerpts are then taken from individual shots and arranged in such a way as to tell the story as economically as possible, while at the same time preserving a sense of coherent time and space. This is traditionally referred to as the ''rough cut.'' Although normally it does not have a soundtrack, it is generally a reliable guide to the finished film.

The editing that produces the rough cut often uncovers deficiencies that had not been detected before. A common problem is that shots do not fit together well because the director did not film enough coverage of the action to clarify the spatial relations between them. More rarely, the movie may simply be too short. This happened with *Duel at Silver Creek* (1952), when director Don Siegel paced the action too quickly. The resulting rough cut ran for only fifty-four minutes, far too short for a feature release. The obvious remedy in such situations is to shoot additional footage, but it is one most producers strive to avoid because of the difficult logistics and potentially great expense of reassembling actors and sets.

While the editing is taking place, work is carried out on the soundtrack, with different crew members working on the music, sound effects, and dialogue. Normally the composer does not begin work until after viewing the rough cut, but in rare cases the musical score is written before filming begins. Ennio Morricone's music for *Il Buono, il brutto, il cattivo* (*The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, 1966) and John Williams's score for *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977) are well-known examples of such a practice. Sound effects are often taken from existing recordings held in sound libraries, but some films require the creation of new effects. This process is undertaken in a recording studio by a foley artist. It may also be necessary to record postsynchronized dialogue. This normally entails placing the actors in front of a film projection so they can ensure their lip movements match the image.

The different pieces of sound are recorded on separate tracks. They are combined in premixes, which are the sound equivalent of the visual rough cuts. As the editing of the image track progresses, the sound needs to be remixed in accordance with the lengthening, shortening, rearranging, or deleting of scenes. This process has been made easier by the development of computerized sound-editing software.

When the editing of the image track has been completed, a copy of the original negative is cut to match the edited print. A new positive print, known as an ''answer print,'' is struck from the edited negative. This print is then graded, which ensures that color and light levels are consistent throughout the film. The process may be repeated several times before unwanted variations are eliminated. At the end of this process, a print called an ''interpos'' is created, from which another negative, called an ''interneg,'' is struck.

Fitzcarraldo ***(1982), starring Klaus Kinski, was a difficult shoot for director Werner Herzog.*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Work on the final version of the soundtrack is also completed at this stage. The final sound mix is made to synchronize perfectly with the finished image track, and the sound is recorded onto film in order to create an optical soundtrack. A negative is created from this and combined with the interneg. Any titles and optical effects are also added at this stage. The resulting combined optical print will be the source of the ''interdupe'' negative, from which the final release prints will be struck.

Throughout postproduction, executives of the producing or distributing company carefully monitor the progress of the film. If dissatisfied with the results, they may insist on changes, sometimes even replacing the original editor and/or director. This may happen at any stage from the rough cut onwards. The insistence of studio executives on their right to determine the final cut has frequently resulted in bitter conflicts with directors who often regard themselves as the ''authors'' of the finished film. A confrontation that entered the Hollywood annals took place during the studio era between MGM and director Erich von Stroheim. Producers were alarmed by von Stroheim's forty-two-reel (approximately nine- or ten-hour) rough cut of *Greed* (1924). Aware that a film of this length could never be screened commercially, von Stroheim cut almost half the footage himself, and then handed the reduced version to a trusted associate for further editing. The results failed to impress MGM executives, who demanded further cuts. When von Stroheim failed to comply, they appointed their own editor, and cut the film down to the more marketable length of ten reels.

If the studio is uncertain about the audience appeal of a film, it will often undertake test screenings in order to gauge reaction and obtain guidance for improvements. Test screenings may be repeated several times until audience scorecards indicate the film has attained the desired response. Reediting, or even reshooting, may be required if audience reactions fall short of expectations. Recent films that were substantially altered following test screenings include *Troy* (2004), which replaced Gabriel Yared's score with completely new music by James Horner, and *King Arthur* (2004), for which a new ending was shot and the violence toned down. With each batch of changes, however, the postproduction cycle must be repeated, as new versions of sound and image track need to be married and new negatives and prints created.

It is also common to prepare multiple versions of films for release in different countries. Perhaps the most obvious feature that needs to be localized is the language. Often the dialogue is dubbed into local languages, which means the newly recorded voice tracks need to be remixed with the music and sound effects. Title sequences may be replaced completely—sometimes with entirely different visual designs—or subtitles may be added to the existing credit titles. If the film has not been dubbed, dialogue subtitles will be needed throughout the film.

Language is not the only feature that varies between countries, however. Different censorship regulations mean that sequences allowed in one country may have to be removed in another. Obviously this can affect spatial and/or narrative coherence. Sometimes major changes are made to a film in order to give it greater appeal outside its home territory. Francis Ford Coppola's first directorial assignment (under the pseudonym of Thomas Colchart) was to take the Japanese disaster film *Nebo Zovyot* (1960) and completely reedit it for US audiences, transforming the plot and adding not only new dialogue but also new footage. The film was released in the United States as *Battle Beyond the Sun* (1962).

VARIATIONS IN THE PRODUCTION PROCESS

The main filmmaking stages—development, preproduction, principal photography, and postproduction—are similar for most types of filmmaking. There are three notable exceptions to this dominant model: documentary, animation, and experimental cinema.

The method of making documentary films necessarily differs from fictional features because the events recorded can rarely be planned in advance. This is especially true for cinéma vérité and direct-cinema films, such as *Primary* (1960), which followed presidential candidates John F. Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey, and *Don't Look Back* (1967), D. A. Pennebaker's account of Bob Dylan's British tour. Each of these films was shot on location using lightweight 16mm cameras, long takes, and available light to follow events as they happened.

While the purpose of these forms of observational documentary is to record events as they occur, other types of documentary present accounts of events that have already happened. These allow some level of scripting prior to production. Examples of this approach include *The Thin Blue Line* (1988), Errol Morris's compelling exposé of a miscarriage of justice, and *Touching the Void* (2003), which tells the remarkable tale of a climbing expedition that went catastrophically wrong. Both these films mixed interviews with reconstructions of events, their production processes thus emulating fictional films more than observational documentary. No matter what their styles and subjects, though, documentary films always have greater potential to deviate from their original intent than do their fictional counterparts. For example, *Capturing the Friedmans* (2003) began life as a documentary about clowns, but when it emerged that the father and brother of one of the subjects were both convicted pedophiles, director Andrew Jarecki saw an opportunity to make a far more interesting film.

The production processes of animated features have many elements in common with live-action films. They do, for instance, engage in a rigorous process of script development, and their soundtracks are created in much the same way as those for live-action films. It is in the principal photography stage that their processes differ substantially, since animated images are created in entirely different ways.

Even within the field of animation itself, a range of very different production processes are used. The traditional and most widely employed technique is cel animation, of which *Bambi* (1942) and *The Lion King* (1994) are examples. In this technique, images are painted onto sheets of celluloid that overlie painted backgrounds. ''Cels'' are placed on an animation table and filmed from above. A slightly different technique is the animation of cutout silhouettes, most famously employed by Lotte Reiniger in films such as *The Adventures of Prince Achmed* (1926). Some forms of animation film three-dimensional models instead of pictures. One technique is puppet animation, which was used in *The Muppets Take Manhattan* (1984). Another is ''claymation,'' of which *Chicken Run* (2000) is an example. Digital animation is becoming an increasingly popular technique. It has been used to make blockbusters such as *Toy Story* (1995) and *Shrek* (2001), and is already displacing the primacy of cel animation.

Some films deliberately set out to challenge the dominant modes of film practice by employing production processes that result in radically different aesthetics from those of mainstream films. These films are rarely shown in mainstream cinemas, playing instead at venues such as art houses, museums, universities, film schools, and filmmakers' forums. Their production, distribution, and exhibition systems all position the films as oppositional to the types of cinema hitherto described.

Experimental film techniques vary widely and employ every possible method. Some experimental filmmakers do not even use a camera, a basic tool of most film productions. Some films are based on images painted directly onto the film strip, a technique normally used to create abstract animations, of which Len Lye's *Color Cry* (1952) and Norman McLaren's *Short and Suite* (1959) are two examples. A variation on this technique was used by Stan Brakhage to create *Mothlight* (1963), which involved sandwiching flowers, leaves, and dead moths between two strips of film. Other films have been created from found footage—film that was previously shot for another purpose. One type of filmmaking to use this technique is the collage film, which edits together excerpts of found footage in such a way as to give rise to new interpretations of the images. The most influential practitioner of this kind of filmmaking is Bruce Conner, whose films include *A Movie* (1958) and *Report* (1967). Found footage was also used by some of the structuralist/materialist filmmakers, whose work aimed to draw attention to the material of the film itself as well as to the processes involved in making and viewing it. The descriptively titled *Film in Which There Appear Sprocket Holes, Edge Lettering, and Dirt Particles, etc.* (1965), by George Landow (a.k.a. Owen Land) is an example of this genre.

Although these types of short films are intended for specialist audiences, highly experimental works occasionally cross over into commercial viewing environments. One example is *Time Code* (2000), which was shot in real time on digital video using four hand-held cameras filming simultaneous action in different locations. The shooting process had to be timetabled very precisely to allow the actors and cameras from each of the four segments to meet up with one another at specific dramatic moments. Instead of creating a conventional script, writer and director Mike Figgis outlined the actions and locations on musical score sheets. This ensured that the timing of each sequence was synchronized with the other three. When the film was exhibited, the cinema screen was split into four sections, each showing the footage from one of the cameras.

SEE ALSO *Casting; Cinematography; Credits; Crew; Direction; Editing; Guilds and Unions; Music; Producer; Production Design; Screenwriting; Sound; Studio System; Technology*

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PROPAGANDA

The word "propaganda" derives from the Congratio de Propaganda Fide (Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith), an organization established by Pope Gregory XV in 1622. Its original missionary denotation has been incorporated into modern dictionaries, where it is defined as the spreading of ideas, information, or rumor for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause, or a person. However, this rather neutral meaning has taken on, in common parlance, a more negative connotation, namely the assumption that disinformation, not information, is at its core.

Propagandistic messages have been a mainstay of films throughout the history of the medium. *Mise-en-scène*, editing, dialogue, voice-over narration, and music are some of the techniques that impart specific meaning. In short, the aesthetics of the cinema have long been used as powerful tools both to convey and to disguise overt and covert polemical proclamations.

EARLY FILM HISTORY AND PROPAGANDA

Among the earliest filmmakers to incorporate conscious or unconscious propagandistic messages were the Lumière brothers. In their short film *Démolition d'un mur* (*Demolition of a Wall*, 1896), for example, we see the seeds of later, more carefully constructed propaganda. The "boss" in this little film is given narrative and spatial privilege over the workers. Had a socialist made this film, she or he might have emphasized the workers' labor by choosing a camera angle that favored them and their physical efforts rather than their employer's perspective. The boss might have been satirized or portrayed as a tyrant and the workers' endeavors ennobled or depicted as exploited. Other Lumière films depicted dignitaries, parades, the military, fire departments, and the bonhomie of French bourgeois life; throughout, the viewpoint is clearly that of the self-satisfied industrialist filmmakers, who were comfortable with their class privilege and national identity. By contrast, their contemporary, Georges Méliès (1861–1938), often used fictionalized situations, special effects, and lighting to rigorously deconstruct the bourgeois universe erected in the films of the Lumière brothers and their vision of an orderly universe, which has come to dominate mainstream cinema.

The movie pioneer D. W. Griffith (1875–1948) has often been accused—and rightfully so—of manufacturing propaganda, especially of an antiblack nature, in his Civil War epic, *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). *The Birth of a Nation* begins with a provocative prologue which explains that the seeds of national discord were sown by the introduction of African slaves into the colonies. Subsequently, the "negroes" (as the film spells it)—most of whom were played by whites in blackface—are portrayed as either savage brutes or fools. Most infamously, Gus leers with animalistic delight at young Flora Cameron and then chases her to her death. Gus is "tried" and lynched by the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), his body then dragged through the streets and deposited at a black meeting place. At the film's climax, marauding blacks, intent on rape and murder, surround and attack a cabin that contains "innocent" white people from both the North and South. The message is clear: all whites, from whatever region, should unite against the menace of the freed slaves. The "heroic" Ku Klux Klan comes to the rescue, scattering the black mob and saving the whites.

This "rescue" is in sharp contrast to the historical reality of the KKK, whose mission was less to defend the interests of innocent whites than to intimidate and commit violence against innocent blacks.

Griffith's portrayals of African Americans as slow-witted, lazy, or comical are just as stereotyped and prejudicial. During the Reconstruction scenes in *The Birth of a Nation*, Griffith shows black legislators dressed in clownish clothes and eating and drinking alcohol on the floor of the US House of Representatives. While some of the film's images are supposedly based on photographs of the period, these images of African Americans in *The Birth of a Nation* convey a clear rhetoric: blacks are irresponsible, unmotivated, and unruly—not capable of holding elective office or even casting a vote.

The Birth of a Nation instantly produced controversy. The NAACP demanded Griffith cut two scenes that depicted white women being molested by rampaging blacks and an epilogue that suggested blacks should be shipped back to Africa. The director grudgingly made these excisions, but many national leaders argued that the film should still be banned. Riots ensued when *Birth* opened in Boston, Atlanta, and Chicago, and it was banned in at least eight states. Nonetheless, the movie was the most successful of its time—and retained the honor for decades to come. Its nineteenth-century constructions of racial stereotypes were used as recruitment tools for the Ku Klux Klan, and from 1915 to 1940 the Klan's membership grew substantially. It is rare for individual films to have such social impact, but in the case of *The Birth of a Nation*, the social consequences were apparent.

Immediately after the release of *The Birth of a Nation*, Griffith made *Intolerance* (1916)—another epic, but with pro-tolerance, pro-labor, and antiwar themes. The film's epilogue contains its most blatant message: world peace will eventually arise out of hate and intolerance. But such sermonizing did not fare well with the public and *Intolerance* failed at the box office and was banned in several countries. Some of Griffith's earlier films, however, seem to conflict directly with the pro-slavery message in *The Birth of a Nation*. *A Corner in Wheat* (1909), for example, has implications that verge on being socialist. Griffith juxtaposes a breadline scene with a lavish party in the mansion of the Wheat King, who engineered a rise in the price of bread by shrewd stock market deals. This simple contrast cut between the elegance of the rich and the immobility and despairing looks of the poor establishes a potent class analysis. When the Wheat King meets his ironic fate in a grain pit, where he is drowned in the "torrent of golden grain" that made him wealthy, Griffith again cuts to the breadline to compare the stockbroker's excess with the scarcity of the poor. In the end, the downtrodden farmer survives, though further impoverished, while the moneyed get their just desserts.

PROPAGANDA AND NATION

In other countries, especially the Soviet Union, leaders began to recognize the power of film to influence social and political attitudes. Film production was nationalized in Russia in 1917, after the Bolshevik Revolution. "Of all the arts," Vladimir Lenin said, "*for us*, the cinema is the most important." Documentary and fictional silent films were therefore produced to abet the Leninist cause. Notable examples include Sergei Eisenstein's (1898–1948) *Stachka* (*Strike*, 1925), *Bronenosets Potemkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925), and *Oktyabr* (*Ten Days that Shook the World* and *October*, 1927); V. I. Pudovkin's (1893–1953) *Mat* (*Mother*, 1926) and *Konets Sankt-Peterburga* (*The End of St. Petersburg*, 1927); and Dziga Vertov's (1896–1954) *Kino-pravda* (*CinemaTruth*, 1925) and *Chelovek s kino-apparatom* (*Man with a Movie Camera*, 1929).

Because of the inherent domination of visual images and the illiteracy of a good deal of the Russian peasantry, the silent cinema was an ideal tool for presenting ideas and information about the fall of the czar and the rise of the industrial and agricultural proletariat. The fact that film was a mass medium, reproducible and widely distributable, added to its propagandistic appeal. As in Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin*, the hero of these films was often not a lone individual but a social class.

Based on an actual event during the unsuccessful revolution of 1905, *Potemkin* uses the historical circumstances of a mutiny aboard a ship to make a larger statement about Leninist insurrection. The most famous montage in cinema history—the Odessa Steps sequence—punctuates the film with hundreds of quickly edited shots that plunge the viewer into the midst of a czarist massacre. Although the actual massacre in 1905 occurred on level ground, Eisenstein saw the dramatic (and propagandistic) value of taking artistic liberties. By using the steep steps, Eisenstein was able to sensationalize the helpless entrapment of the fleeing masses as they rushed from the faceless minions of the czar and their rifles. In addition, an establishing shot from above the steps suggests that the fleeing people are visually trapped between the militiamen and the cathedral at the bottom of the steps, making the Marxist point that the Church and State are the enemies of the proletariat. The culmination of the sequence—the "rising" of a statue of a lion (accomplished by editing together images of three separate statues)—was likewise the product of creative license; the three statues were located near Yalta, far from Odessa. Nonetheless, those three quick shots, followed by a

cannonade by the *Potemkin* against the Odessa Opera House, headquarters of the generals, metaphorically mark the masses' outrage at the czar's cruelty.

Later in his career, under the thumb of Josef Stalin and Commissar Boris V. Shumiatski's Socialist Realist policy, Eisenstein was not allowed to make films from 1929 to 1938. Eventually, though, he made three films that used czars as the heroes: *Aleksandr Nevskiy* (*Alexander Nevsky*, 1938) and *Ivan Groznyy* (*Ivan the Terrible*, parts I (1945) and II (1946, not released until 1958). Whereas Lenin had said that cinema was the most important art, Stalin wrote that "the cinema is the greatest medium of mass agitation. The task is to take it into our hands." Encouraged to produce epics that extolled the "leader of the Russian people," Eisenstein went back in history to glorify the czars, obvious avatars of Stalin himself.

While Eisenstein was barred from filmmaking, Leni Riefenstahl (1902–2003) was coming into prominence in Germany. Her landmark propaganda film, *Triumph des Willens* (*Triumph of the Will*, 1935), still provokes controversy. Commissioned by Chancellor Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), *Triumph of the Will* was meant to be the official documentation of the Nazi Party Congress of 1934. Yet the film also promulgated fascism and the National Socialist Party (NSDAP) as the bases for renewed German nationalism and patriotism. Swastikas, eagles, statuary, Sieg Heil gestures, and children predominate as national metonymies.

Although *Triumph of the Will* was made about the party congress, it does not articulate any specific political policy or ideology. Hitler repeatedly stressed that one could not sway the masses with arguments, logic, or knowledge, only with feelings and beliefs. True to form, the film's "star" has a "cult of personality"—a mystical aura associated with nature, religion, and a "folkish" family-based patriotism. Its heroic leader is connected with the sky, earth, and animals; pagan and Christian religious connotations abound (i.e., cathedrals draped with swastika banners); and flags, parades, torchlight rituals, and military-national symbols dominate the *mise-en-scène*. Indeed, all the signifying mechanisms of the cinema—camera angles, lighting, editing, set design, and music—were marshaled to appeal to a malleable mass audience.

Triumph of the Will emphasizes optimistic, upbeat, and patriotic themes that reinforce the need for a renewed sense of unity and national identity after a period of economic and political instability. Hitler saw the film as an effective glorification of Nazism, a view reiterated years later by critic Susan Sontag, who wrote that it achieved nothing less than transforming history into theater. Propaganda such as *Triumph of the Will* mingles historical realities and cultural expression so as to have a tangible material and historical effect on society and social consciousness.

Of course, propaganda has been used in films to promote not only right-wing but left-wing causes. The Spanish Civil War, for example, became the battleground not only of loyalist and fascist ground troops but also of cinematic forces. Joris Ivens's (1898–1989) *The Spanish Earth* (1937) and Leo Hurwitz's (1909–1991) *Heart of Spain* (1937) are two notable examples that center on the conflict. In 1935 the Communist International had decreed that no longer was socialism versus capitalism to be the dialectic, but rather, democracy versus fascism. So in an attempt to lead the struggle against the fascist dictator of Spain, Francisco Franco (1892–1975), and to combat his propaganda, Ivens and Hurwitz made impassioned documentary films for the Popular Front cause of the loyalists. Ivens made no secret that his goal was not to portray unvarnished truth, but rather to enhance reality through the techniques of cinema in order to sway people into action.

In fascist Italy, Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) authorized the building of Cinecittà—a major film production studio—in 1936. The sign above the gate read, "Cinema Is the Strongest Weapon." LUCE (1926–1943) was a state-owned agency, founded by the fascists to produce "educational" and propaganda material for the Italian populace. LUCE made 2,972 weekly newsreels during its existence, most of which focused on Il Duce, military successes, and social progress in Italy under the fascist regime. In addition, the fictional films produced under fascism were highly successful adaptations of Italian novels and "white telephone" films about the bourgeoisie. Protected through strict import quotas, this *cultura popolare* reflected the cultural mythology of the fascist regime.

To counter Nazi and fascist propaganda and to inspire reluctant, isolationist American troops to fight the Axis powers, the US War Department commissioned the Hollywood director Frank Capra to produce a series of seven films called *Why We Fight* (1942–1945). One of the cinematic strategies of the series was that the enemies' own words and footage would be used against them; hence, much of the *Why We Fight* films are compilations of news footage. The themes (Good vs. Evil, Democracy vs. Totalitarianism) and characters (the Leader, Children, the People) were presented, through effective cinematic techniques, to elicit audience identification and involvement as in fiction movies.

The Nazis Strike (1943), for instance, utilized cross-cutting and "creative geography" to create propagandistic meaning. In one scene, dive-bombing German planes are intercut with fleeing civilians and cowering children to suggest that the bombers are menacing the victims

LENI RIEFENSTAHL

b. Helene Bertha Amalie Riefenstahl, Berlin, Germany, 22 August 1902, d. 8 September 2003

Leni Riefenstahl gained international fame in the 1930s as the official filmmaker of the Third Reich. She studied dance in her youth and appeared as an actress in German "mountain films" under the tutelage of Arnold Fanck. While performing in these movies, she learned the art of filmmaking and soon became the director of her own mountain film, *Das blaue Licht* (*The Blue Light*, 1932), in which she also starred.

Adolf Hitler admired *The Blue Light* and commissioned Riefenstahl to film the congress of the Nazi Party at Nuremberg in 1934. The result would be her masterpiece and triumph, *Triumph des Willens* (*Triumph of the Will*, 1935). Multiple cameras were used to powerful effect to lend full cinematic expressivity to the event, sweeping up the viewer in the spectacle. Riefenstahl insisted that *Triumph of the Will* was not propaganda, claiming "it is *history—pure history*." Yet the film relies on a nearly constant display of national symbols and mythic iconography to instill a sense of Teutonic grandeur, and her cinematic techniques convey a propagandist message beneficial to the Nazi cause. Indeed, its monumental style seems to convey the essential appeal of the fascist mentality. From its opening, *Triumph* creates identification with its "hero" by presenting the visual perspective of Hitler from inside his airplane. This "God's-eye" viewpoint is used as the plane parts the clouds (of postwar confusion? of the Weimar Republic?) over Nuremberg and thereby presents Der Führer as a mythic Messiah.

Olympische Spiele 1936 (*Olympia*, 1936), an ostensibly objective account of athletic competition at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin, utilized cinematic techniques to emphasize the German-Axis contestants. The famous diving sequence—with low-angle, slow-motion shots of gravity-defying divers leaping gracefully into the sky—depicts German, Italian, and Japanese competitors from slightly more imposing angles and with more grandiose music. (Riefenstahl's style could not disguise, however, African American Jesse Owens's four gold medal victories in track events.) Through Riefenstahl's camerawork and editing, the divers at times appear to defy gravity and tumble through the air, their athletic bodies—in seeming freefall—serving as a summary image of Riefenstahl's ideal of physical beauty.

Riefenstahl's last feature was *Tiefland* (*Lowland*). The filmmaker was accused of using gypsy concentration camp inmates as extras. Filmed during World War II, *Tiefland* was not released until 1954. By then, Riefenstahl had spent four years in Allied prison camps, undergone denazification, and been acquitted by a German court. In her later years, Riefenstahl became a still photographer, most notably of the African Nuba tribe. In her nineties, she shot stunning underwater scenes of deep-sea flora and even sharks. Despite these apolitical artistic projects, Riefenstahl is best remembered as a political pariah for her propaganda efforts on behalf of the Third Reich.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Das blaue Licht (*The Blue Light*, 1932), *Triumph des Willens* (*Triumph of the Will*, 1935), *Olympische Spiele 1936*, (*Olympia*, 1936), *Tiefland* (*Lowland*, 1954)

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Frank P. Tomasulo

Leni Riefenstahl. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

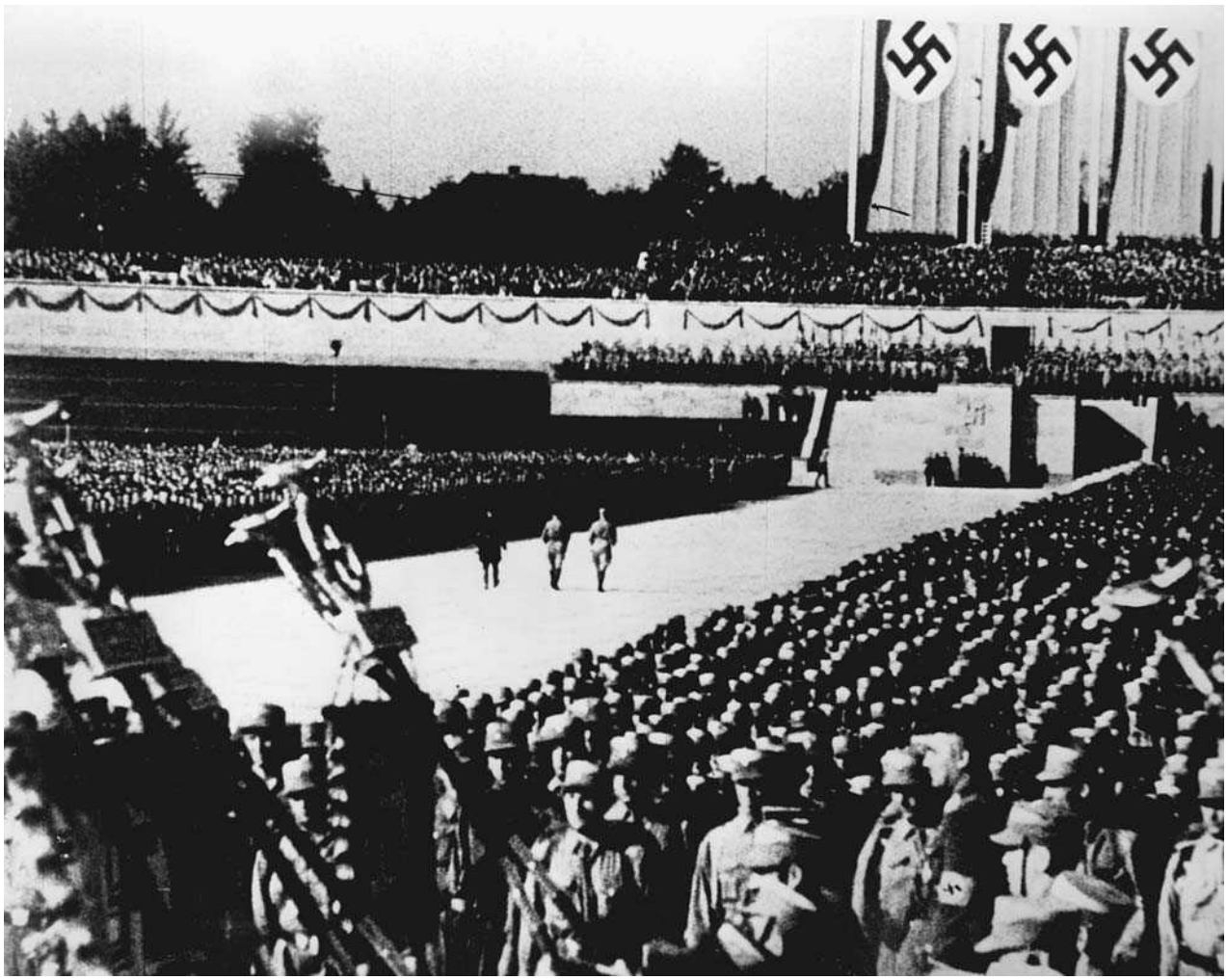
shown. In fact, these events did not occur simultaneously, but footage was cut together in the editing room. Later, we see Nazi soldiers loading howitzers and then the result of their handiwork: civilian areas exploding, a church steeple falling, children fleeing, and dead horses. Such associative editing enhances the portrayal of Germans as evil. Music is also used to accentuate the pro-Allies message; in particular, Chopin's *Polonaise* accompanies a voice-over narration that states, "Warsaw still resisted [the Nazis]." Later, a funereal passage from Beethoven's *Seventh Symphony* is heard over images of the bodies of dead Poles and their weeping widows. A heroic passage from the same symphony is used over images of Winston Churchill, and an uplifting rendition of "Onward Christian Soldiers" is played as the film ends—thereby equating the Allied effort with a religious crusade.

POSTWAR PROPAGANDA

A classic example of the juxtaposition of neutral visuals with ideological commentary is the little-known documentary *Operation Abolition* (1960), which uses relatively unbiased television newsreel footage of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) hearings in San Francisco during 1960 combined with a right-wing narration to excoriate witnesses who refused to testify and the protesters who supported them. As one witness denounces the committee's witch-hunting activities and is summarily escorted out of the chamber, the voice-over refers to the man's cowardice for using the Fifth Amendment; similarly, when protesters are propelled down the steep steps of the city hall by fire hoses, the narrator praises the local gendarmes for performing their legal and civic duties. In 1961 the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) produced a two-part remake of *Operation Abolition* titled *Operation Correction*, which used much of the same newsreel footage but with a different voice-over. In the ACLU version, the narrator commends the witness who refuses to testify for standing up to the belligerent committee and exercising his constitutional rights; likewise, when the police hurl demonstrators down the steps of city hall, the ACLU voice-over refers to the lawmen as "goons" who are breaking up a peaceful, lawful meeting. In this case, contradictory messages were disseminated by two separate groups to two different political constituencies by using the same visual images; no reediting was even necessary.

The most well-known propaganda film about the HUAC era is *Point of Order* (1964) by Émile de Antonio (1920–1989), which used kinescopes of the Army-McCarthy hearings of 1954 to show the gradual self-destruction of Senator Joseph McCarthy (1908–1957) and his red-baiting cause. Although the film begins with an intrusive voice-over—"Everything you are about to see actually happened"—there is no overt authorial voice, music, or cinematic commentary thereafter. However, despite the appearance of neutrality, *Point of Order* represents a distillation of thirty-six days of testimony into an hour-and-a-half movie. The rhetoric lies in the film's editing, which left a month of footage on the cutting room floor and used footage that both plays up the most dramatic moments of intensity (in particular, Joseph Welch's famous challenge to McCarthy: "Have you no sense of decency, sir? At long last, have you left no sense of decency?") and demeans HUAC. While the film uses objective newsreels, they are edited like a legal brief to make an argument: McCarthy was a dangerous fraud and hypocrite, and the HUAC investigations damaged the republic.

As with much propaganda, on first viewing, Alain Resnais's (b. 1922) *Nuit et Bruillard* (*Night and Fog*, 1955) may seem to be a highly emotional yet factual film, in this case about the Holocaust. After all, its heart is obviously in the right place. Nonetheless, based on a strict definition of propaganda, *Nuit et Bruillard* is a propaganda film, for it is only because of the juxtaposition of



Triumph des willens *(*Triumph of the Will*, 1934), Leni Riefenstahl's celebratory documentary on Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany.* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

horrific and peaceful images, poetic narration, and mournful music that viewers develop an empathetic stance. In particular, Resnais edits stark black and white newsreel footage from the 1940s of the Nazi concentration camps, especially of hundreds of emaciated corpses being bulldozed into a mass grave, in conjunction with rich color footage of the camps a decade later—peaceful and serene in their quietude. The director also uses black and white footage of the 1945 Nuremberg trials in which one German leader after another denies responsibility for the genocide and cuts to color footage of the calm green meadows of 1955; on the soundtrack the narrator asks, "Then who is responsible?" while heartbreaking music crescendos. Although the film generally remains distanced from its horrific contents, the finale brings home the propaganda point: that humanity needs to be humanized.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the Cubans have been well aware of the power of film propaganda. The Instituto Cubano del Arte e Industria Cinematograficos (ICAIC) took over film production three months after the overthrow of dictator Fulgenico Batista in 1959. Although technically not a state agency, ICAIC emphasized documentary and fictional filmmaking that valorized the ideology and accomplishments of Fidel Castro's regime. Santiago Álvarez (1919–1998) used Soviet montage style in his documentaries *Hanoi, Martes 13* (1967), *LBJ* (1968), and *79 primaveras* (*79 Springs* 1969). The latter film, for example, a tribute to the life of Ho Chi Minh, opens with an intellectual montage that juxtaposes time-lapse photography of flowers opening with slow-motion footage of US bomb strikes against Vietnam. Later, scenes of American military atrocities are conjoined with newsreel footage of US peace demonstrations, suggesting that the

American people are not to blame for the Vietnam War, but its political leaders. In the final scene, Álvarez uses juxtaposed torn/burned pieces of celluloid, bits of paper, and quickly cut individual frames of film to create an animated montage of attractions further enhanced by music and poems written by Ho Chi Minh and José Marti.

Another Cuban, Tomás Guitiérrez Alea (1928–1996), started out by making pro-revolutionary shorts, such as *Esta tierra nuestra* (*This Is Our Land*, 1959), for the rebel army's film unit. Later, in fictional feature films such as *La Muerte de un burócrata* (*Death of a Bureaucrat*, 1966) and *Memorias del subdesarrollo* (*Memories of Underdevelopment*, 1968), Alea critiqued the intellectuals of the Batista bourgeoisie. Still later, Alea made *Fresa y chocolate* (*Strawberry and Chocolate*, 1994) whose sympathetic portrayal of Cuba's homosexual community earned it international recognition—yet limited distribution in his homeland. In *Lucía* (1968), Humberto Solás traced the history of Cuban women through his story of three women named Lucía, living in three different eras. A different cinematic style was used in each episode, although overall the Cuban cinema hews closely to Castro's famous dictum about the arts: ''Inside the revolution, all is permitted; outside the revolution, nothing is allowed.''

Gillo Pontecorvo (b. 1919) is best known for *La Battaglia di Algeri* (*The Battle of Algiers*, 1965), a classic example of a fictional film with overt propaganda value. Although an opening credit states that none of the images in the film are real, the movie's cinematic techniques (grainy film stock, hand-held camera, frequent zooms, newsreel style, no expressive lighting, no makeup) suggest the film is presenting the reality of the Algerian revolution. The Algerian government funded the film, but it was later used by many insurgent groups, such as like the Black Panther Party in the United States, to teach urban guerrilla tactics; conversely, the film has been studied often at FBI and CIA headquarters to plan counterterrorist operations.

Although primarily meant as a paean to the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN; National Liberation Front), one scene in *The Battle of Algiers* illustrates how even propaganda can be fraught with ambiguity. Following French atrocities against Algerians in the Casbah, the FLN leaders set up a series of bomb attacks against French civilians. Three women are outfitted with makeshift bombs and disguised (with Continental clothing and cosmetics) so they can pass through heavily guarded checkpoints into the French Quarter. Once there, the women plant their bombs in a milk bar, a discothèque, and an airport terminal. Although most viewers probably side with the Algerians against the harsh colonial rule of the French, this partisanship is tested when Pontecorvo shows the innocent victims of the explosions: a youngster licking an ice cream cone in the milk bar; teenagers dancing in the club; and an elderly woman sitting in the airport. Indeed, the film segues immediately after the assaults from the upbeat disco music to Bach's *Requiem*, the film showing the human cost on both sides of the struggle. Such moments suggest that propaganda need not be completely one-sided and insensitive to be effective.

In the United States, several filmmakers produced films, both documentary and fictional, in opposition to the Vietnam War. The pro-war exception was *The Green Berets* (1968), an epic codirected by and starring John Wayne (1907–1979) that extolled the efforts of the US military against the Communists. Among the notable antiwar documentaries were Émile de Antonio's *In the Year of the Pig* (1968), Barbara Kopple's (b. 1946) *Winter Soldier* (1972), and Peter Davis's (b. 1937) Academy Award®–winning *Hearts and Minds* (1974), which used unstaged interviews with participants (soldiers, civilians, politicians) and newsreel footage of combat and speeches to critique US policy. All three films eschewed ''voice-of-God'' narration, relying instead on editing and other cinematic techniques to skewer the pro-war Establishment.

In *In the Year of the Pig*, de Antonio presents an interview with General George S. Patton in which the officer, in a caricature of himself, comments on his unit: ''They're a great bunch of *killers*!'' His gleeful tone and facial expression convey his underlying sadism and, by implication, the brutal mindset of the Pentagon and White House. Likewise, *Winter Soldier*, shot in grainy black and white, is composed of extended interviews with twenty Vietnam veterans who describe the atrocities they witnessed or in which they participated: rape, torture, disembowelment, mutilation, tossing prisoners from helicopters, and stoning a child to death. An occasional color photo of a civilian victim of US mistreatment is presented as evidence of the disturbing eyewitness testimony. The film was shot shortly after the My Lai massacre, making it particularly topical. Neither *In the Year of the Pig* nor *Winter Soldier* received wide release, hence their impact is difficult to assess. This pattern is often seen with controversial, one-sided movies: their commercial viability is uncertain and their audience is composed mainly of adherents to their cause.

This was not the case, however, with *Hearts and Minds*, whose Oscar® victory exposed it to a wider audience. Davis relies on selective editing of stock footage and candid interviews to support his antiwar stance. For example, an interview with General William Westmoreland (1914–2005), commander of the US forces in Vietnam,

is juxtaposed with a military funeral in South Vietnam. Westmoreland wears a comfortable seersucker suit and is positioned in front of a peaceful glade as he says, "The Oriental doesn't put the same high price on life as does the Westerner." This statement is in sharp contrast to the images with which it is juxtaposed: the burial of a slain soldier, whose sister cries disconsolately over the man's photo and whose mother attempts to jump into his open grave. The general's comment on the Asian mindset may be insensitive, but Davis's montage—placing these words right after this heartbreaking scene and just before shots of napalmed Vietnamese children—their burned flesh dangling from their bones, heightens the smugness of the "ugly American."

Antiwar sentiment was usually disguised in Hollywood films during—and even years after—the Vietnam War so as not to alienate large segments of the audience who may have supported the war effort. In *M*A*S*H* (Robert Altman, 1970), for example, the action took place during the Korean War but clearly commented on the Vietnam conflict. *The Wild Bunch* (Sam Peckinpah, 1969) went back even further—to the Mexican Revolution of 1913—to comment on the war. The unprecedented fierceness of the film's opening and closing massacres—achieved through the innovative use of montage and slow-motion death—allegorically depicted the wholesale killing of combatants and civilians, thus exposing the dark side of America's "noble cause" in Southeast Asia.

NEW COMIC PROPAGANDA

More recently, the American Michael Moore (b. 1954) gained both notoriety and acclaim for his "documentary" films, which are unabashedly tendentious—and funny. Although comedy is not usually associated with propaganda, muckraker Moore uses irreverent satire and wry humor in *Roger & Me* (1989), *Bowling for Columbine* (2002), and *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004). Most documentaries have taken liberties with veracity but also hold up objectivity as a goal. Moore, however—using a first-person, polemical, and postmodernist style—often overtly restructures chronology, intercuts events unrelated to a scene's focus, and adds music and narration to make a political point—or get a laugh. He has even admitted that *Roger & Me* is not a documentary at all.

Roger & Me is an exposé of corporate greed at the highest levels of General Motors (GM), especially as it relates to the economic devastation of the director's hometown of Flint, Michigan. Moore personifies the villain in the elusive figure of Roger Smith, GM's CEO, and takes on the hero's role for himself—appearing onscreen and proffering a voice-over narration throughout the film. Other villains appear as Moore finds that tracking down his prey is increasingly difficult. Miss Michigan, Deputy Sheriff Fred Ross, GM public relations man Tom Kay, Anita Bryant, Pat Boone, the television celebrity Bob Eubanks, corporate (and United Auto Workers [UAW]) flunkies, and rich ladies at a golf club all make insensitive, if not cruel, comments about the auto plant closings, but Moore's editing and voice-over add a more polemical dimension. As the camera tracks past rows of abandoned homes and businesses, the Beach Boys' song "Wouldn't It Be Nice" is played. When UAW union leaders and unemployed workers (including a woman forced to sell rabbits "for pets or meat") are lampooned as well, Moore's progressive point may be lost.

Bowling for Columbine, winner of the Academy Award® for Best Documentary of 2002, offers a forceful antigun message, focusing on the Columbine high school shootings and other gun death tragedies in the United States. At times, however, Moore is overly aggressive in his pursuit of celebrities. For example, one scene involves Moore's hounding of Dick Clark, who—Moore claims—is culpable in a little girl's death because of the celebrity's financial ties to a fast food chain. Moore's "logic" runs like this: Clark's restaurant pays minimum wage salaries, forcing a young mother to take a second job and leave her son with relatives; the lonely boy finds a handgun in his uncle's home and accidentally uses the weapon to kill a playmate. Moore ambushes Clark as he enters a van and peppers the music impresario with questions about his restaurant's pay scale, trying to directly link low wages with gun violence.

At the end of *Bowling for Columbine*, Moore goes even further in making questionable connections. Actor Charlton Heston, president of the National Rifle Association (NRA), grants the filmmaker an interview. The discussion soon moves to the subject of gun violence and the NRA's legislative agenda. Moore poses a seemingly innocent question: "Why does Canada have a lower rate of gun deaths than the United States?" to which Heston opines that racial tensions cause more murders in America. The filmmaker first attempts to turn this comment into a rabidly racist remark and then ambushes the doddering star as he walks away from the camera. Moore adds a voice-over plea for "Mr. Heston" to come back and continue the interview and, further, to apologize for the Columbine shootings. Finally, the director shamelessly lays a photo of a dead child in the star's driveway, as if Heston were somehow personally responsible. Such sanctimony is not uncommon in propaganda films; however, in the past, journalistic objectivity prevented many documentarians from attempting to arouse emotions so blatantly. In the twenty-first century, the pastiche-like "personal" postmodernist documentary knows no such restraint.

Fahrenheit 9/11 was the highest-grossing documentary film of all time and also won the Palme d'Or at Cannes in 2004. Although it is apparently riddled with factual inaccuracies, suggests that events occurred in a different chronological order than they actually did, and takes cheap shots at celebrities and government officials, its satirical passion and rage against the administration of George W. Bush (b. 1946) found an audience willing to suspend logic and its customary demand for truth. Even when the scenes are factually accurate—perhaps a vestigial concept in a postmodernist documentary—Moore still uses ad hominem attacks and chicanery to skewer the regime. For example, Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz is seen wetting his comb with saliva and slicking back his hair before a TV interview. This unhygienic practice certainly makes him look foolish, but does it say anything substantive about the Iraq War? Furthermore, does Wolfowitz's minor attempt at TV stage management compare with Moore's major manipulation of TV news footage?

Many in sympathy with Moore's antiwar agenda argued he did not have to resort to falsification to critique the president and his post-9/11 policies: the public record and the administration's own words, they said, provided enough fodder to support Moore's points. There is biting humor and irony in showing Bush play golf while the United States prepares for war, but President Bill Clinton also played golf while the nation was at war in Bosnia. Likewise, while Bush's look of stupefaction when informed that the Twin Towers had been attacked on September 11, 2001, suggests he was incompetent, it is an ambiguous image. Although Bush continues to read a book, *My Pet Goat*, to schoolchildren for seven minutes after he is told the news, the president may have been trying to maintain an air of calm while his staff investigated. But Moore goes for the easy explanation.

Indeed, Moore is rarely interested in subtlety. He takes great pains to prove that: (1) the US presidential election of 2000 was rigged; (2) Bush was in cahoots with the royal house of Saud and even Osama bin Laden—"facts" that have been challenged by the findings of the nonpartisan September 11 commission; (3) the president was a Vietnam-era deserter; and (4) the Iraq War was instigated to please the administration's wealthy backers. Whether Moore proves these allegations beyond a reasonable doubt is not the point; his chief concern was to create a dramatic and engaging film that marshals images and sounds (often his own voice-over commentary) to show that Bush is an incompetent, dishonest warmonger—and to affect Bush's reelection campaign in 2004. Moore wanted the film to "become a part of the national conversation" in the months before the 2004 election, and it did. It was not, however, sufficiently influential in the election-year debate to sway the results, even though the film contains powerful scenes of emotional blackmail, including a grieving mother who lost her soldier son in Iraq weeping in front of the White House, horrific scenes of Iraq war amputees in the Walter Reed Medical Center juxtaposed with the president addressing a fundraiser full of fat-cat contributors, and dead Iraqi youngsters positioned next to Defense Secretary Rumsfeld's assurances about "the humanity that goes into our conduct of the war."

While Moore's films may be among the most freely manipulative of documentaries, ultimately, to an extent, all films (whether documentary or fictional) are propagandistic in that they are products of a particular culture at a particular moment in its history. Thus, films cannot help but reflect (and influence) that culture. In short, movies are social acts in that they contribute to depicting a certain vision of society and say something—consciously or unconsciously—about the culture that produces them, which is very close to the definition of propaganda.

SEE ALSO *Documentary; Ideology; World War II*

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Frank P. Tomasulo

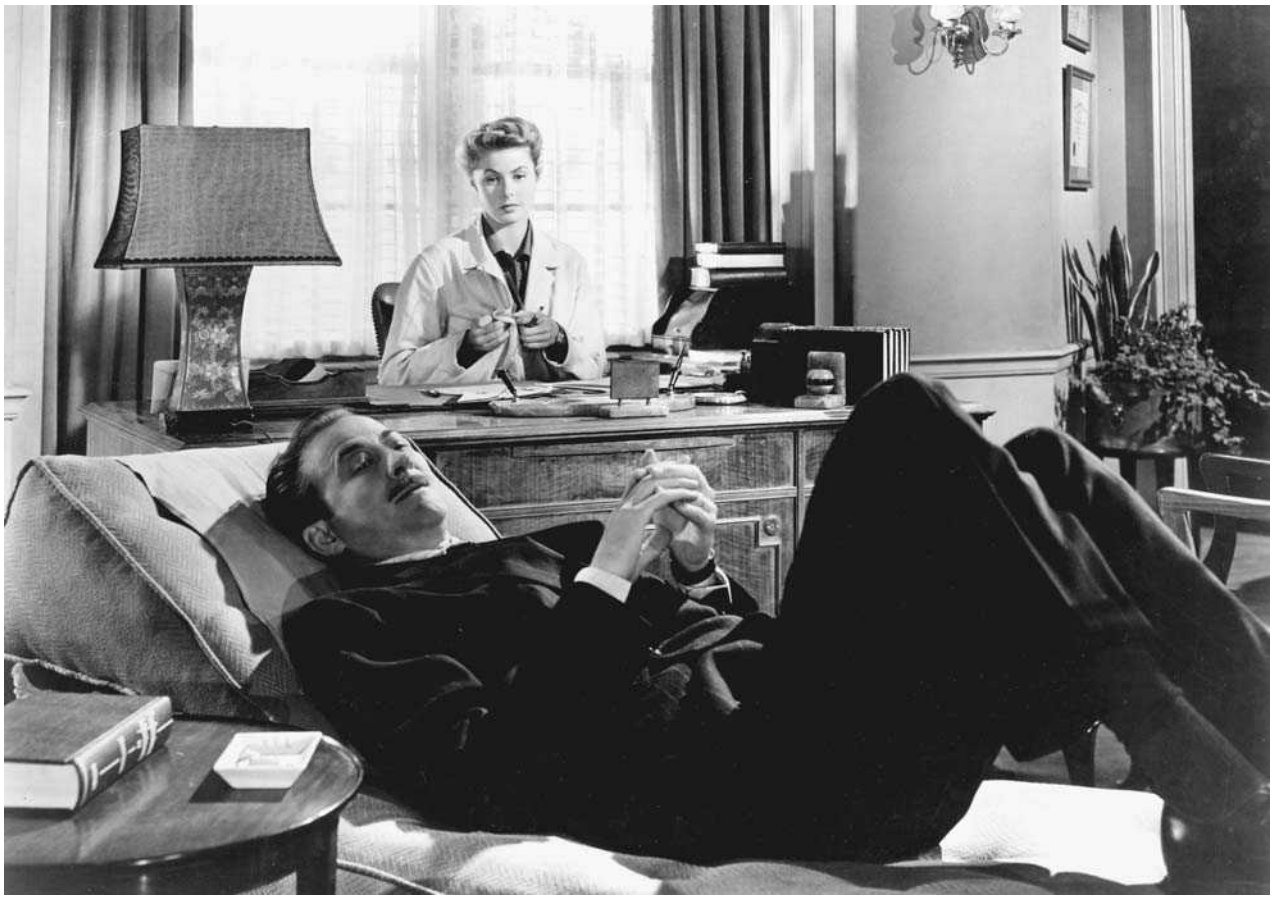
PSYCHOANALYSIS

It is not accidental that psychoanalysis and the cinema were born in the same year. In 1895, Auguste (1862–1954) and Louis Lumière (1864–1948) conducted the first public film screening in the basement of the Grand Café in Paris; the same year also witnessed the publication of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and Josef Breuer's *Studies on Hysteria*, the founding text of psychoanalysis. In this book, Freud and Breuer make public their discovery of the unconscious, the central psychoanalytic concept that, in fact, inaugurates psychoanalysis as a discipline. The existence of the unconscious means there is a limit to human self-knowledge. Our desire exists beyond this limit and thus remains fundamentally unknown to us. The unconscious includes repressed ideas, ideas we cannot consciously know because they are too traumatic for us. The traumatic nature of the unconscious renders it irreducible to our knowledge: it exceeds every attempt to know it directly. But this is not to say we cannot encounter the unconscious. Freud's conception of how one encounters the unconscious highlights the importance of psychoanalytic theory for the cinema.

As Freud makes clear in the *Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), the dream provides us with access to the unconscious through the way it distorts our latent thoughts in the process Freud calls the "dream-work." The dream-work alters thoughts existing in the mind by condensing multiple thoughts into one and displacing traumatic thoughts onto related nontraumatic ones. Above all, the dream-work translates our thoughts into images structured in a narrative form that is the dream itself. Through this activity of translation and distortion, the dream allows us to encounter unconscious ideas too traumatic for waking life. The dream enacts a traumatic encounter with our unconscious desire. The bizarre nature of dreams thus becomes evidence of unconscious processes, which are only visible indirectly through the distortion they create. For this reason, according to Freud, the dream is "the royal road to the unconscious." (This distortion is also evident, however, in slips of the tongue, forgetting, and jokes.) In light of the importance of the dream for the development of psychoanalysis, the link between psychoanalysis and the cinema becomes clearer: this structure can be seen in cinema as the site of public dreams, a unique opportunity to examine the unconscious outside of an analytic session.

CINEMA AND THE UNCONSCIOUS

Unfortunately, few filmmakers have actively taken up the possibilities that an understanding of psychoanalysis affords the cinema. Much of this is due, undoubtedly, to the place that film production occupies within a capitalist economy: the exigencies of profit place a premium on films that will appease rather than traumatize spectators. If Hollywood films open themselves to the trauma of the unconscious, they most often close this opening through their denouements. As a result, most commercial films show us how we can subdue and master trauma, not, as psychoanalysis has it, how trauma subdues and masters us. Films about psychoanalysis, including John Huston's *Freud* (1962) and Alfred Hitchcock's *Spellbound* (1945), deal with psychoanalysis on the level of their content rather than integrating it into their form (though Hitchcock's film does include a dream sequence with images created by the surrealist painter Salvador Dali).



Ingrid Bergman as psychoanalyst Dr. Constance Petersen in Alfred Hitchcock's* Spellbound *(1945). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Psychoanalysis made its presence felt most directly through the development of the film noir tradition. While few noir films explicitly address psychoanalytic concepts, the narrative structure and *mise-en-scène* of the noir universe evinces a kind of fidelity to them. The noir detective figure is much like the analyst: he probes the underside of society—the night—in search of the repressed truth that one cannot discover in the light of day. On this quest for truth, the noir detective discovers the essential corruption and disorder of society—the absence of any purity. Hence the noir detective discovers that truth is inseparable from desire, that truth is desire itself. This structure can be seen in classic noirs such as *The Maltese Falcon* (1941), *The Big Sleep* (1946), and *Out of the Past* (1947), as well as in neo-noirs such as *Chinatown* (1974).

Despite its forceful exploration of the unconscious dimension of experience, film noir remains, on the structural level, pre-Freudian. It sustains a narrative structure that obscures rather than emphasizes the workings of the unconscious. Serious attempts to integrate Freud's ideas on the unconscious and on dreams directly into film form were confined primarily to avant-garde, nonnarrative cinema. One notable exception is surrealist director Luis Buñuel (1900–1983), who formally emphasizes the repetitive nature of desire and its constitutive failure to find its object in such films as *Belle de Jour* (1967), *Le Charme discret de la bourgeoisie* (*The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie*, 1972), and *Cet obscur objet du désir* (*The Obscure Object of Desire*, 1977). In each case, the very narrative itself remains caught up in a cycle of repetition that forces us as spectators to experience the distorting power of desire itself.

Despite the importance of Buñuel to the cinematic development of the insights of psychoanalysis, perhaps no director, either in Hollywood or outside of it, has done more to develop an aesthetic on the basis of dreamwork than David Lynch (b. 1946). Lynch's films depart from the structure of traditional narrative in order to follow the logic of the dream. Especially in films such

as *Lost Highway* (1997) and *Mulholland Drive* (2001), Lynch includes narrative turns that seem to defy any versimilitude in an effort to respect this logic. However, unlike many avant-garde filmmakers, Lynch does not attempt to break from narrative altogether. The spectator can always discern the narrative trajectory of a Lynch film, even though this trajectory itself may confound expectations. When characters are miraculously transformed into other characters or the laws of temporality are ignored, this indicates Lynch's attempt to construct a realism of the unconscious. One often sees montage sequences, as in *Blue Velvet* (1986), that do not advance the narrative but work instead to reveal the unconscious associations of a particular character. Most importantly, all of Lynch's films lead the spectator to a traumatic encounter with the spectator's own desire elicited by the film. In the act of watching a Lynch film, one has one's own desire as a spectator exposed, in a way similar to the patient on the analytic couch. Though film for a long time resisted the full implications of psychoanalysis in favor of a form that worked to quiet the spectator's desire, with the films of David Lynch, cinema finally registers the potentially radical impact that psychoanalytic insights might have on film form and on the relationship between film and spectator.

Because of their investment in cinematically exploring the unconscious, Lynch's films have produced many exemplary psychoanalytic interpretations. These works tend to see the films in terms of fantasy, repetition compulsion, or Oedipal crisis. For instance, psychoanalytic interpretations of *Blue Velvet* often understand the film as reenacting the fantasy of the primal scene in order to investigate the role this fantasy plays in the development of male sexuality and subjectivity. Or they see the circular structure of *Lost Highway* as the depiction of the inescapability of repetition. Even beyond Lynch, these are the directions that psychoanalytic interpretation often takes, but such interpretive uses of psychoanalysis are relatively recent.

CINEMA AND THE MIRROR

Film theory, too, despite the structural link between psychoanalysis and cinema, did not immediately develop in the direction of psychoanalysis. The first attempt to understand the cinema in psychological terms occurred in 1916, when Hugo Münsterberg (1863–1916) wrote *The Photoplay: A Psychological Study*, a book that stressed the parallel between the structure of the human mind and the filmic experience. However, Münsterberg's concern is only the conscious mind, not the unconscious; he is thus a psychologist, not a psychoanalyst, more neo-Kantian than Freudian. From 1916 onward, this focus on the conscious experience of the spectator predominated in film theory, as attested by the work of important film theorists such as André Bazin and Sergei Eisenstein. Though Bazin and Eisenstein agree on little, they do share a belief that film's importance lies in its conscious impact. Neither considers the unconscious. Film theory took many years to begin to think of the cinematic experience in terms of the unconscious, but when it commenced, psychoanalytic film theory came in the form of a tidal wave in the 1970s and 1980s.

The primary focus of this wave of psychoanalytic film theory was the process of spectator identification understood through French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan's idea of the mirror stage. Even more than Freud himself, Lacan, despite the difficulty of his work and its lack of availability in English translation, was the central reference point for the emergence of psychoanalytic film theory. In truth, psychoanalytic film theory has from its incipience been almost exclusively Lacanian film theory. According to Lacan, the mirror stage occurs in infants between six and eighteen months of age, when they misrecognize themselves while looking in the mirror. The infant's look in the mirror is a misrecognition because the infant sees its fragmentary body as a whole and identifies itself with this illusory unity. In the process, the infant assumes a mastery over the body that it does not have, and this self-deception forms the basis for the development of the infant's ego. By detailing the formation of the ego through an imaginary process, Lacan thereby undermines the substantial status that the ego has in some versions of psychoanalysis (especially American ego psychology, often the target of Lacan's most vituperative attacks). The attractiveness of this idea for film theory is readily apparent if we can accept the analogy between Lacan's infant and the cinematic spectator.

Psychoanalytic film theorists such as Christian Metz and Jean-Louis Baudry took this analogy as their point of departure. For them, the film screen serves as a mirror through which the spectator can identify himself or herself as a coherent and omnipotent ego. The sense of power that spectatorship provides derives from the spectator's primary identification with the camera itself. Though the spectator is in actual fact a passive (and even impotent) viewer of the action on the screen, identification with the camera provides the spectator with an illusion of unmitigated power over the screen images. Within the filmic discourse, the camera knows no limit: it goes everywhere, sees everyone, exposes everything. The technological nature of the filmic medium (unlike, say, the novel) prevents a film from capturing absence. The camera inaugurates a regime of visibility from which nothing escapes, and this complete visibility allows spectators to believe themselves to be all-seeing (and thus all-powerful). What secures the illusory omnipotence of

the spectator is precisely the spectator's own avoidance of being seen. Like God, the spectator sees all but remains constitutively unseen in the darkened auditorium.

The above scenario functions, however, only insofar as it remains unconscious and the spectator sustains the sense of being unseen. This is why, according to this version of psychoanalytic film theory, classical Hollywood narratives work to hide the camera's activity. Once the camera itself becomes an obvious presence rather than an invisible structuring absence, the spectator loses the position of omnipotence along with the camera and becomes part of the cinematic event. When this happens, the spectator becomes aware that the film is a product and not simply a reality. To forestall this recognition, classical Hollywood editing works to create a reality effect, a sense that the events on the screen are really happening and not just the result of a filmic act of production. In this regard, classical Hollywood cinema functions like commodity fetishism, working to hide the labor that goes into the production of its commodity. When thinking about early psychoanalytic film theory, a reference to commodity fetishism is almost unavoidable, which suggests the strong link that has existed between psychoanalytic film theory and Marxist theory.

One cannot separate the early manifestation of psychoanalytic film theory from its political dimension. In addition to relying on Lacan's notion of the mirror stage, Baudry and other psychoanalytic film theorists take their bearings from Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser. For them, Althusser's notion of ideological interpellation (developed in his essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," 1970) provides a way of thinking about the political implications of the mirror stage. For Althusser, ideology hails concrete individuals as subjects, causing them to regard themselves—mistakenly—as the creative agents behind their experiences. The illusion of agency is thus the fundamental ideological deception.

According to psychoanalytic film theorists, the cinematic experience perpetuates this ideological deception through the mirror relationship it sets up for the spectator. Insofar as traditional narrative film blinds the spectator to the way that film addresses or hails the spectator as a subject, every traditional narrative participates in the process of ideological interpellation and control. Hollywood film invites spectators to accept an illusory idea of their own power, and in doing so, it hides from spectators their actual passivity. For early psychoanalytic film theory, cinema's ideological victory consists of convincing spectators to enjoy the very process that subjugates them. This line of thought finds its fullest development in the British journal *Screen* throughout the 1970s.

It is also in *Screen* that theorists first began to link psychoanalytic film theory to feminist concerns. One of the most fecund developments in psychoanalytic film theory occurred through this alliance. In 1975 Laura Mulvey wrote "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," perhaps the most anthologized and most quoted essay in the entire history of film theory. The importance of this essay for the subsequent development of film theory cannot be overstated. Basing her essay on the pioneering work of Metz and Baudry, Mulvey links the process of spectator identification to sexual difference. According to Mulvey, a secondary identification with character accompanies the spectator's primary identification with the camera, and this identification with a filmic character is most often, at least in Hollywood cinema, an identification with a male character.

The spectator's sense of power is, for Mulvey, a definitively masculine sense of power. The spectator, then, is gendered male. On the screen, the male character, the site of identification, drives the movement of the film's narrative and is the character whose movement the camera follows. The female character serves as a spectacle for both the spectator and the latter's screen proxy, the male character, to look at. This process, which Mulvey termed the "gaze," deprives the female subject of her subjectivity, reducing her to a "to-be-looked-at-ness" that provides pleasure for the male spectator. Mulvey's appropriation of psychoanalysis for feminism is meant to destroy this pleasurable experience through the act of analyzing it. Here again, psychoanalytic theory is inseparable from the specific political program it serves.

REDISCOVERING THE GAZE

Due in large part to the impact of Mulvey's essay, psychoanalytic film theory grew so popular in the 1980s that it became identified, especially in the minds of its detractors, with film theory as such. In the 1990s, however, psychoanalytic film theory almost ceased to be practiced and was reduced to being an idea to refute in the process of introducing another way of thinking about film. Its demise led to a general retreat from theory to empirical research within the film studies field. But psychoanalytic film theory did not completely die out. Acknowledging twenty years of critiques of psychoanalytic film theory focused on spectator identification, a new manifestation of psychoanalytic film theory developed through an act of self-criticism. In *Read My Desire: Lacan Against the Historicists* (1994), Joan Copjec completely revolutionized psychoanalytic film theory. Copjec pointed out that psychoanalytic film theory had based itself on a radical misunderstanding of Lacan's concept of the gaze, which he does not develop in his essay on the mirror stage but in a later seminar translated as *The Four Fundamental*

Concepts of Psycho-Analysis (1978). The gaze, as Copjec explains it, is not on the side of the looking subject; it is an objective gaze, a point on—or, rather, absent from—the film screen. Rather than being the spectator's look of (illusory and deceptive) mastery, it is the point in the film image where this mastery fails. Instead of reducing the film screen to the mirror in which spectators can identify themselves, Copjec understands the screen as the site of the gaze, which is the object motivating the spectator's desire.

Psychoanalytic film theory had been too eager to think in terms of spectator identification and thus forgot about the role of spectator desire. According to psychoanalysis, desire is triggered by a missing object—an absence. Though the camera has the effect of rendering everything it photographs visible, it cannot create a field of unlimited visibility. Though films may work to disguise the limits of visibility, these limits are actually necessary for engaging the spectator's desire. The spectator desires to see a film only if it remains absent from the field of vision. It is this absence, not the illusion of gaining visual omnipotence, that draws the spectator into the events on the screen. The spectator thus seeks an object in the filmic image that remains irreducible to that image and irretrievable there. The encounter with this absence is traumatic for the spectator, shattering the ego and dislodging the spectator from her or his position of illusory safety. As films often make us aware, we as spectators are not separate from the screen but present there as an absence. When films push us toward the recognition of this unconscious involvement, we confront the public elaboration of our unconscious desire.

Though there is an implicit political valence to this turn in psychoanalytic film theory, it breaks from previous versions by refusing to place psychoanalytic insights in the service of a preformulated political program. Instead, Copjec's psychoanalytic film theory takes unconscious desire—the founding idea of psychoanalysis—as its starting point for understanding the cinema. In this sense, there is a homology between the emergence of Lynch's filmmaking and this innovation in psychoanalytic film theory. Both focus on the role of unconscious desire in film rather than on the process of identification. It is not coincidental that film theorists such as Slavoj Žižek, following in Copjec's wake, have turned their attention to the films of David Lynch.

With her revision of the traditional understanding of the gaze, Copjec authored a revolution in psychoanalytic film theory. It now becomes clear that the link between psychoanalysis and the cinema is even tighter than it initially seemed. No longer do we need to use psychoanalysis exclusively to help us decode cinematic manipulation and ideological control. Instead, psychoanalysis and cinema become locatable as part of a shared project that emerges out of a recognition of the power of the unconscious. Both psychoanalysis and cinema, in their best manifestations, represent attempts to embrace the trauma that constitutes us as subjects. In doing so, one discovers that this trauma is at once the source of our enjoyment as well. Psychoanalytic film theory can now look at films in terms of the way in which they relate to the gaze and thereby recognize how they mobilize spectators' desires and appeal to their fantasies. This allows psychoanalytic film theory to finally arrive at the fundamental questions that the cinema poses for us as individual subjects and for culture at large.

SEE ALSO *Criticism; Feminism; Film Studies; Spectatorship and Audiences*

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Todd McGowan

PUBLICITY AND PROMOTION

Hollywood creates its illusions through both its films and its publicity, mythologizing in its idealistic images of films and their stars. While sometimes the industry flaunts its promotional muscle, its publicity departments have generally operated in a more self-effacing manner, presenting the glamour of movies and their stars as natural, not created and hyped. Throughout much of the silent period and the classical era (approximately 1930–1955), studios managed to control their stars' images through a variety of means including morality clauses in contracts and careful publicity. This changed in the 1950s with the advent of television, the collapse of the studio system, the federally-mandated separation of the studios from their theater chains, and the court decision that the standard seven-year star contract was unconstitutional. The weakened film industry faced attacks from independent scandal magazines like the notorious *Hollywood Confidential* that used tabloid techniques to pierce carefully constructed images. To get television-watching audiences back into theaters, the industry touted its big pictures with equally big advertising campaigns, filled with stunts and gimmicks to capture public attention. Meanwhile, the growth of independent publicists, talent agents, and promotional opportunities outside the fading studio system allowed some aggressive would-be stars to make a brief impact. Perhaps chief among these was Jayne Mansfield (1933–1967), whose talent for self-promotion led to her short-lived stardom and added resonance to her performance in Twentieth Century Fox's satire of the advertising, film, and television industries, *Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter?* (1957).

Although Hollywood confronted its declining power by diverting most of its publicity resources to select films, the tactics it used to advertise them and to promote its stars did not change much from the silent era. Most of the important promotional tactics that exist today—trailers, print advertisements, pressbooks, posters, promotional tie-ins, star premieres—were in place by 1915, although their forms have changed since then. Some strategies used during the height of the classical era have disappeared: stars no longer travel to theaters across the United States to make promotional appearances in support of new films, and studios no longer run official star fan clubs or mail glamour shots of stars to fans. Changes in studio publicity have responded to new media, such as Internet and television advertising, and to shifts in cinema demographics. As movies increasingly became a medium for young adults rather than families during the 1950s and 1960s, film companies marketed pop music soundtracks on records and then CDs. Even then, this was not so much a change as a shift in emphasis, as sheet music had promoted movies since the silent era.

From early stunts to later sophisticated and standardized publicity, film advertising has capitalized on the audience's desire for the latest novelties and for familiar stars, stories, and comforting images. Promotions helped the film industry survive such catastrophic events as the Depression and the rise of television. Publicity has even constituted a large part of cinema's appeal—from the posters, lobby cards, and promotional memorabilia that have become collectors' items to the contests of the silent and classical era and the fast-food novelties and tie-in ring-tones of today.

FUNDAMENTALS OF FILM ADVERTISING

The film industry did not advertise its movies directly to the general public until around 1913, late for a large, consumer-oriented industry. When films first emerged as novelties in the late nineteenth century, pioneering companies like Edison, Biograph, Lumière and Pathé were initially more interested in selling machines. Their movies were not advertised to the public but listed in catalogs that described content and listed price. Exhibitors devised their own promotions and stunts, some of which—like contests and giveaways—influenced the studio publicity that followed.

The emergence of the nickelodeon around 1905 fundamentally changed the film industry and its advertising strategies. As the number of these first cheap movie theaters exploded during the nickelodeon boom (1905–1907), exhibitors started advertising to fight off competition, whereas producers battled alleged patent infringement in court to force competitors out of business. Exhibitors draped homemade posters outside their theater facades, hired barkers to shout about their program, distributed homemade flyers, and borrowed publicity stunts from the likes of P. T. Barnum (1810–1891). They did not, however, advertise in the press, largely because it was too expensive.

From about 1908, exhibitors produced their own weekly or monthly bulletins, listing forthcoming attractions, providing information about their theaters, films, and promotions, alongside local news and local advertisements. The film-related content of these bulletins increased between 1905 and 1913, focusing more on plots, sets, performers, and the inner workings of studios. From around 1910, these materials came directly from trade papers such as *The Moving Picture World* or from studio publications such as the *Essanay News*, which increasingly offered audience-friendly information about movies, actors, and forthcoming productions. Some studio bulletins even contained pages that could be cut out and used as posters. By 1914, the public could purchase these periodicals at theaters, a development emphasizing the studios' greater interest in promoting their films and actors to the general public. These studio publications and distributor magazines such as Mutual's *Reel Life* became more and more like the fan magazines and the pressbooks used to coordinate the publicity of a single film.

By 1913, major changes in film publicity were underway. That year, two relatively new but important companies, Mutual and Universal, formed advertising departments staffed with major New York executives to promote their films directly to the public for the first time. The November 1913 full-page advertisement for Mutual's serial, *Our Mutual Girl* (1914), in the *Saturday Evening Post* (circulation, over two million) was the first of its kind to be targeted toward the American public. Both companies set up poster departments and commissioned artists create in-house styles that would distinguish their releases from those of other companies—something later emulated by Hollywood studios. These early advertising and poster departments established practices that continued into the classical era: they supplied theaters with posters, provided them with tie-ins, and offered suggestions for motion picture exploitation (stunts, theater decoration, contests, and the like). Other major studios quickly followed suit: in 1915, MGM hired famous illustrators for their newly-formed poster department and that same year Paramount opened its exploitation department, offering posters, lobby cards, displays, tie-ins, and ideas for stunts. Although stunts appeared spontaneous and novel, they were often studio-designed. Studios encouraged exhibitors to organize beauty contests, competitions, parades, and so forth to support their films, which turned the lobby where audiences waited between shows into one of the most important promotional spaces.

Newspaper and magazine advertising—again pioneered by Mutual and Universal—also started in 1913, winning over a medium that had previously regarded movies with hostility. From then on, press advertising was a vital component of any film's publicity campaign. Studios provided newspapers with press releases and carefully-drafted promotional stories about their stars and new releases. In turn, major press syndicates like Hearst or the Tribune Company started working with the studios, even collaborating with them to produce serial films like *The Perils of Pauline* (1914), and reprinting their stories each week. In the 1930s and 1940s, Hollywood established a similarly close relationship with radio. Stations promoted films by playing their theme songs and presenting abridged movies or full scenes from current releases (sometimes featuring the original actors) on shows like *Lux Radio Theater* (NBC, 1934–1935; CBS, 1935–1955; sponsored by the soap manufacturer) and *Cavalcade of Stars* (DuMont, 1949–1952). Besides reorienting the address of film publicity towards the public, these advertising strategies helped improve cinema's cultural standing. Newspapers no longer attacked the film industry but promoted its stars, studios, and new releases. This transformation cemented the industry's new, clean, middle-class image, which its publicity departments strenuously fought to maintain through the classical era. This required constant work, with studios investing most of their resources in controlling the information disseminated about their stars, creative personnel, and the production process.

Advertising for each individual film was another important component of studio publicity. Each film's

ad campaign was distilled into a pressbook, which was sent out to exhibitors with the film itself. Pressbooks first appeared in 1913 for George Kleine's imported Italian feature *Quo Vadis?* (1912) and were quickly used for all movies, no matter how small their budgets. Everything an exhibitor needed to advertise the film was either in the pressbook or available through it for a small cost (colored posters and cardboard displays cost extra). Throughout the classical period, the pressbook was twelve to thirty pages long, filled with fake newspaper stories, photos, fashion displays, ideas for stunts, and free black and white posters. Newspapers also received pressbooks and were encouraged to reprint their featured articles, stories, reviews and photographs.

Pressbooks listed all the available tie-ins for each film. These were (and are) merchandise related in some way to the film—often branded goods, toys, copies of clothes seen in the film, sheet music, soundtrack recordings—or items only tenuously related to it, such as perfume. Serials presented some of the first opportunities for tie-ins, with magazines, dress patterns, cosmetics, and dolls among the most popular. Tie-ins soon took a variety of forms, from copies of designer gowns to soda cups, all designed to help bring the consumer closer to a favorite film or to preserve the movie experience. Essentially glorified advertisements, these goods capitalized on cinema's intimate appeal to the public, the attraction of its stars as role models, the screen's resemblance to the shop window, and the glamour of Hollywood.

Tie-ins proliferate today. Some of the most popular and long-lived products include Shirley Temple and *Gone with the Wind* dolls and Max Factor cosmetics, which have been in constant production since the 1930s. Most have been aimed at women and children, although some tie-ins target men, such as the branded merchandise associated with sports films and westerns. Fashion offered particularly lucrative tie-in possibilities: throughout the 1930s, Macy's carried studio-approved replicas of movie star gowns that capitalized on viewers' identification with films and their stars. Film companies submitted sketches to garment manufacturers as far as a year ahead of a picture's release to ensure hats and dresses would be in stores when their movies premiered (see Eckert). This practice seemingly violated the film industry's own Advertising Code, which limited advertising in pictures, indicating that movies were not seen as ads for these gowns. Bloomingdale's recently revived this trend, presenting window displays in the company's flagship New York store on 59th Street and Lexington Avenue for *Moulin Rouge* (2001), *Down With Love* (2003) and *The Phantom of the Opera* (2004). These were not copies of clothes from the films but were instead everyday items "inspired" by their stylized looks.

Film trailers also appeared very early on—around 1912—although they did not become standard for several years. More than any other publicity device, trailers responded to changes in film length and budget: they were not appropriate for short films that only played for a single day. For both serials and feature films, trailers were used to create anticipation and stimulate advance ticket sales. Trailers gradually became longer in the post-classical period when fewer films were produced and the double bill became a thing of the past. Classical-era trailers generally consisted of a male voice-over narrating clips from the film, with on-screen text superimposed over the image using hard-sell tag-lines and superlatives to sell the picture. These trailers generally relied more on the voice-over than on the visuals from the film.

By the 1950s, trailers primarily showcased footage from each film, although voice-overs remained. In keeping with the post-classical mandate requiring films to be individually marketed, trailers focused on the unique qualities of each film, which encouraged experimentation. By the 1960s, some trailers were highly stylized, emphasizing mood over story. For example, the ad executive Stephen O. Frankfurt's trailer for *Rosemary's Baby* (1968) bypassed the film's plot, featuring a silhouette of a baby carriage, accompanied by eerie crying and the tag line: "Pray for Rosemary's Baby." The trailer for *Real Life* (Albert Brooks, 1979) featured no footage from the film but instead used an ersatz 3-D comic vignette of its director-star directly addressing the audience about the realism of his forthcoming film. By the 1980s, this kind of experimentation was on the wane with trailers again emphasizing stars, action, and narrative. Since then, some trailers have even revealed the film's twist, as with *What Lies Beneath* (2000), which showed that Harrison Ford's character was the villain—something ad execs justified as the film's unique selling point.

CONSOLIDATING THE SYSTEM: THE ADVERTISING CODE

By the late teens, advertising was largely studio-controlled, setting the pace for the classical era. Although exhibitors could still design their own publicity if they wished, the elaborate campaigns studios set out in their pressbooks, trailers, posters, and other forms of print advertising were hard to decline. By the mid-1930s, after the film industry consolidated its control over publicity with its Advertising Code, exhibitors had to use the studios' advertising. Like film censorship, this code arose out of the problems the industry faced during the Depression. As audiences declined and most of the studios faced financial trouble, moralists from groups like the Legion of Decency charged the industry with offering salacious and violent films, accompanied by posters of

scantily clad starlets and sometimes racy copy. Theaters—especially the smaller, independent houses not owned by major studios—posed another problem for the industry as they desperately tried to retain Depression-strapped audiences. Exhibitors offered cash games (Bank Night, Lotto), distributed free groceries and other gifts, and offered two—or three—movies for the price of one. These stunts angered both moralists and studio executives, who were particularly upset by the cash games, which violated banking and gaming statutes. Although studios no longer trusted independent exhibitors to devise their own advertising, one of their innovations—the double bill—survived, becoming a classical institution.

Groups like the Legion of Decency attacked movies and their advertising, organizing protests outside theaters to scare away audiences. The industry could not afford these losses in a time of severe fiscal crisis and set up a large-scale public relations effort to improve their image and offset the threat of federal censorship and regulation. The instigation of film censorship through the Production Code Administration (PCA) in the early 1930s was part of this effort. Another facet of this self-imposed moral crackdown applied strictly to publicity. The Advertising Code of 1930 was operated under the auspices of the PCA and had offices in New York and Hollywood, the industry's business and creative centers. It asserted the film industry's belief in "truth in advertising" and the maintenance of good taste. The Advertising Code Administration (ACA) was first headed by John J. McCarthy, a film publicity man, until his death in1937, and then by Gordon White, another experienced motion picture advertising man. As with the censorship of the Hays Office, the Advertising Code extended the industry's control over its business operations, requiring independent exhibitors to use the industry's own approved advertising materials.

The Code testified to the importance of film advertising as a social and cultural force—both for Hollywood and the general public. All advertising had to be submitted to the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), whose president had the final say. Under the Code, advertisements could not be misleading, false, or quote dialogue out of context. They had to conform to the broader tenets of the Production Code—thus nudity, salacious poses, violence, and profanity were banned, and publicity could not capitalize upon text referring to any censorship or litigation a film might have experienced. Posters had to respect religion, patriotism, other nations, the law, and the police. In March 1935, the MPPDA established a fine of $1,000–$5,000 for violations, but complaints were few and revisions rare. The most notable exception came late in the ACA's history. In 1946, *The Outlaw* (1943) lost its Production Code Seal (required for public exhibition) because its notorious images of Jane Russell's breasts violated the Advertising Code. Significantly, this was not a studio production, but the picture was still shown, indicating the majors' waning power. Today, there is no Advertising Code, but trailers are industry-regulated. Ratings depend on the film's rating and that of the movie it precedes, with the MPAA recommending all trailers avoid excessive sex, violence, and drug use.

POST-CLASSICAL ADVERTISING

Classical-era advertising did not involve major changes, but rather, consolidated earlier strategies. The industry's control over film advertising faded with the 1948 Supreme Court decision in the Paramount Case finding the major studios in violation of antitrust laws, an event that marked the beginning of the end for classical Hollywood and severed studios from their theater chains. With the rise of television and declining demand for films, theaters increasingly offered a more stripped-down experience. The studios' loss of total control allowed outside intervention in shaping the image of films and stars—especially through the new scandal magazines—just as it opened up independent production and limited studios' control over exhibition. Some changes in advertising—including the appearance of the television spot—arose in response to these post-classical developments. Pressbooks became less important, as many newspapers closed during the post-World War II years. Pressbooks' fake newspaper stories and suggestions for stunts practically disappeared, along with most of their more excessive and exuberant features. Pressbooks today are simple folders printed with the film's promotional images and filled with photos of the cast and a few press releases on the film, its director, and stars. Lobby cards gradually vanished and fewer posters were produced for each film, with photography gradually replacing the original art typical of the silent and classical eras.

By the mid- to late-1950s, stunts reappeared at the margins of the industry, particularly in the low-budget releases aimed at youth audiences. As most films were now marketed as individual entities, studios tried to make each release stand out, using star-studded premieres to boost a movie or, alternatively, masterminding a stunt like that of Marilyn Monroe reenacting the famous skirt scene from *The Seven Year Itch* (1955) for the international media. Independent producer-directors like William Castle (1914–1977) became notorious for exploitation campaigns that often overshadowed their films. His gimmicks combined older, Barnumesque theater-centered stunts with the promise of heightened visceral realism associated with the period's new movie technologies (like 3-D and Cinerama). Even major studio campaigns used

WILLIAM CASTLE

b. William Schloss, New York, New York, 24 April 1914, d. 31 May 1977

William Castle, the American film producer-director, was notorious for his inventive, humorous, and often excessive film promotions. Not only Hollywood's most famous showman, he also revolutionized film advertising.

After directing B-pictures for Columbia and Universal, including the acclaimed film noir, *When Strangers Marry* (1944), Castle came into his own when the studio system collapsed and films had to be marketed individually. He surrounded his low-budget films with inventive stunts that made each movie a unique event. Castle later became an independent producer, forming Susina Associates in 1957 to make five successful low-budget horror films that represented the apex of his gimmickry. For *Macabre* (1958), he purchased from Lloyd's of London $1,000 of Fright Insurance for each patron in case audience members should die of fear. *House on Haunted Hill* (1959) featured Emerg-O, inflatable skeletons that flew over the audience; *13 Ghosts* (1960) was shown in Illusion-O, with glasses offered to help audiences see its onscreen ghosts, while *Homicidal* (1961) had a Fright Break when cowardly audience members could leave and get their money back.

Castle's exploitation strategies reached their most baroque with the infamous Percepto in connection with *The Tingler* (1959). He had every tenth seat in theaters where the film showed in the first run wired with army surplus electrical motors that were activated when the tingler—a parasite that fed off human fear—escapes into a movie theater in the film's story. The film also featured several announcements by Vincent Price, the first of which was accompanied by one of Castle's favorite gimmicks—a (planted) woman who fainted.

Although Castle would later insure the life of the cockroach star of *Bug* (1975) for $1 million, he changed his promotional tactics in the mid-1960s when he signed with Paramount in 1966 to make more upmarket pictures, including Roman Polanski's *Rosemary's Baby* (1968). Castle now focused more on public relations, producing news releases for local television stations and leaking out information during production rather than creating theatrical stunts. He capitalized on the fame of the star, Mia Farrow, by inviting the press to watch Vidal Sassoon cut her hair for *Rosemary's Baby* for the fee of $5,000—a gesture that echoed earlier media furor over one of Farrow's haircuts. The film also had its own groundbreaking signature advertising campaign, which featured an unusually elliptical and suggestive trailer.

Castle replaced the self-effacing advertising of the classical era of film with promotional tactics that were often greater attractions than his movies. In so doing, he revived the showman for a more knowing generation, often capitalizing on audiences' desire to be in on the joke.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

As Director: *Macabre* (1958), *House on Haunted Hill* (1959), *The Tingler* (1959), *13 Ghosts* (1960), *Homicidal* (1961); As Producer: *Rosemary's Baby* (1968)

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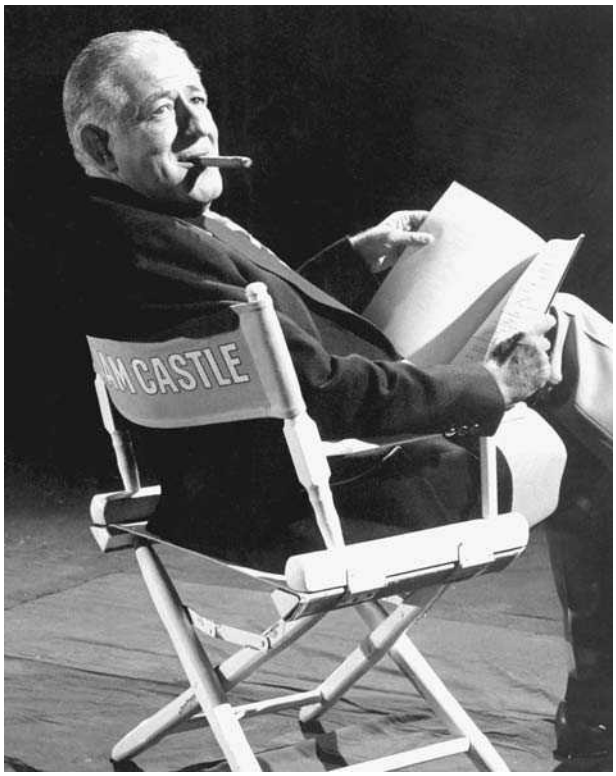
Moya Luckett

stunts to create new cinematic experiences: the print ads, trailers, posters, and television spots for *Psycho* (1960) proclaimed that viewers would not be admitted ten minutes after the film started, focusing attention on the first scenes, a tactic that made Marion Crane's death even more shocking. Before *Psycho*, audiences were reportedly less likely to watch a film from the very start, thus its advertising marked a post-classical shift in reception, singling out the individual film as a distinct event.

INTERNET ADVERTISING

By the early 1970s, promotional budgets sometimes exceeded a film's production costs. As new technologies change the ways in which films are viewed, from television, to video, to DVDs and digital downloads, they have also changed promotions, many of them using a number of media platforms.

Perhaps the most famous advertising campaign of the Internet era was for Artisan's ultra-low budget video



William Castle. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

feature, *The Blair Witch Project* (1999). Tease sites were up months before the film's July 1999 release, based on a simple but ingenious premise—the claim that the film was true, taped by protagonists killed in the process of investigating a local urban legend. The film's official Web site stressed its authenticity with "newscasts" and grainy digital photographs of police "evidence," including abandoned cameras, film, and video cassettes. Before its release, the Internet Movie Database even listed its principal actors as "missing, presumed dead." Adding to the pre-release media synergy, the Sci-Fi Channel aired the *Curse of the Blair Witch*, a one-hour Blair "documentary."

Although *Blair Witch* became known as the first major Internet campaign and was arguably the first film whose advertising was more important than the movie, it did not radically change the way films were marketed. Although the film set attendance records and reportedly caused directors and producers to demand Internet campaigns, it depended on novelty and timing. Indeed, some advertising and Internet strategists suggested the film itself was of marginal importance, and that the real pleasure involved the viewer's movement between media, particularly the constant return to the Web.

Post-*Blair Witch* film Web sites acted more as traditional anchors, as places where viewers could download trailers, find information on cast and crew, and play games. Most subsequent efforts to create an elaborate Internet ad campaign have received little attention, as with the publicity for *A.I. Artificial Intelligence* (2001). Prior to its release, the film was surrounded with secrecy. Unusual for a summer blockbuster, nothing much was known about the film other than its stars, director, source material, and its history as a Kubrick-developed project. While the film's marketing strategy of secrecy and false leads—releasing a false scene-by-scene narrative breakdown to aint-it-cool-news.com and Web sites spreading false information about the film—resembled that of a Kubrick release, other aspects of its marketing were typically Spielbergian, including using the Internet to stress the links between the film and real-life events. The studio even hired scientists at MIT's AI Lab to help market the film and organized a symposium on AI research on 30 April 2001, which featured a five-minute *A.I.* preview and a personal appearance by star Haley Joel Osment. Internet promotions included a Web game with over thirty different sites focusing on characters who were not in the film, but featuring a real Manhattan phone number and voice mail.

Although this campaign went largely unnoticed, it capitalized on the Web leaks and false information that surround many high-budget releases. In the wake of Internet advertising, fake Web sites have been used for many films, often with little comment. Even print advertisements have participated in this trend, with the pre-release campaign for *Laws of Attraction* (2004) taking the form of fake ads for its divorce lawyer protagonist, Audrey Woods (Julianne Moore), without mentioning the film at all.

PUBLICITY AND THE FILM STAR

Although actors were initially uncredited, favorites soon emerged, even though fans would not know when they might see them next and knew nothing about them. This anonymity was gradually eroded—first within the industry via the trade press. Names were first announced in January 1909, when Kalem identified its actors in the *New York Dramatic Mirror* via a picture of its stock company with their names printed underneath. A year later, the studio made a promotional poster of its actors available to exhibitors. Other companies released names in the trade press and in their own house journals during 1909, and by 1910, most companies gave screen credits. IMP (a Universal-affiliated producer) was the first to identify a star to the public via a publicity stunt. In March 1910, it signed Florence Lawrence from Biograph, first planting stories that she had died in a

Lobby card advertising for William Castle's* The Tingler *(1959). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

streetcar accident, then denying them, claiming a rival had defamed their star. Lawrence's name was thus released to the public amid widespread publicity.

The film star was perhaps the most important development in film advertising, and the preservation of those carefully-crafted star images was the focus of most Hollywood publicity, a process that reached its peak during the classical era. Star publicity quickly developed around the characteristic intersection of private life and on-screen image, with publicity departments becoming incredibly vigilant about the information given to the press. From their inception, most movie ads centered on stars, but this was only the tip of the iceberg. Much of the Hollywood promotional machine was devoted to testing different star images and marketing and maintaining these personae. Although these tasks were related to the process of film advertising, they were undertaken by separate divisions of the publicity department. Posters, lobby cards, and pressbooks were created in conjunction with the art department, while the publicists maintained star images. In the post-classical era, talent agents and the stars' own publicists took over much of this work, usually for 10 percent of a star's salary.

During the classical era, star publicity predated any individual film and extended well beyond it. Even before stars appeared on-screen, publicists created, manipulated, and distributed manufactured star biographies; set up photo sessions for studio portraits; and guided their stars' off-screen appearances. They also monitored and managed their press, tested their popularity with exhibitors and covered up any scandals or aspects of their lives that did not fit their image. They provided copy and photos for the fan magazines, including "intimate" confessions and peaks into the stars' "real" lives, as well as delivering

press releases and promotional copy to protect carefully constructed studio personae. To keep stars—and their films—in the public eye, publicists developed rumors, organized parties, and created awards—tactics that are still popular today. Even the Academy Awards® were established to keep stars and the film industry in the public eye.

The press was not always easily controlled, however, and the publicists had to work at maintaining a cordial relationship with the media. Even before the star scandals of the 1920s (the suspicious deaths of Olive Thomas and Thomas Ince, Wallace Reid's fatal drug addiction, Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle's murder trial, and the murder of William Desmond Taylor), the press wanted the truth about the stars—for some papers, the more sordid the better. As studio publicity built up interest in stars and helped sell papers, the press—especially smaller papers and the fan magazines—happily printed what were effectively studio press releases. The truth was more valuable and elusive but it could alienate the studios and jeopardize future film coverage. During the classical era, major studios might even pull their advertising from a paper if it reviewed important films badly or presented their stars in a bad light, and this could be costly for both parties. Bad reviews were sometimes changed, but other times the studio made the best of it, as with *White Zombie* (1932), for which it quoted bad reviews in ads and saw audiences increase. A similar phenomenon occurred decades later when *Showgirls* (1995) became a cult hit after failing as a serious drama, even being marketed in a special DVD edition with its own drinking game.

But after the collapse of the studio system, publicists faced greater struggles. The 1950s scandal magazine *Hollywood Confidential* exposed the sordid side of stars' lives, damaging studios' carefully constructed images until it ceased publication after a 1957 libel suit. Other such magazines soon appeared and even parody versions emerged, such as *Cuckoo*. Studios sometimes cut deals with *Confidential* and its ilk, selling out some actors to keep the true lives of other, more important, stars secret. But in the wake of these magazines, publicists had to confront the challenge of a more skeptical public aware of studio hype. This was less of a problem in the 1960s to the 1980s as interest in glamour (a term that implies superficiality and possible fakery) waned and Hollywood remodeled itself in the light of a new public fascination with realism. But with a resumed interest in glamour and celebrity since the 1990s, some of these same difficulties have reemerged, along with the centrality of the press agent and the careful molding of stars—this time through their own publicists. "Official" star images (from publicists, talent agents, and the studios themselves) are now countered by independent paparazzi, tabloids, and gossip Web sites such as gawker.com or defamer.com, featuring anonymous (and possibly unreliable) sources that cannot be leveraged or bought off. As stars and their agents lobby state governments to reign in paparazzi, the public's fascination with stars seems to increasingly depend on the pleasure of weighing which images are most "truthful."

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Distribution; Exhibition; Internet; Merchandising; Stars; Studio System; Television; Video Games*

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Moya Luckett

QUEER THEORY

Originating in the early 1990s, queer theory comprises a diverse body of intellectual inquiry. It takes as its premise the notion that specific psychological, political, and cultural codes have elevated heterosexuality to the status of a sexual "given." By revealing these codes and exposing their limitations, along with the unstable foundations upon which they operate and sustain their power, queer theory aims to "undo" the heterosexual norm, and to extend the power of cultural presence and voice to sexually marginalized groups who do not adhere to the workings of heteronormativity. A "queer" perspective, then, is attentive to a multiplicity of sexual codes that operate in the products of cultural institutions, and does not privilege heterosexual codes as natural or authoritative. The designation of "queer" is itself a form of empowerment, through which a disenfranchised subculture has taken charge of a term that dominant heterosexual culture has used historically as a derogatory label.

Theorists vary in their configurations of which groups and perspectives are included under the blanket term. Many theorists find any articulated challenge to the normative nature of heterosexuality to qualify as queer; others use the term to apply specifically to gender and sexual orientations (such as transgender) that challenge or complicate the presumed alliance between sexual identity and gender identity. Making a useful operating distinction, Alexander Doty argues that "'Queer' is used to describe the non-straight work, positions, pleasures, and readings of people who either don't share the same 'sexual orientation' as that articulated in the texts they are producing or responding to . . . or who don't define themselves as lesbian, gay, bisexual (or straight, for that matter)" (p. xviii).

Doty's definition locates two specific sites of potential queerness, in the realm of the production of texts and the reading strategies individuals use to make sense of these texts. He also implies that the term "queer" may not always be useful in describing cultural artifacts produced as intentionally gay or lesbian, and specifically for consumption by gay or lesbian audiences. This qualification enables a tentative distinction between "queer" films and "gay" or "lesbian" films, with the former category more specifically referring to those works that invite their viewers to construct nonnormative sexual perspectives that in some way differ from those articulated within a filmic context. The distinction is also useful because it does not assume that any film with gay or lesbian subject matter, themes, or characters necessarily accommodates nonnormative perspectives. For example, one might argue that despite the overtly gay subject matter in its representation of an ill-fated love affair between two men, *Making Love* (1982) would not qualify as queer because it reinforces rather than challenges codes of heteronormativity by stereotyping gay behavior and by focusing upon the homosexual act as a disruption of the heterosexually based institution of marriage. On the other hand, *Big Eden* (2000) might be more suited to queer status since it radically challenges heteronormativity in setting forth a world whose citizens (in northwestern Montana) not only refrain from assuming everyone is straight, but who also rally others to celebrate their nonnormative sexualities in the interests of human companionship.

Collectively comprising what B. Ruby Rich identified as "New Queer Cinema," a set of independently produced, gay-themed films released in the early 1990s

Brad Davis in R. W. Fassbinder's* Querelle *(1982), an examination of homosexual power dynamics. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

evidences the political and narrative strategies that filmmakers were introducing to contest the strictly heteronormative formulations of human experience that were also becoming the target of queer theorists. Rich's marking of the homosexual relations between Brian Epstein and John Lennon in Christopher Munch's *The Hours and Times* (1991) as "just a simple view of history with the veil of homophobia pulled back" becomes an apt description of the queer positions that this cinema was enabling in its characterizations as well as its audiences. Foregrounding the queer and sexual context (and content) of road movies and buddy films, Gregg Araki's *The Living End* (1992) and Tom Kalin's *Swoon* (1992) overturned mainstream cinematic conventions of male bonding as sexually innocent, in the process disrupting heterocentrist perspectives of genre and history. Operating metaphorically, Todd Haynes's *Poison* (1991) used the horror film genre to investigate the politics of gay sexual practices of the AIDS era. In narratives whose structural and formal strategies disrupted the conventions of classical Hollywood, filmmakers of the New Queer Cinema dared to conceive of their audiences as unconfined by the tenuous boundaries of the heteronormative, at a historical moment that was all too ready to pathologize the queer and the sexual outsider.

THEORIES OF VISUAL EXCHANGE

Although the categories certainly overlap in the application of queer theory to film studies, one can make a tentative distinction between those theorists who contend with heteronormativity by examining the psychological, social, and cultural dimensions of visual exchange itself, and those writers who focus more upon the specific contexts of fantasy and reception that enable potentially queer readings of cultural texts.

One strand of queer theoretical inquiry focuses upon the psychosocial properties of looking and being looked at that are integral to cinematic viewing. The psychoanalytic theories of Sigmund Freud serve as the common reference point for this inquiry, since Freud's assignment of sexual identity on the basis of the subject's "successful" strategy of coping with the recognition of sexual

difference directly informs queer theory's concern with locating sexual identities and perspectives. Referring to interpersonal alliances, Freud distinguishes between "identification" and "object-choice," the first term designating "what one would like to *be*" and the second term pertaining to "what one would like to *have*" ("Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego," p. 106, emphasis in the original). In "normal" human development, Freud argues, the child develops sexual alliances by which she or he identifies with the parental figure of the same gender and sexually objectifies the other gender. This development secures the subject's heterosexual identity.

In the works of Freud and his disciple Jacques Lacan, the gendered relationship between being and having the object forms a dynamic of power in visual exchange that feminist film theorist Laura Mulvey associates with the workings of heterosexual patriarchy. As it plays out in the structure of gender relationships in mainstream cinema, Mulvey contends, men look and women are looked at, and the male look at the female always involves the threat of a recognition of sexual difference that characterizes male castration anxiety. The male eases this anxiety either by fetishizing the female object of desire or by punishing her through voyeuristic probing. In this closed system, Mulvey argues, women forfeit their ability to intervene or to act as anything but masochists. The male is always the subject and agent of desire; the female is always only the desired object.

Demonstrating their indebtedness to feminist theory and psychoanalysis, queer theorists such as Teresa deLauretis and Judith Butler struggle to subvert the seeming integrity of this gender-based system of looking that reconstitutes desire between women as a mere extension of heterosexual relations. DeLauretis takes as her goal the formulation of a specifically lesbian subject-position, a visual perspective through which a female viewing subject might express desire for another female without resorting to the heterosexist power dynamic that Mulvey articulates. She locates this subject-position through an analysis of Sheila McLaughlin's *She Must Be Seeing Things* (1987), a film that bypasses the male-oriented threat of castration anxiety inherent in the recognition of sexual difference by offering women a distanced perspective of heteronormative relations, and by formulating a scenario of same-sex female desire.

While deLauretis works from within the Freudian psychoanalytic system of visual exchange in order to find a way out of it, Judith Butler takes the outsider's position in a strategy to disrupt the efficacy of the dynamic within. Butler's method is indebted to Jacques Derrida's theories of deconstruction—specifically the notion of the interdependent relationship that exists between "inside" and "outside" and between the presumed "original" and its "copy." Applying deconstruction to sexuality, Butler proposes that in mainstream culture heterosexuality assumes the status of the natural, "given" sexual norm by relegating homosexuality (specifically, lesbianism) to the status of a derivative "other" that lies outside the boundaries of the norm. This process, however, reveals how extensively heterosexuality depends upon homosexuality in order to sustain a distinct identity. Undoing this relationship between the primary and secondary, Butler proposes discursively dethroning heterosexuality from its assumed status as "original," designating it instead as a panicked self-imitation. Through such theorization, Butler derives a notion of gender as an imitation for which there exists no original, and which comes to play only through the act of repeated performance. In the process, the appearance of originality emerges only as an effect of repetition. This focus on repetition ultimately suggests that there can be no stable gendered or sexual identity. In Butler's system, even the seemingly biological reality of sex itself is revealed to be less a natural phenomenon than a "naturalized" effect of gender, as she illustrates through the example of the medical profession's historical use of surgery to "resolve" the ambiguous sex of hermaphrodites, forcing an alignment between sex, gender, and sexuality.

If Butler succeeds in deconstructing some of the basic Freudian premises of human sexual behavior and development, in her more recent work she makes yet more provocative assertions by challenging the efficacy of Jacques Lacan's "orders" of the Imaginary and Symbolic. Butler argues that such psychoanalytic constructs place strategic yet ultimately arbitrary limits upon what is imaginable in gendered or sexual behavior. Butler submits these orders to similar deconstructive operations, concluding that the Symbolic realm of patriarchal order that governs the production of meaning gains its efficacy though reiteration and repetition, and that consequently there is nothing inherent or "given" about either its power or its distinction from the Imaginary, the order governing the operations of identification and desire. When Butler declares that "we are not . . . in a position of finding identification and desire to be mutually exclusive possibilities" (1993, p. 99), she radically disrupts the basic premises upon which both Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis function with respect to gender and sexual difference.

FANTASY, RECEPTION, AND QUEER READING STRATEGIES

Chris Straayer's work in articulating the specificity of lesbian desire extends queer theory's attempts to move beyond the binary constraints of gender and sexuality

Rainer Werner Fassbinder. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

organized by much of psychoanalytic theory, as well as Mulvey-based feminist theory. Straayer locates lesbian desire outside Mulvey's male/female visual polarity, making an important distinction between the "receiving look" of the female in heterosexual exchange, and a "returning look" that the lesbian offers—a look that refuses to replay the heteronormative power operations of looking and being looked at. The lesbian exchange of looks is reciprocal (and reciprocated) rather than hierarchical. Further distinguishing lesbian from heterosexual desire, Straayer discusses the emphasis—present in several films that thematize relationships between women—on female bonding, a form of intimacy that develops through time and experience and that shares nothing in common with the heterosexual myth of "love at first sight." Thomas Waugh further challenges the theoretically enforced split between identification and desire by asserting that while gay male visual exchange certainly does objectify in terms of race, class, and ethnicity, it avoids the subject/object split of gender difference that Mulvey finds in heterosexual relations. As a result, Waugh asserts, "We (often) want to be, we often are, the same as the man we love" (pp. 44–45). In his discussion of gay male looking in the media of photography and film, Waugh also describes a "narrative" visual discourse in which the look of the subject is mediated by other looks or visual exchanges between the participants within the viewed scene of a narrative, generating a network of identification that is fluid rather than fixed.

The analysis of the exchange of looks is central to theories of fantasy that figure prominently in queer studies of reception, audiences, and spectators. According to Elizabeth Cowie, engaging in fantasy is a potentially liberating act for the individual, who orchestrates "scenes" of desire in which she or he may assume multiple roles and positions as subject and object. By demonstrating that the gendered or sexed subject is not confined to a single perspective or position in visual relations, fantasy theory opens up new possibilities in the realm of queer theory by further demonstrating the intimate connection between identification and desire, and by granting agency to the subject who imagines.

Although fantasy theory does not overtly inform Alexander Doty's discussions of queer identification and desire, his articulation of the queer reader's agency in interpreting mass cultural texts certainly benefits from fantasy's notions of destabilized identification and desire and the ability of the subject to occupy and adapt to a variety of subject positions in the pursuit of pleasure. Doty asserts that queerness in subject positions and in reading strategies cannot be relegated to the disempowered realms of connotation and subtext, thereby subverting the heterosexist reduction of queer subculture's interpretive strategies to the status of "alternative" readings. In the system that Doty organizes, self-defined gay viewers may readily identify with lesbian subject-positions in relation to specific film and television texts if such positioning yields pleasure. Gay men and straight women might also occupy the same subject position in relation to a self-defined straight object of desire.

Gay and lesbian fans' queer "appropriation" of visual media performers is one of the arenas that Richard Dyer addresses in his work on stars and fan culture. Asserting that the star image is constructed as the composite of a variety of discourses and documents including publicity, promotion, criticism, and films themselves, Dyer describes the queer interpretive work in which spectators engage in order to establish connections of identification and desire with star personas. Dyer meticulously details the historical conditions that form the contexts within which queer reading strategies of various groups become possible. In his work on Judy Garland, for instance, Dyer describes confluences of the historical moment that elevated the popular yet troubled singer-

RAINER WERNER FASSBINDER

b. Bad Worishofen, Bavaria, Germany, 31 May 1945, d. 10 June 1982

Rainer Werner Fassbinder wrote, directed, and acted in a Brechtian group called Action Theater (later renamed "anti-theater") in the late 1960s, and he brought his closely knit theatrical company with him when he moved to film production at the end of the decade. In a body of work comprising over forty feature films and television miniseries, the self-identified gay Fassbinder wrote and directed only a handful of works with overtly gay, lesbian, or queer themes. Fassbinder's work demonstrates, however, that queerness in cinema is not necessary solely a function of subject matter.

Centralizing the notion that identity is constructed through social relations, Fassbinder's aesthetic destabilizes the identity of his protagonists not only in his notorious reliance on mirrors and mirror images, but also through his arrangement of visual exchange. Relationships are established in the act of looking and being looked at, and visual relations frequently establish unevenly distributed power relations between an individual and a group. This emphasis on alienation and the power dynamics of looking implicates the viewer's own look at the screen in a rich network of identification and desire. When the eponymous Moroccan guest worker of *Angst essen Seele auf* (*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*, 1974) stands naked and isolated in the frame, he solicits not only the look of his female friend cooking couscous for him off-screen, but also the viewer's look of desire at an object rendered vulnerable. Here and in *Faustrecht der Freiheit* (*Fox and His Friends*, 1975), in which the working-class protagonist (played by Fassbinder) faces the camera as he emerges naked from a mudbath, the male body is put on display at the same time that the director implicates the sexualized object in class relations, linking sexual vulnerability to economic disenfranchisement. In *Die bitteren Tränen der Petra von Kant* (*The Bitter Tears of Petra von Kant*, 1972), lesbian relations become susceptible to similar power dynamics, and here the roles of master and servant are interchanged in an unstable relationship of desire and class.

The politics of sexuality become more elaborate in Fassbinder's final film *Querelle* (1982), where the act of male penetration becomes a staging of power and submission played out according to various contractual terms: the penetrated male reserving the ability to give or withhold pleasure; the penetrator fantasizing that his male sexual partner is actually the partner's sister. The film that enables the most elaborate network of queer positions of identification and desire is *In einem Jahr mit 13 Monden* (*In a Year of 13 Moons*, 1978), which begins as desire has already receded into the past. Its protagonist is the transgendered Erwin/Elvira, who has undergone sexual reassignment surgery after her male lover Anton makes a casual observation about how their relationship would be if Erwin were a woman. When Anton reduces Elvira to the status of a freakish object and discards her, however, the film becomes an emotionally and politically charged investigation of the instability of human sexual identity.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Warnung vor einer heligen Nutte (*Beware of a Holy Whore*, 1970), *Die bitteren Tränen der Petra von Kant* (*The Bitter Tears of Petra von Kant,* 1972), *Angst essen Seele auf* (*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul,* 1974), *Faustrecht der Freiheit* (*Fox and His Friends,* 1975), *In einem Jahr mit 13 Monden* (*In a Year of 13 Moons,* 1978), *Querelle* (1982)

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Michael DeAngelis

actress to the status of an inspirational figure of strength and resolve for the gay community.

More recently, Steven Cohan has articulated a detailed historical context of the 1950s that both examines dominant ideological perspectives on gender, sexuality, and power in American culture, and explicates the ways in which homosexuality and queerness in film and star texts figure prominently as disruptions of heteronormative and heterosexist power structures. In this tradition, Michael DeAngelis discusses the historically specific queer reading strategies that have been made available to gay viewers of Hollywood film since the 1950s. Analyzing a wide range of texts that constitute the star image and persona, DeAngelis demonstrates how Hollywood cinema has not only accommodated but sometimes strategically solicited the identification and desire of gay male viewers for certain male stars. In his analysis of Keanu Reeves, for example, DeAngelis shows how the fashionably ambiguous sexuality of the star persona becomes attractive to gay men while simultaneously maintaining its appeal to straight male and female viewers. Hollywood's complicity in accommodating queer readings through ambiguous film and promotional texts offers further illustration of Doty's assertion that queerness in film is never only a matter of connotation. The queer theoretical enterprise continues to gain force by extending its concentration upon historically specific studies of power and sexuality on both international and global levels.

SEE ALSO *Camp; Gay, Lesbian, and Queer Cinema; Gender; Sexuality*

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Michael DeAngelis

RACE AND ETHNICITY

Race and ethnicity are social constructions—"scripts" for human actions and experiences—that have serious consequences. Though there is no scientific basis for racial distinctions, the discredited idea of "biological determinism," or a hierarchical taxonomy based on physical differentiation continues to influence discourses about human classification and racial characteristics. Categories of race and ethnicity have been fluid over time and across groups, so that in some cases a person's ethnic or racial affiliation can change based on location, historical moment, personal presentation, or situational context. Nevertheless, and importantly, racial characteristics are considered legally and biologically immutable from birth.

The concept of ethnicity is especially ambiguous, referring to a group that may or may not share ancestry but that has a sense of common identity based on nationality, religious affiliation, race, or culture—there is no precise agreement on what characteristics constitute ethnicity. Werner Sollors, tracing the etymology of the Greek word *ethnikos* (meaning "heathen" or "others"), describes "the conflict between contractual and hereditary, self-made and ancestral definitions of American identity—between *consent* and *descent* in American culture" (*Beyond Ethnicity*, pp. 5–6). Debates about the nature and effects of race and ethnicity continue to map the terrain of self-invention versus social compulsion, cultural performance versus heritable physical traits.

Unlike ethnicity, race is almost never a matter of individual choice, and because the idea of race emerged in the context of colonization and systems of oppression, race cannot be separated from racism. Yet like ethnicity, race is an unstable social category. For example, in the United States the definition of African American racial identity that emerged historically from the Jim Crow South depended upon a "one-drop" rule—any African American ancestor, or any fraction of "black blood," made one black. This method classifies as many people as possible as black, thus ensuring the continuation of a system of labor exploitation. On the other hand, Native American identity has been determined through a system of minimum "blood quantum," so that a person must have a certain percentage of documented tribal ancestry to be considered Native American. Through intermarriage with other tribes and other ethnic groups, fewer and fewer people can claim Native American identity and qualify for special rights to lands and services guaranteed by treaty. Unlike any other group in the United States, many Native American people carry government-issued "Certificates of Degree of Indian Blood," often called CDIB cards, or "white cards," which are required for certain scholarships, art markets and fairs, and other programs.

In other parts of the world, race and ethnicity are imagined quite differently. Though the focus here is primarily on representations in American cinema, the national cinemas and "oppositional" cinemas of countries such as Brazil, India, and the United Kingdom—to name a few of many possible examples—present viewers with equally complex and specific racial and ethnic discourses. Cinemas that cross or do not cross national boundaries also highlight the intersections of race and ethnicity with national identities. Due to the power of American distribution systems, Hollywood exported the Indiana Jones films in the 1980s, a series that privileges a white explorer hero over exoticized Arab characters, while Arab American and other spectators in the United States rarely saw commercial releases of films by Arab

filmmakers such as the Egyptian director Youssef Chahine. Other filmmakers trace the transnational movements of peoples in diaspora in films such as Gregory Nava's drama *El Norte* (1983), Deanne Borshay's autobiographical documentary *First Person Plural* (2000), and Ousmane Sembene's *La Noire de . . .* (*Black Girl*, 1966), drawing attention to the shifting experiences of race and ethnicity in global contexts.

EUROCENTRISM AND EARLY FILM

The visual medium of film produces and reproduces the complex tension between individual agency and social categories—between looking at oneself and being looked at by others. The development of visual technologies such as photography and cinema have intersected powerfully with the social construction of race as both a scientific discourse and a form of cultural fantasy and social control. Studies of human motion by Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904) and Félix-Louis Regnault, using chronophotography (a proto-cinematic technology of rapid photography), contributed to established pseudosciences of racial characteristics, such as craniology, while emphasizing the visual spectacle of racialized bodies as a form of scientific evidence. In this and other ways—including elaborate discourses of "miscegenation" on screen, discussed below—the new medium of film taught viewers to translate the scientific and legal discourses of race into a system of visible codes and stereotypes, a phenomenon that impacted social relations more broadly.

Representations of racial "primitivism" in the earliest nonfiction films also extended to dramatic genres as filmmakers turned to narratives in melodramatic and fantastic modes. Georges Méliès's *Le Voyage dans la lune* (*A Trip to the Moon*, 1902) centers on an encounter between scientists and exotic primitives (the "selenites") on the moon, whose costumes, shields, and spears are meant to resemble an African display. The trope of the encounter between a European explorer and awed—or hostile—"natives" continues to have a powerful presence in films such as *Black Robe* (1991), *The Mission* (1986), *At Play in the Fields of the Lord* (1991), and in the many cinematic depictions of Columbus and even the confrontation between the rebel heroes and the Ewoks in *Return of the Jedi* (1983). Merian C. Cooper famously translated the narrative of the explorer encountering primitive peoples in an exotic land—a subject that had introduced him to filmmaking in the first place, with *Grass: A Nation's Battle for Life* (1925), made with Ernest B. Schoedsack and Marguerite Harrison—in the spectacular drama of *King Kong* (1933).

In the nascent field of anthropology and documentary cinema, films such as Edward S. Curtis's (1898–1970) *In the Land of the Headhunters* (1914) and Robert J. Flaherty's (1884–1951) *Nanook of the North* (1922) actively suppressed signs of contemporary Native American modernity—such as rifles, wristwatches, blue jeans, and signs of written language—in order to present images of precontact, ahistorical indigenous primitives. In *Nanook of the North*, for example, Nanook (the Inuit actor Allakariallak) is amazed by a trader's gramophone and actually bites the record three times—a gesture that reinforces the pretense that the Inuit were antimodern, both childlike and bestial. The fact that Allakariallak is not listed in the credits as an actor, but rather conflated with the character "Nanook" that he and Flaherty created, presents the image of Nanook's inability to understand Western technology as a document of Inuit life rather than an artistic representation. In fact, as has been documented in the film *Nanook Revisited* (Clause Massot, 1990), the Inuit cast and film crew were so adept at manipulating Flaherty's machinery that they could take apart and fix his camera in the field. Nearly eighty years after *Nanook of the North* was released, the Inuit company Isuma Productions released *Atanarjuat* (*The Fast Runner*, 2001) to international acclaim. The film, while emphasizing precontact Inuit life, explodes the illusion of the "Eskimo primitive" through its production footage during the credits, which presents the Inuit in Western clothes wielding the tools of film production and controlling the creation of their own images.

The pervasive trope of colonial encounter, with its European focal characters and masses of silenced "others" who signify the unknown, reveals an underlying Eurocentrism in cinema. Eurocentrism is an ideology that privileges European and Euro-American history and culture as the central, dominant, and superior measure of human accomplishment. Films that draw on the mystique of travel, colonial encounters, and the spectacle of cultural difference as primitivism convey powerful racializing tropes that bring the cinematic construction of race in the social sciences to the popular imagination through dramatic narratives and cinematic spectacle.

THE PRODUCTION CODE AND "MISCEGENATION"

The Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association (MPPA) Production Code of 1930 (enforced after 1934) dealt explicitly with interracial romance, stating that "miscegenation (sex relationships between the white and black races) is forbidden." This wording was taken from the pre-Code industry restrictions of 1927, called "The Don'ts and Be Carefuls," but the cultural fascination with—and social prohibition of—interracial romance begins with the hierarchical relations established by European colonizers. Film theorist Ella Shohat argues

Stanley Kramer's* Guess Who's Coming to Dinner *(1967) challenged the dying Production Code with its interracial relationship. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

that even when films do not appear to address race or ethnicity in their content, the constitutive role of race in American society means that issues of racial and ethnic hierarchy are always present. She calls for analyses of "ethnicities-in-relation" rather than isolated minority and mainstream histories (p. 220).

The word "miscegenation" (from the Latin *miscere*, "to mix," and *genus*, meaning "race" or "type") first appeared in a pamphlet in 1863, authored by the conservative Democratic reporters George Wakeman and David Goodman Croly as part of an attempt to polarize voters around the issue in the 1864 presidential election. After the turn of the twentieth century, when many of the rights secured for African Americans in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution had been dismantled through Jim Crow laws, outspoken proponents of white supremacy produced intellectual arguments for eugenic control of racial mixing, as in Madison Grant's book, *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916). At the same time, a competing discourse of cultural relativism emerged in the writing of anthropologist Franz Boas (1858–1942), asserting the primacy of cultural training and linguistic models rather than biological "race" in determining human differences.

The prominence of miscegenation themes in film history reveals not only anxieties about racial mixture but also the profoundly gendered nature of cultural and racial representations onscreen. Prohibited interracial sexual contact underlies the visual joke in an early narrative film, Edwin S. Porter's *What Happened in the Tunnel* (1903), in which a white man flirts with a white woman on a train, but when he tries to kiss her as the train goes through a tunnel, the woman changes seats with her African American maid, who receives the kiss. This early film models a different kind of "encounter" narrative from the colonial scenario imagined by Méliès in *A Trip to the Moon*, but its construction of hierarchical, sexualized relations between whites and "others" was similarly

foundational and indicative of future narratives, ranging from the horror of interracial mixture in D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) to the titillating films of Dorothy Dandridge in the 1950s. Films such as *Pinky* (1949), *Imitation of Life* (1934, 1959), and *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967) challenged the Production Code's strictures with their representations of interracial dating and light-skinned African American women "passing" for white. Shortly after the Code was replaced by the Classification and Rating System Administration in 1968, the loosening of both racial and sexual prohibitions led to an explosion of independent African American filmmaking.

While the Production Code and its enforcement through the Hays Office effectively kept representations of "miscegenation" off of Hollywood screens, little objection was raised to the (usually doomed) interracial romances between white and Indian characters in films such as *The Last of the Mohicans* (1936) and *Broken Arrow* (1950). The cycle of "pro-Indian" westerns in the 1950s used sympathetic Indian characters to signify other minorities, especially African Americans during the Civil Rights movement and Jews in the wake of radical anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, while at the same time commenting politically upon Native American assimilation and changes in the way the US government handled Indian policy. Non-Native writers, actors, and directors have consistently appropriated images of Indians for the purposes of both nationalist and counterculture messages. That Indian characters onscreen appear to function as metaphors for other ethnic groups is unsurprising, given the variety of non-Native actors who have "played Indian" (in redface), including Italian American actors (Sylvester Stallone), African American actors (Noble Johnson), Jewish actors (Jeff Chandler), and Asian actors (Sessue Hayakawa), yet this practice also suggests the centrality of Native American representations to Hollywood's construction of America on film. John Ford's now-classic western, *The Searchers* (1956), wavers between condemning and furthering the destructive racism of its main character, Ethan Edwards (John Wayne). Another character—the mixed-blood Martin Pawley (Jeffrey Hunter), adopted and raised by white settlers—becomes the focal character for viewers. The trope of rescue in which the men search for a niece captured by Comanches becomes an indictment of racism and destructive patriarchy as Ethan himself vacillates between rescuing Debbie (Natalie Wood) and killing her.

While the word "miscegenation" has roots in a specific US context, the Spanish word *mestizaje* refers more broadly to the cultural and racial mixing of indigenous, European, and African peoples in Latin America. It represents highly symbolic female figures of cultural syncretism, such as the Mexican Virgin of Guadalupe and La Malinche, the indigenous concubine who is also a translator, have been depicted on film (as in Emilio Fernández's *María Candelaria*, 1944). Cinematic representations of cross-racial romance such as Alain Resnais's *Hiroshima Mon Amour* (1959), Nelson Pereira Dos Santos's *Como Era Gostoso o Meu Francês* (*How Tasty Was My Little Frenchman*, 1971), Rainer Werner Fassbinder's *Angst essen Seele auf* (*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*, 1974), Stephen Frear and Hanif Kureishi's *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1985), and Mira Nair's *Mississippi Masala* (1991) resist racial and sexual categorizations with visual and narrative dramas that at once blur and call attention to racial boundaries and social intolerance.

HOLLYWOOD WHITENESS AND STEREOTYPES

Many films that do not seem to address issues of race or ethnicity are in fact doing the work of defining and fortifying such categories. Richard Dyer has argued that "whiteness" is a category that seems invisible because it gives the impression of being nothing; the power and domination of images of whiteness on screen are in the appearance of pervasive normality. Scholars studying these representations ask what has to be suppressed and what has to be controlled in production in order to make such images seem effortless and natural. Dyer has argued that if "blackness" in Hollywood studio films represents physical expressiveness, emotion, sexuality, and proximity to nature, then "whiteness" signifies the opposite through controlled, cerebral, even deathlike images. *Jezebel* (1938), for example, was one of a series of plantation films from the 1930s—including *Gone with the Wind* (1939), *Dixiana* (1930), and *Mississippi* (1935)—that simultaneously masked and displayed the capitalist exploitation of African American labor through images of lavish plantations and dazzlingly wealthy white Southern families. In these films, the rigidity of whiteness is maintained through interracial relations—whites dominate but are dependent upon blacks, to the point that the actions of African American characters onscreen function to express the emotions of white characters, so as to preserve the restrained vision of whiteness.

Blackface minstrelsy—both the visual practice of "blacking up" and the musical work of sound and song—was one of the most important American popular culture forms of the nineteenth century. The term "Jim Crow" as a description of the segregation laws of the South originated with the name of a popular early-nineteenth-century blackface character performed by the white actor Thomas Dartmouth "Daddy" Rice (1808–1860). In the twentieth century, popular forms such as vaudeville and cinema drew heavily from this tradition of racial masquerade. In the midst of prohibitions regulating the representation of miscegenation on screen and the segregated viewing spaces and practices in the South and elsewhere, the extraordinary

JAMES YOUNG DEER
PRINCESS RED WING (LILLIAN ST. CYR)

James Young Deer, b. Dakota City, Nebraska, date unknown, d. April 1946
Lillian St. Cyr, b. Winnebago Reservation, Nebraska, 13 February 1873, d. 13 March 1974

This husband-and-wife team, both of the Nebraska Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) tribe, became an influential force in the production of silent one-reel westerns between 1908 and 1913. Though their American film careers were short-lived, they intervened in the industry at a particularly crucial moment in the formation of a genre that would dominate Hollywood production for decades.

Princess Red Wing (the stage name for Lillian St. Cyr) was a graduate of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School and a professional actress. A recognizable presence in cinema, she starred in the first feature-length film—Cecil B. DeMille's western, *The Squaw Man* (1914)—and over thirty-five other films between 1909 and 1921, including Donald Crisp's *Ramona* (1916) and an early Tom Mix picture, *In the Days of the Thundering Herd* (1914). When James Young Deer took over the West Coast studio operations for the French-owned film company Pathé Frères, he was already a veteran entertainer. He had performed with the Barnum and Bailey circus and the Miller Brothers' 101 Ranch Wild West Show and had acted, directed, and written scenarios for several film companies including Kalem, Lubin, Vitagraph, and Biograph. He also worked at one of the first independent film companies, the New York Motion Picture Company, under the Bison trademark.

With trade journals calling for more authenticity in westerns and Native American and other moviegoers protesting the inaccuracies and negative stereotypes of Indians onscreen and threatening industrywide censorship, Young Deer and St. Cyr were able to leverage their cultural identity and industry experience. From about 1909 to 1913 they used the early flexibility of the industry to exert unprecedented control over popular images of Indians. Both behind the camera and in front of it, Young Deer and St. Cyr rewrote the racial scripts of the western, commenting on racism, assimilation, racial mixture, and cultural contact. Many of their films revisited and revised the wildly popular "squaw man" plot involving a cross-racial romance between an Indian woman and white man. Young Deer and Lillian St. Cyr systematically undermined the "vanishing Indian" trope by giving the plots a new political center of gravity. In films such as *For the Papoose* (1912) and *White Fawn's Devotion* (1910), mixed-race families answer to the tribe's justice systems and mixed-blood children remain part of their Indian communities rather than being taken away to be raised in adoptive white families or in boarding schools.

As Young Deer and St. Cyr became more successful, the mass production of movies became more established, and the studios more wary of potentially objectionable subject matter, the couple's films became less distinctive. The details of Young Deer's later career are sketchy. After leaving California because of legal troubles in 1913, he worked in France and elsewhere, but little is known about his film work in Europe. Lillian St. Cyr continued to draw on her theatrical experience in vaudeville, was a college lecturer, and served as an activist in Indian affairs.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Falling Arrow (1909), *Red Wing's Gratitude* (1909), *The Mended Lute* (1909), *White Fawn's Devotion: A Play Acted by a Tribe of Red Indians in America* (1910), *The Red Girl and the Child* (1910), *A Cheyenne Brave* (1910), *The Yaqui Girl* (1910), *Little Dove's Romance* (1911), *For the Papoose* (1912), *The Prospector and the Indian* (1912), *The Squaw Man's Sweetheart* (1912), *The Squaw Man* (1914), *In the Days of the Thundering Herd* (1914), *Ramona* (1916)

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Joanna Hearne

popularity of racial cross-dressing in the form of blackface minstrelsy became an engine that drove the film industry's transition to the sound era. Blackface has marked crucial moments in film history, from *The Birth of a Nation* to the first sound film and first musical, Alan Crosland's *The Jazz Singer* (1927). In *The Birth of a Nation*, the figure of Gus, a white actor in blackface, performs "black" desire for white women that, in the South, became the pretext for lynching. By contrast, in *The Jazz Singer* the drama of the transformation of the Jewish protagonist Jake Rabinowitz (Al Jolson) into Jack Robin through his performance of blackness suggests, as Michael Rogin has argued, that the assimilation and eliding of complex, multiple ethnicities into a consolidated American "white" identity happened through the process of racial caricature that maintained boundaries between black and white. Thus, according to Rogin, Jewish blackface performers modeled Americanization through the ritual of defining themselves as white by playing with blackface performance, redrawing the boundaries of social exclusion along racial rather than ethnic lines, and representing America as polarized by racial dichotomy rather than ethnic pluralism.

Blackface minstrelsy and its translation from stage to cinema at the turn of the twentieth century is only one example of the powerful deployment of stereotypes and their devastating effects. The word "stereotype" originally referred to methods of making identical copies in the printing industry; this idea of an endlessly replicated image of an "other" remains important to the work of stereotypes in shaping expectations. Stereotypes are not simply accidental departures from realism; rather, they function systematically as a form of broad social control, influencing collective perceptions and public memory as well as colonizing individual self-perceptions through internalized racism. Character-based stereotypes seem stable, but in fact they develop and change over time—not as an evolution or development towards more consistently positive representations but rather in response to specific historical situations. Whether stereotypes are "positive" or "negative," they present limited options for action.

Famous examples of stereotypes abound, and minority actors within the parameters of such roles have often given extraordinary performances. Hattie McDaniel (1895–1952) won an Oscar® for her role as a loyal servant or "mammy" in *Gone with the Wind* (1939). Bill "Bojangles" Robinson (1878–1949) played a version of "Uncle Tom" opposite Shirley Temple in the 1930s (*The Littlest Rebel*, 1935; *The Little Colonel*, 1935; and *Just Around the Corner*, 1938) and Stepin Fetchit (1902–1985) became a Hollywood star playing "coon" characters, such as his "Jeff Poindexter" in *Judge Priest* (1934). Indian stereotypes given greater depth by Native American actors include noble savages and savage reactionaries (Eric Schweig as Uncas and Wes Studi as Magua in *The Last of the Mohicans*, 1992), Indian princesses (Irene Bedard voicing the animated Pocahontas in Disney's *Pocahontas*, 1995), and wise sages (Chief Dan George as Old Lodge Skins in *Little Big Man*, 1970). Noriyuki "Pat" Morita (1932–2005) played cryptic, wise, and servile Asian characters on television in *Happy Days* (1975–1976, 1982–1983) and in films such as *The Karate Kid* (1984), while images of decadent, seductive, dangerous Asian men and women have appeared in films such as *The Cheat* (1915), *Shanghai Express* (1932), and *The Bitter Tea of General Yen* (1933) and more recently in Quentin Tarantino's *Kill Bill: Vol. 2* (2004). Certain directors, such as Woody Allen and Francis Ford Coppola, have become associated with films that explore ethnic identities and issues of assimilation and difference. Italian American and Irish American gangster figures have been humanized on screen in films such as *The Godfather* (1972) and *On the Waterfront* (1954), and drawing on the tradition of "social problem" genres, such films have effectively rendered experiences of immigration, although in some cases ethnicity is posited as part of the "problem" documented in the film.

Just as important as identifying stereotypes is thinking through the conditions of their production and reception. Within the restrictions of Hollywood genres and character stereotypes, minority performances can provide a venue resistance both onscreen and offscreen. Actors such as Sessue Hayakawa (1889–1973), Louise Beavers (1902–1962), Dolores del Rio (1905–1983), Princess Red Wing, Jay Silverheels, and many others, though they sometimes played stereotyped roles onscreen, were able to use their position within the industry in a variety of ways—including creating opportunities for other minority actors; providing offscreen role models of professional success for minority youth; advocating for legal and social change; and, within their performances themselves, offering subtle signs of agency and potential for self-representation beyond the scripted lines they were assigned to deliver.

This potential for subversive performance and for offscreen interventions is not possible with the conventions of racial masquerade in which minority presence is rendered only as a caricature. Blackface minstrelsy—and other forms of racial ventriloquism in casting—also excluded African American and other minority performers from the stage and screen, making the "presence" of stereotyped characters in films an indicator of absence. In the "redface" of the western, for example, the common practice of having white actors (such as Rock Hudson, Debra Paget, Charles Bronson, and many others) embody Indian characters contributes, at the level of performance, to the visual trope of the "vanishing Indian." These actors—whose "whiteness" is consolidated through their performance of a racialized

Disney's* Pocahontas *(1995) seeks to deepen the stereotyped representations of the Indian princess. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Other—provide a point of identification for white viewers but not for people of color. Similarly, many films that explicitly address issues of cultural difference—such as *Dances with Wolves* (1990)—provide a white protagonist as a focal character whose point of view anchors and guides white viewers. Frequently, no such focal character is available for minority viewers in mainstream Hollywood films.

"Image studies," or the practice of examining stereotypes, is an important form of analysis but it has limitations. Film scholars Ella Shohat and Robert Stam have described the difficulty of comparing stereotypes to an external reality (which is impossible to define without resorting to essentialist notions of the typical) as well as the need to consider broader politics of film style; race-based casting; genre conventions other than realism (such as parody or other modes of address); historical, cultural, and production contexts; and other mediating issues. They suggest considering race and ethnicity as discourse-based, in the sense of competing voices in specific historical and cultural contexts. This "relational" model reveals the functions of race and ethnicity even in films that suppress the constitutive role of race in American culture. Further, it opens our analytic horizons beyond the singular, character-based stereotype, allowing us to study a range of issues related to hybridity and syncretism in film marketing, distribution, exhibition, and spectatorship.

RECEPTION, SPECTATORSHIP, AND OPPOSITIONAL CINEMAS

For more than a half century, segregated theaters profoundly affected the participation of African Americans in the film industry as both producers and viewers. The US Supreme Court ruled to allow state-legislated segregation in theaters in 1883, and the earliest nickelodeons inherited the practice of segregation by race from vaudeville theaters. Theaters enforced segregation by time (showing films for African American audiences late at night), by section, entrance (seating African American viewers in the balcony), and by neighborhood, with black-only theaters serving patrons in African American neighborhoods, especially in northern cities. As early as 1909, some theaters were already serving African American patrons only, but overall these viewers remained underserved—for example, there were about one hundred black-only theaters nationally in that decade, compared to ten thousand theaters for whites. Black-only theaters were more run down than white theaters and usually showed

JULIE DASH

b. New York, New York, 22 October 1952

A major voice in independent filmmaking, Julie Dash was the first African American woman to direct a feature film with national theatrical release, namely *Daughters of the Dust* (1991). Her films—especially *Illusions* (1982) and *Daughters of the Dust*—have remained important texts in the study of American independent film. Her work consistently intervenes in and redirects Hollywood images of African American women, offering aesthetically complex and compelling characters and returning to specific historical moments to recover and revalue the nuances of black women's lives and professional contributions.

Dash's final project for her American Film Institute program, the thirty-four-minute, black-and-white film *Illusions*, tells the story of two African American women in the Hollywood film industry during World War II. Mignon Dupree (Lonette McKee) is a light-skinned African American studio executive, "passing" for white in the all-white production offices of a major studio; Esther Jeeter (Roseann Katon) is a talented black singer brought in to dub a song for a white screen star. Through its focus on sound, the film comments on the voices of black women that have been hidden, covered over, or gone unseen and unheard.

Dash's best-known film, *Daughters of the Dust*, is a lyrical, visually lush story of a turn-of-the-century Gullah family from the Sea Islands off the South Carolina coast. Gullah is a Creole dialect and culture based on both West African grammatical patterns and Elizabethan English vocabulary. Dash herself is descended from a Gullah family on her father's side and spent time on the Sea Islands as a child. Based on ten years of meticulous research, her film evokes West African oral storytelling through two voiceover narrators—an elderly matriarch and a girl not yet born. Dash struggled enormously to acquire funding for the film, and by piecing together small grants and selling distribution rights, she raised $1 million to finance it. Her artistic control and commitment to Afrocentric storytelling extended to details of production—she cast the film using actors from other black independent films. The film won awards and made a profit, drawing an African American middle-class audience, especially women—a population of viewers often overlooked by Hollywood studios and distributors. This financial success surprised even its distributor, Kino International, which had marketed *Daughters* as "a foreign film made in America."

Despite the success of *Daughters of the Dust*, Dash continued to encounter difficulties in financing her projects. In the mid-1990s, she turned to television as a venue, directing programs for Black Entertainment Television and MTV. At Angela Bassett's request, she directed *The Rosa Parks Story* (2002), about the boycott of segregated buses in Montgomery, Alabama, in the 1950s. The production benefited from Dash's habit of careful historical research as well as her interest in the human, emotional aspects of Park's story.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Diary of an African Nun (1977), *Illusions* (1982), *Daughters of the Dust* (1991), *The Rosa Parks Story* (TV, 2002)

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Joanna Hearne

final runs of films that had played months earlier in white theaters. When sound came to the movies in the late 1920s, black-only theaters did not always have the wherewithal to upgrade their equipment, and some continued to play silent films for several more years. Largely excluded from Hollywood production, distribution, and exhibition, African American viewers saw fewer movies and often turned to other media, such as radio, and alternative venues for social recreation, such as churches and clubs.

Because of the lack of humanizing representations of African Americans onscreen and segregated viewing practices, there emerged in the late 1910s a separate film industry, much of it black-owned, that produced "race films" with all-black casts for African American communities. Through the 1940s, these film companies provided opportunities for African American actors to perform in roles beyond the "mammy" and "Tom" caricatures in Hollywood. The productions were often versions of mainstream genre films, such as the black-cast westerns of singing cowboy Herb Jeffries (b. 1911) (*The Bronze Buckaroo*, 1939). Though many of the producers and directors of race films were white, prominent African American directors such as Oscar Micheaux (1884–1951) and Spencer Williams (1893–1969) established an independent alternative to the Hollywood studio systems and produced a significant oeuvre. (Micheaux directed thirty-five films in addition to writing seven novels.) Their films explored issues such as class divisions within African American communities, mixed-race romance, and interracial relations, including narratives of assimilation and "passing." Williams's work included genre films as well as religious epics, and later in his career, a role as Andy Brown in the television show *Amos 'n' Andy* (1951–1953). His 1941 film, *The Blood of Jesus*, has been included in the National Film Registry by the Library of Congress. More rarely, the term "race films" is used to refer to Yiddish-language films, which, like films for African American audiences, were produced independently outside of the Hollywood studio system.

In 1953, seventy years after the 1883 decision to allow theaters to exclude or separate African American patrons, the Supreme Court reversed that trajectory and outlawed segregation in Washington, DC, theaters. In 1963 President John F. Kennedy, in the process of presenting civil rights legislation to Congress, pressured studio executives and theater-chain owners to desegregate in order to avoid violence and picketing from civil rights activists. But another kind of segregation was already in place, and accelerating. As more African Americans came to northern cities, other ethnic groups moved to the suburbs, emptying Italian, German, Polish, and Jewish neighborhoods and the theaters that had catered to these groups. By the early 1970s the downtown movie palaces that had once served white city dwellers were operating at a loss. Then the early examples of what would become the "blaxploitation" film movement drew urban, working-class African American audiences to these theaters, showing films such as *Cotton Comes to Harlem* (1970), *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (1971), and *Shaft* (1971). The opening sequence of *Shaft* comments tellingly on this situation: in a high angle shot, the camera pans across a series of downtown marquees, showing biker and other genre films, and after the last marquee, the title "SHAFT" appears, inserting itself into the line of titles. This announcement of a new black-oriented presence and mobility in the urban film lineup is followed by the protagonist's emergence from the "underground railroad" of the subway station at Broadway and 42nd Street. Thus both the film and its hero modeled for African American audiences a new presence in multiple social and racialized spaces in the studio industry and in the urban geography of New York. *Shaft*, which grossed $12 million at the box office, virtually saved the financially troubled MGM, and although white directors and studios produced many of the later blaxploitation films, the profitability of many early, independent blaxploitation films paved the way for the renaissance of independent minority productions of the 1980s

Julie Dash. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(including those by directors such as Spike Lee, Charles Burnett, and Julie Dash).

bell hooks has used the term "oppositional gaze" to describe the way African American women engage cinematic images critically both as spectators and as filmmakers in their own right. Other minority groups have also developed oppositional film practices, working both within the established Hollywood industry and independently to produce films that both counter mainstream stereotypes and convey specific cultural forms and visual styles as part of an alternative aesthetic. These filmmakers face problematic issues of authenticity and hybridity as they work against the essentialist stereotypes perpetuated in the media while striving to maintain political solidarity based in common racial and cultural identity. Contemporary Chicano and Chicana filmmakers (Luis Valdez, Edward James Olmos, Lourdes Portillo), Asian American filmmakers (Wayne Wang, Ang Lee), and indigenous filmmakers (Chris Eyre, Victor Masayesva, Alanis Obomsawin) have spoken both as individual artists and as members of their communities in their films. These filmmakers revisit and revise colonialist history, integrating political and aesthetic strategies for the purposes of decolonization. In representing experiences of displacement, filmmakers must also navigate complex issues of race and nation in the wake of the political upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s. Although space does not allow for a more detailed discussion of specific minority cinema traditions, Third World cinemas, television and radio media, and avant-garde and documentary traditions, representations of race and ethnicity remain central to the study of these areas as well.

SEE ALSO *African American Cinema; Arab Cinema; Asian American Cinema; Colonialism and Postcolonialism; Diasporic Cinema; Exhibition; Ideology; National Cinema; Native Americans and Cinema; Spectatorship and Audiences*

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Joanna Hearne

RADIO

Hollywood's involvement with radio predates the movies' ability to talk. From the earliest years of broadcasting, far-sighted film producers and studio heads saw in radio a promotional medium made to order for enhancing the popular reach and appeal of their valuable entertainment empires. As sound film debuted and brought members of the "radio trust"—RCA and AT&T—into closer connection with film operations, several major studios made countermoves into the business of network radio. Though largely excluded from network ownership, the studios formed an alliance with the advertising agencies, which by the mid-1930s were producing the bulk of commercial programs on the air. "Prestige" radio production had moved to Hollywood by the late 1930s, and the lively process of mutual influence and exchange enriched both industries, setting the stage for Hollywood's increasing domination of television beginning in the late 1950s. Yet even as television took over the entertainment genres and cultural functions that had been created by network radio, the film industry, by expanding into other areas of media production and distribution, remained a player in the radio business. In the twenty-first century, all five major over-the-air television networks (NBC/Universal, CBS/Viacom/Paramount, ABC/Disney, Fox, and CW [formerly WB and UPN] as well as the majority of cable channels either bear a studio's name or are part of a film-media conglomerate. Producers, writers, directors, stars, and properties flow seamlessly from one medium to the other. This process began in radio.

EARLY EXPERIMENTATION

In the days before regulatory and network standardization, when the main business of radio was inviting various representatives of entertainment businesses on the air to publicize themselves, it seemed natural that Hollywood, with its immense reservoirs of talent under contract, should join in to publicize that other "national" medium, the cinema. One of the earliest cases of film-radio cooperation took place not in Hollywood but on the stage of the Capitol Theater in New York City, part of the Loew's/MGM chain. In 1923 theater manager Samuel L. Rothafel entered into an agreement with the American Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (AT&T) to broadcast his prefilm stage show over the new station WEAF. The results were so positive that it quickly became a regular feature, called *Roxy and His Gang*, one of the earliest hits of radio broadcasting. Soon other movie theaters jumped on the bandwagon.

Many big-city theaters featured elaborate stage shows and enormous theater organs, whose musical accompaniments animated their film showings. Concerts by theater organists were broadcast over WMAC, WGN, and KWY in Chicago and in many other cities starting in 1925. In 1925 Harry Warner of Warner Bros. put forth a prediction and a challenge:

> I am in favor of the motion picture industry, after the wave-length situation has been adjusted (as it will be)—building and maintaining its own broadcasting stations in New York and Los Angeles, and possibly in the Middle West. Through these sources . . . programs could be devised to be broadcast before and after show hours, tending to create interest in all meritorious pictures being released or playing at that time. Nights could be assigned to various companies, calling attention to their releases and advising

> where they were playing in that particular locality. Artists could talk into the microphone and reach directly millions of people who have seen them on the screen but never came in contact with them personally or heard their voices. Such programs would serve to whet the appetites of the radio audience and make it want to see the persons they have heard and the pictures they are appearing in. (*Motion Picture World*, 11 April 1925)

Warner followed up on this vision by opening up station KFWB in Los Angeles that same year, and a second one, WBPI, in New York City in 1926. In the summer of 1926, Sam Warner took a portable transmitter on a cross-country tour, broadcasting from theaters showing Warner Bros. films.

By 1927 the major studios could see the sound era rapidly approaching. Earlier, they had jointly agreed to a "stand still" position, in order to see whether the RCA or the AT&T sound system would predominate. Either way, Hollywood studios would in effect find themselves in technical thrall to the interests behind NBC, at this point (with CBS still struggling to get organized) the only broadcasting network with national reach. RCA was NBC's parent company; AT&T had an exclusive arrangement with NBC for the provision of landlines, the backbone of network broadcasting. Simultaneously, regulators in Washington were working on passage of the Radio Act of 1927, which promised a reorganization of the radio spectrum with an express mandate to bring the "chaos" of radio under control. Studios increased the pace of radio experimentation, attempting to get a foothold in the promising new business before restrictions might potentially be imposed, either by Washington or by contractual limitations from sound-on-film technology providers.

In May 1927 Paramount announced plans to form the Keystone Network, in partnership with the Postal Telegraph Company, one of AT&T's only competitors, "for dramatizing and advertising first-run motion pictures." As a backup plan, Paramount head Adolph Zukor also approached the interests behind the proposed NBC competitor, United Independent Broadcasters (later to become CBS) to suggest a partnership that he proposed might be renamed the Paramount Broadcasting System. In September MGM announced an ambitious project with the Loew's theater chain: a planned network based on movie materials and promotion that would link over sixty stations in more than forty cities. In December, to give audiences a taste of things to come, MGM experimented with the world's first "telemovie": a dramatic, blow-by-blow account of *Love* (1927), MGM's adaptation of Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* starring Greta Garbo and John Gilbert, delivered on-air by WPAP's announcer Ted Husing (usually known for his sports coverage) as it unreeled before his eyes in the Embassy Theater in New York. Despite much excitement in the industry, neither the Keystone Chain, the Paramount Broadcasting System, nor the Loew's/MGM network reached fruition. A combination of regulatory discouragement, exhibitor opposition, and competition from other sources diverted studios' radio ideas in other directions.

Upon the expiration of the "stand still" agreement in 1928, film studios jointly decided to go with AT&T subsidiary Western Electric's sound technology. Left out in the cold, RCA in 1929 formed its own studio, RKO Pictures, and ushered in the era of film-radio cooperation in earnest as RKO and NBC learned to share talent and properties, such as the *RKO Theater of the Air*. Faced with this unsettling prospect, in the summer of 1929, just months before the stock market crash, Paramount again approached CBS. A stock transfer was hammered out, by the terms of which Paramount received a 49 percent interest in CBS while CBS received a certain number of Paramount shares. In three years Paramount would have the option of either buying the rest of CBS or simply regaining its own stock by turning back CBS's. By 1932, however, the country was in the depths of the Depression, and while radio's fortunes continued upward, the film industry was in steep decline. Rather than further consolidate their mutual interests, Paramount withdrew its merger offer, and the brief alliance was over. RCA divested itself of most of its interest in RKO in the late 1930s under similar pressures. Studios would not attempt to enter networking again until the television era.

RADIO GOES HOLLYWOOD

As the Depression continued, film industry profits suffered as theaters went out of business and box-office receipts slowed to a trickle. Radio, however, continued to thrive. As advertising agencies began to take the broadcast medium seriously as an outlet for their customers' campaigns, a new and influential partnership was about to emerge. Dissatisfied with CBS and NBC's staid approach to programming, several aggressive advertising firms turned their attention to Hollywood's untapped potential for radio-based product promotion. One of the biggest players in this Hollywood-agency alliance was the J. Walter Thompson Company (JWT), whose plan for radio advertising envisioned big-budget, star-studded productions sponsored by JWT clients over the major radio networks. By the mid-1930s JWT was producing at least five shows out of each year's top ten, most of them featuring Hollywood talent, such as *The Chase and Sanborn Hour* (with Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy), Rudy Vallee's *Fleischmann Yeast Hour*, and

Orson Welles directs the historic* War of the Worlds *radio broadcast with his Mercury Theatre group for CBS radio, 30 October 1938. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Lux Radio Theatre. Other major agencies included Young and Rubicam, Blackett-Sample-Hummert, and Dancer Fitzgerald. When in 1936 AT&T, as a result of an investigation by the FCC, reduced its land line rates to the West Coast, a ''rush to Hollywood'' resulted, and most major agencies along with the two national networks opened up studios in Los Angeles. Radio had gone Hollywood.

This productive and profitable association would have great impact on both the radio and film industries. A variety of radio programs developed that centered on movie industry stars, properties, and Hollywood celebrities. The most prestigious was the movie adaptation format pioneered by JWT's *Lux Radio Theatre*. Hosted by celebrity director Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959), *Lux* presented hour-long radio adaptations of recent Hollywood film releases, introduced and narrated by DeMille and featuring well-known film stars. Others in this format, often referred to at the time as ''prestige drama,'' included *The Screen Guild Theater*, *Hollywood Premiere*, *Academy Award Theater*, *Dreft Star Playhouse*, *Hollywood Startime*, and the *Screen Directors' Playhouse*. A popular feature of these programs was the intimate, casual interviews with famous stars; DeMille, for instance, would chat at the end of each show with that night's leading actors, often casually working in a mention of the sponsor's product. Here audiences could enjoy a new, more intimate relationship with stars and celebrities that had formerly been available only in the pages of fan magazines. Chatting about their upcoming pictures, a recent performance experience, or even domestic details and romantic tidbits, allowed the celebrity to step off the screen and into the familiar space of the living room.

The second major venue for Hollywood stars and film promotion was radio's leading genre, the big-name

variety show. *Fleischmann Yeast Hour, The Jack Benny Program*, *The Fred Allen Show*, and many others featured regular guest appearances from Hollywood's A-list stars, often promoting their latest pictures or acting out skits related to film properties. Supporting roles were often filled by B-list actors and actresses, some of whom went on to considerable broadcast fame. Many stars eventually began hosting such programs themselves, especially in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Adolph Menjou and John Barrymore served as hosts for *The Texaco Star Theater*; Al Jolson appeared on radio almost exclusively after 1935; William Powell and Herbert Marshall hosted *Hollywood Hotel* at various times.

Some directors got into the act as well. Orson Welles's dramatic radio debut in 1938 on *The Mercury Theatre on the Air*, most notably his 30 October broadcast of *War of the Worlds*, helped secure his contract with RKO to produce, among other films, *Citizen Kane* (1941). Welles would frequently return to radio, as a variety show guest, guest host, and producer of lesser-known programs. Many accounts of the *Mercury Theatre on the Air* years agree that, once the first couple of broadcasts were past, the group Welles had gathered around him—notably John Houseman and Howard Koch—actually did most of the dramatic selection and adaptation work; nevertheless Welles's inimitable sense of drama and timing as well as his penchant for reflexive and confrontational material permeated the productions. And Welles would bring a heightened awareness of the potential of sound as an expressive medium with him to *Citizen Kane* and much of his other film work. Alfred Hitchcock, too, established a reputation on American radio, as well as film, before becoming a television personality.

CROSSOVER CAREERS

Many Hollywood stars extended their careers on radio, some of them also moving into television in its early years. Groucho Marx made frequent appearances not only on comedy-variety programs but on the rising genre of humorous quiz shows. In 1947 he became the host of ABC radio's popular *You Bet Your Life*, which made the transition to television in 1950 and ran until 1957. Ed Wynn started out in film, moved to radio and television, then played comic parts in a series of films in the 1950s and 1960s. Robert Young became established as a reliable second leading man in the 1930s and 1940s, then debuted the long-running *Father Knows Best* franchise on radio, before moving to television. Especially for Hollywood's extensive B-list starts, radio in the late 1940s became a springboard both to television fame and, less frequently, back toward greater eminence in the film business.

It was a set of Hollywood's secondary ladies who made the deepest mark on one of broadcasting's most enduring genres, the situation comedy, first on radio, then on television. Such B-list performers and comediennes as Lucille Ball, Dinah Shore, Joan Davis, Eve Arden, Hattie McDaniel, and Ann Sothern began by building up reputations as frequent radio guest stars in the 1930s and early 1940s. When World War II removed many male comedians from the air, as well as increasing the prominence and importance of the female audience at home, the film industry supplied key talent to move into prime time. Out of this conjunction the sitcom was born, taking comedy in a new direction—away from the stand-up, gag-based variety format and toward a new genre based on recurring characters in humorous situations, emphasizing domestic settings.

Joan Davis was the first to step into the leading-lady spotlight, as she moved from a supporting cast position on *The Rudy Vallee Show* in 1941 to primary status when Vallee left the program to go into the military in 1943. Renamed *The Sealtest Village Store*, it featured Davis as a frustrated, man-chasing spinster; she would go on to take the headline role in *The Joan Davis Show* on CBS in 1945, and from there to television in the sitcom *I Married Joan* (NBC, 1952–1955). Lucille Ball, the best-known of radio's film comediennes, moved, like Davis, from an RKO contract to star in *My Favorite Husband* (CBS, 1948–1951), though her fame came with the debut of *I Love Lucy* in 1950 on CBS-TV. Ann Sothern took her fame as the star of MGM's *Maisie* films to radio in a situation comedy of the same name in 1949; she went on to star in television sitcoms for the next twelve years. Eve Arden, who starred in a long line of B-movies from the 1920s through the 1940s, including a series of Republic Studios features based on the Lucky Strike *Your Hit Parade* radio series, debuted as *Our Miss Brooks* on CBS in 1948. Hattie McDaniel, the first African American actress to win an Emmy, for her role in *Gone with the Wind* (1939), made her radio headliner debut in the long-running *Beulah* in 1947. These pioneering woman-centered situation comedies used the star power of their Hollywood-based leading ladies to draw ever larger audiences to this new form, and to take them from radio to television in the early 1950s.

Other properties moved from film to radio, many of them adaptations from fiction or comics. Dashiell Hammett's *The Thin Man* first mutated into a series of films starring William Powell and Myrna Loy beginning in 1937; it became a radio program in 1941 and later shifted to television. Series like *The Lone Ranger* and *The Green Hornet* prospered in film, radio, and television formats. The film industry also came to increasingly rely on the star-producing capabilities of radio, with radio personalities starring in many popular Hollywood films.

Woody Allen's* Radio Days *(1987) offers a nostalgic look at radio in the 1930s. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

One of the first of these crossovers was *Check and Double Check* for RKO (1930), starring Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll as the characters they played in the *Amos 'n' Andy* show on radio. Movies like *The Big Broadcast of 1936*—and *1937* and *1938*—were produced specifically to consolidate radio stars' popularity with the film-viewing public, and to cement the Hollywood-radio relationship. Other stars who had first made it big on radio found significant new success in films, like the "Road" pictures starring Bing Crosby, Bob Hope, and Dorothy Lamour (*Road to Zanzibar* [1941], *Road to Morocco* [1942], *Road to Rio* [1947], et al.). Rudy Vallee, Eddie Cantor, and Jack Benny all met with box-office success in films that often highlighted their roles as radio stars and featured the exciting world of radio behind the scenes. This tradition continued, as Howard Stern's 1997 movie about his radio career, *Private Parts,* attests. Other memorable films about radio and its role in American life include *The Hucksters* (1947), an indictment of advertising-dominated radio and its effects on American postwar society; George Lucas's classic *American Graffiti* (1973), with its memorable top-40 soundtrack and a cameo by the legendary DJ Wolfman Jack; and Woody Allen's *Radio Days* (1987), a highly nostalgic look at life before television.

AFTER TV

Although the nature of radio changed dramatically once TV came onto the scene, some studios did maintain a persistent presence in radio ownership and production. Warner Bros., Paramount, RKO, and MGM all owned radio stations, and also got in on television station ownership early. MGM went into syndicated radio program production and distribution in the late 1940s, with such programs as *The MGM Theater of the Air* and *Maisie*. Just as film companies diversified into television, they also

began to acquire interests in the music industry, the new backbone of radio. For example, the Disney Corporation holds extensive interests in music recording, and through its merger with ABC in 1995 came to own radio stations that reach 24 percent of US households. Twentieth Century Fox was purchased by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation in the 1980s and is now linked with satellite music channels worldwide. News Corp. also owns the Australian Mushroom and Festival record labels. And in this age of synergy, the tie between movies and music has become tighter than ever before, with movie soundtracks used to promote artists and recordings, and soundtrack releases often achieving billions in sales.

In the era of new media, where the lines between film, radio, television, music, recordings, and the Internet seem to be growing blurrier every day, the integrated entertainment corporations formerly designated by the term "Hollywood" have fingers in nearly every form of media that reaches into the home—or anywhere the viewer might be. Now Internet radio technology gives companies the ability to go online with their own "radio" services. DisneyRadio.com already provides a schedule of music and features from its films and artists, oriented toward children. Television shows on studio-owned networks promote recordings distributed by the company's record arm, which become hits on pop radio. Recording stars launch film careers; film and television stars, like Janeane Garofalo and Al Franken, start radio careers. Although in the United States the days of radio drama and comedy faded long ago, transferring their stars and audiences to television, the film industry continues to play a vital behind-the-scenes role linking radio to a host of other media. Without Hollywood, American radio could never have risen to the heights of creativity and popularity it achieved in its heyday. Without radio, Hollywood as we know it today would be missing some of its brightest lights and most memorable ingredients. The twenty-first century's digital media promise to bring these two media venues into an ever closer relationship.

SEE ALSO *Sound; Technology; Television*

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Michele Hilmes

REALISM

Realism has become one of the most contested terms in the history of cinema. Cinematic realism is neither a genre nor a movement, and it has neither rigid formal criteria nor specific subject matter. But does this mean that realism is simply an illusion, and that, as Werner Herzog has declared: "the so called Cinéma Vérité is devoid of vérité?" Probably not, as realism has been an extremely useful concept for asking questions about the nature of cinematographic images, the relation of film to reality, the credibility of images, and the role cinema plays in the organization and understanding of the world. Realism, at the very least, has been a productive illusion.

In film history, realism has designated two distinct modes of filmmaking and two approaches to the cinematographic image. In the first instance, cinematic realism refers to the verisimilitude of a film to the believability of its characters and events. This realism is most evident in the classical Hollywood cinema. The second instance of cinematic realism takes as its starting point the camera's mechanical reproduction of reality, and often ends up challenging the rules of Hollywood movie making.

MAKING MOVIES REAL

In spite of the fact that contemporary film and Greek drama are radically different modes of representation, one model for the rules for realism in movies comes to us from Aristotle's *Poetics*. In the *Poetics*, Aristotle staked the success of dramatic representation on what he called the play's probability (*eikos*). For Aristotle, dramatic action was a form of rhetoric, and the role of the playwright was to persuade the audience of the sense of reality, or verisimilitude, of the dramatic work. From here flowed rules about characters, the words they speak, and the actions they perform on stage. For characters in a tragedy to be believable, for instance, they must be noble, that is to say slightly more virtuous than the citizens watching the play, and they must act and speak in accordance with their rank in society. If the characters were not more virtuous than the spectators, and if their actions were not consistent with their rank, the audience would feel neither the pity nor the fear, which, for Aristotle, justify the creation of drama. As for events, to be believable they must meet three criteria: 1) they must be logically justified, what today we call this motivation; 2) they must conform to the rules of genre; and 3) they must have, as Aristotle famously said, a beginning, middle, and end.

Aristotle's *Poetics* is a brilliant defense of the art of fiction and at the heart of this defense is a plea for the importance of verisimilitude. Small wonder, then, that Hollywood plots are so closely tied to Aristotelian notions of believability. As David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson have shown, verisimilitude in Hollywood cinema is supported by very specific forms of filmmaking that have remained remarkably consistent over the years. From George Cukor's *Dinner at Eight* (1933) to John Ford's *The Searchers* (1954), the "excessively obvious" style of the classic Hollywood period is bound up with modes of production and with technical or stylistic elements that insure a film's continuity and stylistic transparency. First and foremost, the films that constitute classical Hollywood cinema are driven by narrative causality. More often than not, they center on individual characters, who are often subject to

the whims of fate and who undergo dramatic reversals of fortune, even if the films end happily. In Hollywood films, narration is determined by a rigorous chain of cause and effect, with scarcely any room for events that do not, somehow, announce future actions.

Ultimately, for narrative causality to seem real, it must be ushered in by a series of technical elements that maintain the film's continuity. The historical accuracy of wardrobe has long been a key to the realism of Hollywood's period pieces. Extra-diegetic music plays an important role in narrative causality by announcing on-screen action and smoothing over gaps in the narration. Irises, fades, and dissolves serve to mark the passage of time and maintain narrative flow. Match-on-action editing, shot/reverse-shot, the 180 degree rules, and synchronized sound serve to create the illusion of spatial continuity. All these technical elements that dominated classical Hollywood but also regularly appeared throughout the cinema of the world work to make cinematic fiction more believable. Even the star system served to maintain the verisimilitude of a film—central casting and spectators came to expect stars to play certain roles—hero, villain, *femme fatale*—and attempts to get beyond typecasting were often met with skepticism.

Within the confines of this verisimilitude, Hollywood films have defied the laws of nature, challenged scientific objectivity, and promoted a vision of life as an unending melodrama, but this matters little. Once verisimilitude is established, spectators enter into a rhetorical contract with a work of cinematic fiction wherein, to reprise Samuel Coleridge's formulation, they temporarily suspend their disbelief. Rules of verisimilitude may change over time, but this rhetorical illusion nonetheless helps to explain why spectators in the 1930s felt the frisson of evil when watching *The Invisible Man* (1933), which seems so dated to contemporary audiences. Understanding the rules of verisimilitude is a key to understanding audience reactions to films.

The term "realism" was first applied to painting and literature in the 1830s to describe new forms of art that developed in parallel with the rise of nineteenth-century democracies and claimed a privileged relation to material reality. If Romanticism glorified the imagination, realism, as Peter Brooks has said "makes sight paramount." Thus the novels of Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850), George Eliot (1819–1880), Gustave Flaubert (1821–1880), and Émile Zola (1840–1902) emphasize description and luxuriate in the details of everyday life. But realism also brought with it new subject matter, in particular the everyday existence of ordinary people, and it closely linked character development to social factors. In painting, Gustave Courbet (1819–1877) first developed this new form of realism, bringing to his canvases a concern for the present, a representation of the working class, a refusal to slavishly reproduce established genres—there are no historical or mythological scenes in Courbet's paintings—a move away from neoclassical idealization of the human body, a representation of bodies at work, and an emphasis on description at the expense of narration.

Nineteenth-century realism was an immensely successful artistic movement. Dominating literature and painting, it spurred scientific positivism and encompassed the invention of photography and film. Indeed, some scholars have suggested that the invention of these forms of mechanical reproduction was less a great technological leap than a symptom of an age when representation of the real became tantamount. Many of the scenes of the early films by Auguste (1862–1954) and Louis Lumière (1864–1948), such as the workers leaving the factory, men playing cards, a middle class family having breakfast, or a barge on a river, could have figured in the pages of a realist novel or the paintings of Edgar Degas, Gustave Caillebotte, or Courbet.

THE REALIST TENDENCY

Realism in painting and literature passed on many aesthetic preoccupations to what Siegfried Kracauer called cinema's "realist tendency." First, realist films often define themselves in opposition to dominant commercial cinema. "The American position is the antithesis of our own," wrote Cesare Zavattini (1902–1989) in 1953. "While we are interested in the reality around us ... reality in American films is unnaturally filtered." This means that films that inscribe themselves within the realist tendency often challenge the rules of verisimilitude that dominate Hollywood realism. In this sense, realism is often situated somewhere between the codes of classical cinema and the innovation of the avant-garde. Though these kinds of realist films do not entirely do away with plot and plausibility, they often bend the rules of continuity, motivation, and genre that characterize commercial filmmaking. In particular, realist films often include moments of narrative ambiguity that would never be allowed in the classical Hollywood narrative. The scene in Vittorio De Sica's (1902–1974) *Umberto D* (1952) in which Maria Pia Casilio grinds coffee in the boarding house kitchen does not establish the setting, develop her character, or further the plot; rather, it trades plausibility, motivation, and narrative continuity for what André Bazin called "visible poetry," the lyricism of everyday life.

Wary of Hollywood's "filters," filmmakers in the realist tendency are also suspicious of Hollywood's budgets. One would be hard-pressed to say which comes first, the realist aesthetic or the low budget, but the results are

Jean Renoir's* La Grande illusion *(*The Grand Illusion*, 1937) employs stylistic techniques associated with realism. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the same. In 1995, the Danish filmmakers of Dogma swore to what they called, in all seriousness, their ''vow of chastity,'' a vow to reject what they considered the technical screens that cinema has imposed between the spectator and ''truth.'' This ''vow'' serves well to characterize the realist tendency's desire to do more with less. In a sense, the films and manifestos of the realist tendency hark back to the famous imperative of Henry David Thoreau to ''Simplify, simplify.''

Realism brings to the screen individuals and situations often marginalized by mainstream cinema and society. This is what Raymond Williams has called the ''social extension'' of realism, its intention to represent not just people of rank but also the spectators' ''equals'' (p. 63). Realism makes visible unseen groups, and makes audible unheard voices. In this sense, realism has been considered a fundamentally political art form. If cinema participates in the construction of what a society knows and says about itself, realist films make visible individuals and situations previously left unseen. Like the avant-garde, realism invents new configurations of the visible and new forms of representing the real. It is for this reason that a proponent of cinematic realism such as Bazin could tie realism to techniques such as the long take, depth of focus, and panchromatic film. These techniques provide viewers with new ways of seeing the world. So too with the use of non-professional actors. Showing actors, faces, people who had rarely or never been shown on the screen, or who had only been seen through stereotypes, was part of cinematic realism's way of reconfiguring the world. Realism situates its characters socially and economically, and economic hardship is often one of the motivating forces of the realist films' plot, from F. W. Murnau's *Tabu* (1931) to De Sica's *Ladri di biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thieves*, 1948) to Jean-Pierre and Luc Dardenne's *Rosetta* (1999).

Finally, while realist films are not documentaries, they claim a privileged relation to a reality outside of the movie theater. This reality can be defined in a Marxist sense as the economic structures of society or ontologically as the presence of a physical and visible world, but in all cases realism bases its claims on the camera's ability to reveal to the spectator something outside of the screen. Hence, realism's concern with the present. Realism foregoes historical dramas and period pieces in order to focus on the actions of the contemporary world.

REALISM IN FILM HISTORY

For Kracauer, the realist tendency begins with the very first *cinématographes* of the Lumière brothers. Kracauer opposes the Lumières' realism to the "formative" tendency of their contemporary Georges Méliès (1861–1938), but he also insists that the Lumière films are not just documentaries. Many of these short films, such as *L'Arroseur arrosé,* were staged performances. Still, Kracauer was making a "medium specific argument" in that the Lumières not only invented cinema but exploited its specific attribute: to record and reproduce the world around us.

Bazin traces the origins of the realist tendency in fiction films to the works of Erich von Stroheim (1885–1957) and F. W. Murnau (1888–1931), films that he opposed to the more formalist works of Soviet cinema and to the polished works of 1930s Hollywood. Murnau began his career as one of the leading innovators of German expressionism, directing the classic *Nosferatau, eine Symphonie des Grauens* (*Nosferatu: A Symphony of Horror*) in 1922. Despite its melodramatic quality, *Tabu* relied on non-professional actors, including Tahitians in important roles, location shooting, and a sparse use of titles. In addition, Murnau weaves into the plot the economic reality and colonialist exploitation of the pearl trade.

While Murnau was filming *Tabu* in the South Pacific, a movement known as "poetic realism" began to take shape in France. Starting in the early 1930s, films such as Jean Vigo's *L'Atalante* (1934); Marie Epstein's *La Maternelle* (*Children of Montmartre*, 1934); Jean Renoir's *Toni* (1935), *Le Crime de Monsieur Lange* (*The Crime of Monsieur Lange*, 1935), and *La Bête humaine* (*The Human Beast*, 1938); Julien Duvivier's *Pépé le Moko* (1937); and Marcel Carnés *Le Jour se lève* (*Daybreak*, 1939) constituted one of the most successful movements in European cinema. Poetic realism may be seen as realist in its refusal of some of the conventions of Hollywood (most notably the happy end), its strong sense of place (which included both location shooting and the sets of designers such as Alexandre Trauner [1906–1993]), its tackling of the social questions of the day (such as unemployment, poverty, and alcoholism), and its depiction of the lives of the working poor. As early as 1930, Jean Vigo (1905–1934), director of *L'Atlante*, had called for a social cinema that would reject both the Hollywood romance and the "pure cinema" of the avant-garde and instead be "continuously replenished by reality" (p. 60). The skipper of a river barge, Italian immigrant workers, laundresses, mechanics, a melancholy sand blaster, were the subjects of poetic realist films. The actor Jean Gabin (1904–1976) was in the paradoxical position of having become the most famous male star of French cinema in large part thanks to roles where he played downtrodden and ill-fated workers. Poetic realism may sound like a contradiction in terms, but for its advocates and practitioners the French movement exemplified realism's basic tenet that creating new, lyrical forms of representation was the best way to create new forms of visibility and new ways of thinking about the world.

Certainly this credo was one of the forces behind Italian neorealist cinema. As different as the Italian neorealist movies were, films such as Roberto Rossellini's (1906–1977) *Rome, città operta* (*Rome, Open City*, 1945), *Paisà* (*Paisan*, 1946), *Germania anno zero* (*Germany Year Zero*, 1948), and *Europa '51* (*The Greatest Love*, 1952), De Sica's *The Bicycle Thieves* (1948) and *Umberto D* (1952), Luchino Visconti's *Ossessione* (*Obsession*, 1942) and *Terra trema* (*The Earth Trembles*, 1948), and Alberto Lattuada's *Senza pietà* (*Without Pity*, 1948) all clearly belonged to and helped reignite the realist tendency in post–World War II Europe.

With few exceptions, Italian neorealism set its characters in the historical and economic reality of postwar Europe: *Germany Year Zero* shows us the effects of Hitlerism on a young boy in a rubble-filled Berlin. De Sica's *Sciuscià* (*Shoe-Shine*, 1946) builds its plot around the American occupation of postwar Europe. The very plot of *The Bicycle Thieves* is driven by the poverty of postwar Italy. If Antonio Ricci, the main character of *The Bicycle Thieves*, is so distraught when his bicycle is stolen, it is because this bicycle is the key to his livelihood. In this movie, De Sica and his screenwriter Zavattini (1902–1989) insisted upon giving us the figures we need to understand the poverty affecting Antonio: we hear that a bicycle costs 6,500 lire and that Antonio receives 6,000 lire for the first two weeks of work. Italian neorealism was an intensely materialist mode of filmmaking.

Some scholars have argued against understanding Italian neorealism as a radical break with the past. After all, Cinecittà, the famous studio where some of these films were shot, was inaugurated by Italian fascist dictator Benito Mussolini in 1937, and the Alfieri Law of 1939, which granted government subsidies to filmmakers, was still in effect after the war. Furthermore, De Sica,

JEAN RENOIR

b. Paris, France, 15 September 1984, d. 12 February 1979

French director, screenwriter and actor, Jean Renoir is one of the most original filmmakers in the history of French cinema. A poet of realism and a master of artifice, a revolutionary and a classicist, he is a key figure in the history of European modernism. Renoir has influenced filmmakers as varied as François Truffaut and Robert Altman, Satyajit Ray, and Wes Anderson.

Though he made some ten silent films, Renoir hit his stride with the arrival of sound. The savagely witty *Boudu sauvé des eaux* (*Boudu Saved From Drowning*, 1932) was a biting satire of the duplicitous French bourgeoisie. With the creation of films such as *Toni* (1934), *Le Crime de Monsieur Lange* (*The Crime of Monsieur Lange*, 1936), and *La Marseillaise* (1938), Renoir participated in the struggle for workers' rights that culminated in the Popular Front in June 1936. But even at their most political, Renoir's films are also meditations on artistic performance. He often preferred actors trained in the music hall tradition and his films often include a theatrical representation of some sort. Even as politically committed a film as *The Crime of Monsieur Lange*, which depicts the creation of a worker's collective, centers around a fantasy cowboy melodrama titled *Arizona Jim*. *La Grande illusion* (*The Grand Illusion*, 1937), starring Jean Gabin and Erich von Stroheim, remains Renoir's most widely seen film. A condemnation of war, this film also reveals Renoir's ideas about the role of performance in the construction of national and social identities.

With *La Règle du jeu* (*The Rules of the Game*, 1939) Renoir created one of the great works in the history of cinema. Often cited as a masterpiece of realism for its use of dolly shots, depth of focus, and outdoor photography, Renoir's film is a complex portrait of a society ruled by social masks and illusions. It was an incredibly bold film to make on the eve of World War II.

Exiled from Nazi-occupied France in 1940, Renoir made several films in Hollywood, including *The Southerner* (1945) in collaboration with William Faulkner. In India after World War II, Renoir filmed *The River* (1950), which although it has been criticized for its colonialist point of view, nevertheless, is intent upon showing the complexity of human relations caught in a moment of national upheaval.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Nana 1926, *La Chienne* (*The Bitch*, 1931), *Boudu Saved From Drowning* (1932), *Toni* (1934), *The Crime of Monsieur Lange* (1936), *Une Partie de Campagne* (*A Day in the Country*, 1936), *Les Bas-fonds* (*The Lower Depths*, 1936), *La Bête humaine* (*The Human Beast*, 1938), *La Grande illusion* (*The Grand Illusion*, 1937), *La Règle du jeu* (*The Rules of the Game*, 1939), *The Southerner* (1945), *The River* (1951), *The Golden Coach* (1953), *French Can Can* (1955), *Elena et les hommes* (*Elena and Her Men*, 1956), *Le Petit Théâtre de Jean Renoir* (*The Little Theatre of Jean Renoir*, 1970)

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Phil Watts

Zavattini, and Rossellini all got their start in the film industry under the fascist regime, and some of their films still have recourse to the standard techniques of melodrama that dominated pre-1944 Italian cinema. Still, it is difficult to confuse neorealist films with the high society dramas that preceded them. Neither the so-called *telefoni bianchi* ("white telephone") films nor, for that matter, the Hollywood films that replaced them on Italian screens after the war, had much patience for economic depression and gloomy outsiders. Neorealist films quite consciously set themselves in opposition to more mainstream cinema, a tendency metaphorically expressed in the scene in *The Bicycle Thieves* when Antonio never quite manages to do his job of putting up Rita Hayworth publicity posters.

Jean Renoir. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

It is not just the glamour of Hollywood that Italian neorealism defied. This movement also challenged the laws of verisimilitude that dominated commercial cinema. *The Bicycle Thieves* and *Umberto D* both rely upon the thinnest story lines. About *Umberto D*, Zavattini said that he had wanted to make a film about nothing. In *Germany Year Zero* there is no plot to speak of, and viewers can only speculate about the motivation for Edmund's suicide at the end. Plot is not entirely absent from these films, but they all de-emphasize the logical sequence of events in order to develop the characters' discovery of the material reality that surrounds them.

The realist tendency, while international in scope, develops within national cinematic contexts. Certainly this is the case with the British New Wave and social realist cinema. British realism, which harkens back to the documentary movement of the 1930s, has flourished from the 1950s to the present in films as varied as *Room at the Top* (Jack Clayton, 1958), *Poor Cow* (Ken Loach, 1967) and *Career Girls* (Mike Leigh, 1997). These films tend to have relatively low budgets and to share such qualities as an emphasis on location, the use of unknown and non-professional actors, an intention to educate, and a focus on marginal characters and social problems. For all their differences, Ken Loach's (b. 1936) made-for-TV film *Cathy Come Home* (1966) and Stephen Frears's *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1985) have in common the desire to show the faces of individuals that had been kept off the screens of Britain up to that point: a woman and her family pushed into poverty and homelessness in *Cathy Come Home*, and the son of South Asian immigrants in love with a British punk in *My Beautiful Laundrette*. These claims to a privileged relation to reality have been contested, however. Scholars have criticized British social realism of the 1960s for its masculine, patriarchal point of view.

The idea that cinematographic realism is tied to political struggle has inspired national cinemas emerging in the wake of European colonialism. The Senegalese director Ousmane Sembene (b. 1923), for instance, perceived his work as a tool for representing the new African reality, seeing film as a mirror for self-understanding and empowerment. In place of the Hollywood and French jungle melodramas through which colonialist ideology imposed itself, Sembene made pared-down films in which characters are set in the economic and social reality of contemporary Africa. Films such as *La Noire de . . .* (*Black Girl*, 1966), *Xala* (*Impotence*, 1975), *Guelwaar* (1992), *Faat Kiné* (2000), and *Moolaadé* (2004) are not strict realist works. Sembene often includes elements of melodrama and even musical comedy that might irk purists. But the films' sparse style, their open-ended plots, their refusal of standardized forms of cinematic production, and especially their intense social criticism, situate them within the realist tendency.

The same desire to counter colonialist representations motivated the early realist work of Satyajit Ray (1921–1992) in India. According to what has now become legend, during a trip to London, Ray saw some 90 films in two months. Of all the films he saw, De Sica's *The Bicycle Thieves* left the greatest impression and pushed Ray to start making his own, based on the credo that "the filmmaker must turn to life, to reality. De Sica and not Cecil B. DeMille, should be his ideal." And so, in films such as the "Apu Trilogy"—*Pather Panchali* (*Song of the Road*, 1955), *Aparajito* (*The Unvanquished*, 1956) and *Apur Sansar* (*The World of Apu*, 1959)—Ray's camera reveals the daily life of a family struggling against poverty in post-independence India. His straightforward style shared neorealism's openness to the everyday world.

THEORIES OF REALISM

Film critics and theorists have long given their intellectual support to the practice of realist filmmaking. For Rudolph

Arnheim, writing in the early 1930s, film offered the possibility of "the mechanical imitation of nature" in which original and copy become indistinguishable in the eyes of the public. Yet it was Bazin who, a decade later, would transform the mechanical reproduction of the cinematic image into a prophecy. A prolific critic, Bazin is best known for his defense of cinematic realism. For Bazin, what filmmakers as different as Robert Bresson (1901–1999), De Sica, Renoir, Rossellini, and Orson Welles (1915–1985) had in common was a desire to put cinema at the service of what Bazin called a fundamental faith in reality. The credibility of a film did not come from its verisimilitude but from the identity between the photographic image and its object. In "The Ontological Realism of the Photographic Image" (1945), Bazin sketches a brief history of art, in which he identifies cinema as the fulfillment of the human craving for realistic representation. Cinema's mission was thus to fulfill this goal. For Bazin, realism was a style whose chief elements were the long take, deep focus, limited editing and, when possible, the use of non-professional, or at least relatively unknown actors. Realism for Bazin was both the essence of cinema—its ontology—and a rhetoric whose keys were simplicity, purity, and transparency.

In 1960, two years after Bazin's death, Kracauer continued and radicalized Bazin's project in his book *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality*. Like Bazin, Kracauer argued that of all the arts, film is uniquely qualified to record physical reality. Kracauer conceded that many films combine realist with formalist tendencies, but he concluded the films that make us "experience aspects of physical reality are the most valid aesthetically." Thus for Kracauer, the best moment in Laurence Olivier's *Hamlet* (1948) is not Shakespeare's text, or Olivier's acting, or even his direction, but a moment when the camera, almost by inadvertence, frames a window of Elsinore castle and lets us see the "real ocean" in all its force (p. 36). In his previous book, *From Caligari to Hitler* (1947), Kracauer traced the rise of Nazism through the psychological terror of German expressionist cinema. It is possible his conclusions for the redemption of physical reality through cinema were a reaction against films whose formalism he deemed tainted by its association with totalitarianism and racism. For, in the end, the realist tendency is a form of humanism. In Kracauer's vision, cinema's ontological realism reasserts the fundamental equality of all before the camera.

Philosopher Stanley Cavell also has argued for the ontological realism of cinema, even though his main references are the films of classical Hollywood. For Cavell as for Bazin and Kracauer, the basis of the film medium is photographic. A photograph, and by extension film, always implies the presence of the rest of the world. Film "displaces" people and objects from the world onto the screen. This is not only proof, for Cavell, of film's ontological realism, it is also the beginning of our reconciliation with the world. Movies permit us to view the world unseen, at a distance, and this sets in motion the intellectual process that will bring us back to the world and will reaffirm our participation in it. More than any other film critic or theorist, Cavell insists that film's fundamental realism makes it an art of contemplation, an intellectual and spiritual exercise meant to restore our relation to the world.

Also among the proponents of the realist tendency are a number of figures associated with left-wing politics. From Williams to Zavattini, from Walter Benjamin to Loach, the realist tendency has often been tied to forms of democratic thought for two reasons. First, realism tends toward a Marxist critique of illusion. The Marxist critique of forms of art that obfuscate economic and social inequalities resonates with filmmakers, technicians, and writers for whom cinematic realism is way of cutting through the artifice of standard cinema. This does not mean that Communist filmmakers had a privileged access to truth, but rather that because they put their faith in what Bazin called the "ontological realism" of the image, realist films could perform the type of demystification often associated with leftist intellectual goals. Not coincidentally, two of Bazin's wittiest articles—"Entomology of the Pin-Up Girl" (1946) and "The Myth of Stalin in the Soviet Cinema" (1950)—are clever attacks on the ideological mystifications in films coming from Hollywood and Moscow, respectively.

The second reason to associate the realist continuum with a reflection on democracy is its tendency to give equal time to anonymous voices and unknown faces. Hollywood films may have regularly put ordinary people in extraordinary circumstances, but did so through a codified system of well-known actors and stereotypes. Realism's desire to show what had heretofore remained invisible challenges such images and the values that underlie them. To take just one example, Gillo Pontecorvo's *La Battaglia di Algeri* (*The Battle of Algiers*, 1965) is considered by many to be one of the last instances of Italian neorealism. But of all the realist techniques that Pontecorvo (b. 1919) uses, the most radical departure of the film, at least for European audiences, was his decision to show the faces and amplify the voices of the Algerian men and women who had led the Algerian revolution. The realist tendency is not sociology; rather, it sees itself as a democratic form of art.

REALISM'S DISCONTENTS

In the 1850s, the French poet Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) condemned realism as a "war on imagination." In

ANDRÉ BAZIN

b. Angers, France, 8 April 1918, d. 11 November 1958

Fifty years after his death, André Bazin remains the world's most important film critic and theorist. Bazin started writing about film in Paris in 1943 and went on to produce an extremely varied and prodigiously enthusiastic body of work. During his short career, he authored nearly 3,000 articles, published in a variety of journals, including, most famously, *Cahiers du cinéma*, which he cofounded in 1952. An indefatigable defender of filmmakers such as F. W. Murnau, Jean Renoir, Orson Welles, Charlie Chaplin, and Roberto Rossellini, Bazin also influenced a generation of French filmmakers who cut their teeth as critics at *Cahiers du cinéma* and went on to become the French New Wave, including François Truffaut to whom he was mentor and adoptive father.

Bazin wrote about such varied topics as Hollywood westerns and musicals, theater, film, and animation, but he is best remembered for his spirited defense of realism. In his famous article, "The Ontology of the Photographic Image" (1945), Bazin presented his core argument for cinematographic realism: photography and cinema allow a mechanical reproduction of reality unseen in any previous art form. Photography differs from painting in that it produces not a likeness, but the object itself snatched from "the conditions of time and space that govern it."

For Bazin, this realism was enhanced through certain stylistic techniques and choices, including its tendency toward on-location shooting, which helped confirm the existence of a world beyond the screen. Deep focus and minimal editing promoted an ambiguity of vision that more closely resembled the spectator's perception of reality. According to Bazin, films that use depth of focus allow the spectator's eye to wander around the picture and to determine the importance of each object on the screen. Starting in the late 1960s, theorists under the influence of Lacanian psychoanalysis and Louis Althusser's Marxism argued that what Bazin called realism was nothing more than an illusion. More recently, the philosopher Noël Carroll has judged that Bazin's realism is based on logically inconsistent assumptions about resemblance.

Throughout his essays, Bazin tied the films he loved most to a form of asceticism. This austerity was a way of cutting through the rhetorical artifice that had invaded commercial cinema and modern life itself. The cinematic image, for Bazin, allows just enough detachment for us to contemplate the mysteries of the world, whether they take the form of "a reflection on a damp sidewalk," the pockmarks on a character's face, or Ingrid Bergman walking through the ruins of Pompeii.

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Phil Watts

the 1960s, cinematic realism came under sustained attack for being an imaginary construct. This attack took several forms, all of which argue against the ontological realism of cinema. Realism, in these views, was nothing more than the product of what Roland Barthes called a "reality effect." The realist tendency may very well have been associated with leftist politics, but for all these critics and scholars its insistence upon the transparency of the cinematographic image was little more than a pernicious bourgeois illusion.

Perhaps the most systematic questioning of the premises of realism came from Christian Metz, a film scholar who had studied with Barthes. Metz argues that realism and its attendant belief in the transparency of the

Iranian filmmaker Abbas Kiarostami ties the techniques of realism to the process of filmmaking in* Ta'm e guilass *(*Taste of Cherry*, 1997). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

photographic image is an illusion. Borrowing from semiotics and psychoanalysis, Metz sets out to show that the cinematic image brings together a series of visual, musical, and verbal codes that the spectator then deciphers in an attempt to make meaning. Film and the photographic image do not provide any type of direct access to the real, according to Metz, but are rather one instance of a symbolic system whose model is language. Resemblance, in this view, is based upon codes and conventions; the screen is not a window onto the world, but a mirror, reflecting back to spectators their own ideologies and sense of identity. Metz's radical reformulation of cinema spectatorship coincided with the writings of Marxists, working at *Cahiers du cinéma* and of feminist cinéphiles associated with the British journal *Screen*. For critics such as Jean-Louis Comolli, realism was simply a bourgeois ordering of the world that served to maintain capitalist ideology, while for British feminist scholar Laura Mulvey realism, as all film forms, is structured by the unconscious of patriarchal society. Mulvey insists that film should not be understood as a record of reality, but rather as a reorganization of reality in a way that is fundamentally unjust to certain people, most particularly women and minorities because of its informing patriarchal ideology.

A more formalist questioning of the tenets of the realist tendency has been offered by theories of intertextuality. Basing themselves on the findings of Russian formalists and French theorists, proponents of an intertextual approach see film not as an opening on the world, but as a series of references to other films and other works of art. Michael Iampolski, for instance, describes films as a series of "quotes" that interrupt the narrative and send the spectator back to other texts. Spectators understand what they are watching by patching together all these references, not by referring to a world off-screen. For the analytic philosopher Nelson Goodman, realism is entirely relative to the culture from which it issues. "Realistic representation," writes Goodman, "depends not upon imitation or illusion or information but upon inculcation." Bazin's belief that cinema's ontological realism opened up the world as it is, reveals itself,

in Goodman's argument, to be a culturally biased conception.

The most recent questioning of the realist tendency has come from cognitive film theory, in particular its consideration of digital images. A strictly Bazinian approach would view computer-generated imagery (CGI) as a form of animation or painting. But for Stephen Prince, CGI poses new challenges to realism and the theories of resemblance on which it is based. For Prince, it no longer makes sense to think of an image or a sequence in a film as either realist or formalist. Whether they are watching documentaries, epics, or romantic comedies, individuals make meaning out of films in much the same way, basing their evaluations on the same set of assumptions, visual cues, and experiences.

All these critiques of realism have almost put the ideal of film out of reach as a threshold to the world. Still, certain movies have recently renewed with the realist tradition, while at the same time developing reflection on the status of the image. The American director Charles Burnett (b. 1944), whose works include *Killer of Sheep* (1977) and *To Sleep with Anger* (1990) claims that the films of Italian neorealism and the work of Renoir made possible his own filming of the stories of African Americans today. In films such as *Bread and Roses* (2000) and *Sweet Sixteen* (2002), Loach has maintained a fidelity to the political project and the stylistic innovation of British social realism, all the while foregrounding the politics of representation. In Belgium, the Dardenne brothers have made films such as *La Promesse* (*The Promise*, 1997) and *Rosetta*, effectively employing the hand-held camera, minimal makeup, relatively unknown actors, and the natural lighting of cinéma vérité. Richard Linklater's *Slacker* (1991) is a series of seemingly random long takes offering both a portrait of Austin, Texas and a subtle reflection on how images organize the world around us. And in films such as *Nema-ye Nazdik* (*Close Up*, 1990) and *Ta'm e guilass* (*Taste of Cherry*, 1997), Iranian director Abbas Kiarostami (b. 1940) has tied realism's revelation of the world to a meditation upon the filmmaking process by which this world is framed, captured, and constructed.

SEE ALSO *Expressionism; Ideology; Marxism; Narrative; Neorealism*

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Phil Watts

RECEPTION THEORY

Reception theory provides a means of understanding media texts by understanding how these texts are read by audiences. Theorists who analyze media through reception studies are concerned with the experience of cinema and television viewing for spectators, and how meaning is created through that experience. An important concept of reception theory is that the media text—the individual movie or television program—has no inherent meaning in and of itself. Instead, meaning is created in the interaction between spectator and text; in other words, meaning is created as the viewer watches and processes the film. Reception theory argues that contextual factors, more than textual ones, influence the way the spectator views the film or television program. Contextual factors include elements of the viewer's identity as well as circumstances of exhibition, the spectator's preconceived notions concerning the film or television program's genre and production, and even broad social, historical, and political issues. In short, reception theory places the viewer in context, taking into account all of the various factors that might influence how she or he will read and create meaning from the text.

METHODOLOGY

It is, of course, impossible to learn the reaction of each viewer to a given film. Instead, the goal of reception theory is to identify a range of possible reactions and interpretations at a particular historical moment. In order to do so, the reception theorist must acknowledge the wide variety of social identities and subject positions that each spectator brings to the cinema. All people possess multiple subject identities, both consciously and unconsciously constructed and maintained, including age, race, gender, nationality, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religious beliefs, and class. How the spectator defines herself or himself as a person and as a member of a larger society affects how she or he will view a film. If a film has a strong feminist message, for example, it will likely be viewed differently by a person who considers herself a feminist than by a person who does not. Similarly, a film about racial struggle will probably be read in different ways by audience members depending on whether or not they are themselves members of a racial minority. Thus a spectator will watch films from several subject positions at the same time, and in each cinema experience different positions will be appealed to at different times.

Another factor in how a film is received by an audience member is that person's preconceived notions about the film. A viewer's expectations for a film, and the experience of the film, can be affected by what is known about the film's genre; its actors, writers, director, or other production personnel; the circumstances of its production (for example, if there were reports of problems on the set); and its marketing or merchandising. The conditions of a film's exhibition also factor in to its eventual reception. A film shown in an IMAX theater with state-of-the-art sound will be received very differently from a film viewed in a drive-in theater or on a DVD at home. Furthermore, the circumstances in which a person views a film (with a group of friends, on a blind date, alone) can affect how she or he experiences the film. Social and historical factors must also be considered in reception studies. Finally, audiences watching *M*A*S*H* (1972) at the height of the Vietnam War, or those viewing *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004) during the buildup to that year's US presidential election, would understand these films based on the current social

and political climates; audiences who watch these films at other historical moments would most likely have different reactions to them. Reception theory attempts to account for all of these factors in determining how audiences experience motion pictures.

The most important, and at the same time most difficult, task in reception studies is gathering the information necessary to analyze how audiences experience films. Ideally, the researcher interviews audience members to find out their reactions, but even this method is flawed, as individuals may not be aware of their various subject positions or may be unable to fully articulate how or why they interpret a film in a particular way. Despite these problems, this type of ethnographic research is the best way of determining a film's reception. However, when researching older films it is often impossible to interview individuals who saw them during their initial release. Therefore, researchers must frequently turn to other sources to help fill in the blanks.

Media accounts can be a useful tool in learning both how a film was presented and how it was received. Reviews give an idea of how contemporaneous audiences might have interpreted a film, although it is important to remember that the opinions of a professional film critic may not be representative of a large portion of the audience. Other sources of media accounts, such as letters to the editor, gossip columns, and newspaper and magazine articles can similarly help researchers understand a film's reception. Also important are sources from the film industry, including advertising, press releases, and other forms of publicity; these materials can bring to light some of the preconceived notions about the film that viewers brought with them into the theaters. Finally, fan discourse forms a crucial element when attempting to reconstruct how historical audiences experienced films. Materials such as fan letters, Web sites and Internet message boards, fan fiction, and fan clubs are examples of direct interaction between spectators and films, providing researchers with concrete examples of how some fans interpreted a film's meanings. Fan materials also are evidence of the fact that reception does not end when the film does, and the creation of meaning continues after the viewer has left the theater. The use of materials from the press, the film industry, and fan culture as a means of analyzing a film's reception is not ideal, and does not give a complete picture of how audiences interacted with a particular text; however, these sources do provide an impression of how a film was received, and can therefore be valuable tools in reception studies.

A reception analysis of a film will use all of these methods to arrive at an understanding of how the audiences interpreted and understood the text. For an analysis of the reception of *The Sound of Music* (1965), for example, a researcher will start by considering the various factors that might have influenced how the film was viewed. How might individuals experience the film based on their subject positions? Would a woman interpret the character of Maria as progressive because of her strong will and outspokenness, or regressive because of her positioning as a caretaker and nurturer to others? How would the film's meaning change for different age groups, considering the inclusion of characters ranging in age from young children to senior citizens? What effect would the film's depiction of Catholicism have on viewers of various religions, or viewers who are not religious? How would the absence of racial minorities in the film affect the interpretations of spectators of diverse races? Along with questions of interpretation based on subject identity, a reception studies analysis of *The Sound of Music* would try to determine what sort of preconceived notions about the film viewers brought with them and how those notions affected their understanding of it. The fact that it is a musical would create a certain set of expectations in the minds of viewers, and people who were familiar with other works by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, or who had seen the stage play on which the movie is based, would have a further set of expectations for the film. Production issues could have played a part in reception; viewers who knew that leading actor Christopher Plummer's singing voice was dubbed by another actor might have interpreted the film, and especially his songs, differently than viewers who did not have that knowledge. Audiences who saw the film projected in 70 mm during its initial run, and those who have seen the film in later years on television, video, DVD, or in screenings of *Sound of Music* sing-alongs, all have had different experiences of the film that would have an effect on its reception. Social and historical factors in 1965, the year of the film's release, would also have shaped the ways in which audiences interpreted the film's messages.

Despite all of the many factors involved in a film's reception, reception theory does not claim that a film's meaning is entirely open. On the contrary, there are limits to the potential meanings and interpretations that can be attached to a film. Social, cultural, and historical factors, elements of production and exhibition, and generic conventions and expectations restrict the ways a film can be interpreted. Spectators are constructed by their environment, and this affects and ultimately limits the ways in which they are able to view and understand cinematic texts.

RECEPTION STUDIES AND CLASSICAL FILM THEORY

Reception theory is grounded in history, rather than philosophy, and as a result it is primarily concerned with

uncovering how actual spectators interact with films. This is unlike many other major film theories, which posit an idealized, ahistorical spectator who passively absorbs meanings and messages embedded in the filmic text. Most of the classical film theories developed in the 1960s and 1970s, including structuralist, auteurist, formalist, Marxist, and psychoanalytic theories, argue that the text is the site of meaning. These theories are concerned with how viewers are affected by films, but the audiences they describe are comprised of idealized, homogenous spectators who all react to films in the same way, regardless of differences in race, gender, and other identifying factors. Much of classical film theory was influenced by the work of French theorists who, beginning in the late 1960s, argued the importance of ideology in various systems of representation. According to Marxist theorist Louis Althusser, the capitalist system operates through the use of so-called repressive state apparatuses (RSAs) such as the police, government, and military, and also through ideological state apparatuses (ISAs), which include schools, the family, religion, and media systems. RSAs are public institutions and function primarily through repression and violence. ISAs, on the other hand, function through ideology and work by enticing individuals to accept subject positions which benefit the dominant classes and perpetuate capitalism. According to this theory, the mass media, as an ISA, transmits the dominant ideology to passive spectators who internalize this ideology and become cooperative members of the capitalist system.

Althusser's theory of the media as an ideological state apparatus was embraced by classical film theorists, who examine the ways that the cinema influences spectators by analyzing the cinematic texts. These theorists assume that audiences will passively receive a film's ideological messages. Social identities and individual subject positions are not considered, nor are the conditions of exhibition or the social or historical moment. A major criticism of classical theories, then, is that the spectator is ahistorical and idealized, and plays no role in the creation of a film's meaning. Reception theory rejects this classical construction of the spectator, and instead focuses on viewers in the material world, and how they have actually read and understood media texts.

Because of their interest in film as a medium for ideology, classical film theories are overwhelmingly text-activated, operating from the assumption that meaning is created in the text and that the text determines the viewer's response. An alternate theoretical viewpoint is reader-activated, which examines the features of readers and how those features affect the reading experience. While reader-activated theories account for varying interpretations among readers, however, they still tend to make generalizations about individual interactions with texts and not to contextualize the reading experience. Janet Staiger proposes a third approach, a context-activated model which looks at the historical circumstances surrounding reception to place the reader/spectator in context. Context-activated theories examine everything from the individual's subject position to the text's mode of production and the circumstances of exhibition. The sum of these events gives meaning to the viewing or reading experience (*Interpreting Films*, pp. 45–48).

Drawing from Althusser's concept of ideological state apparatuses, and using context-activated theories, British cultural studies analyzes the ways that spectators interact with texts in specific contexts to create meanings. Originating in Marxist philosophy, British cultural studies sees the media as an influential communication tool controlled by those in power; the groups who control the media control the message, thereby maintaining their dominance. Where British cultural studies differs from classical film theory is in its conception of the spectator. Because the messages conveyed by the media are complex and varied, so are the interpretations available to viewers. The audience, then, is not uniform as in classical film theory, but rather heterogeneous and capable of interpreting a text's messages in a multitude of ways based on contextual factors. British cultural studies suggests three frameworks for reading texts, based on the work of theorist Stuart Hall: a dominant, or preferred reading accepts completely the ideology of the text, while an oppositional reading absolutely opposes the ideology involved; a third type, negotiated reading, both accepts and opposes parts of a text's ideology in order to suit the specific needs of the individual (pp. 136–137). These frameworks have proven useful for reception studies as a means of theorizing the wide variety of interpretations and meanings that viewers take from texts. Both British cultural studies and reception theory agree that the spectator's interaction with the text is complex, and that, unlike the passive, idealized spectator found in classical film theory, viewers can and do question and oppose the ideology presented to them by media institutions.

The framework of dominant, negotiated, and oppositional readings is not without problems, however. Because viewers can hold multiple positions towards a film text at once, most every reading becomes negotiated; in fact, the tripartite framework has since been replaced by a continuum ranging from dominant to oppositional. Furthermore, British cultural studies assume that oppositional readings are automatically progressive, and that dominant readings are regressive. However, if the ideology embedded in the text is itself progressive to begin with, then a dominant reading may be the preferred reading. Finally, Staiger offers criticisms of two fundamental assumptions of British cultural studies: first, that

all media texts reproduce the dominant ideology, and second, that readers fit neatly within socioeconomic categories (1992, pp. 73–74).

Part of the reluctance on the part of film theorists to turn to reception studies is based in the historical uses of audience analysis. Beginning in the early twentieth century, research on how films were being interpreted by audiences was used to advocate censorship. Reformers worried that spectators, especially children, were negatively influenced by what they saw onscreen, and they fought to ensure that the messages in films would be "appropriate," in their view, for impressionable viewers. Later, the film studios turned to audience research in the form of demographic information to learn how to market their films. But although the use of reception analysis for the purposes of censorship and marketing has contributed to film theorists' distrust of reception theory, reception theory has recently gained acceptance and is now acknowledged to be an important method of analyzing how audiences experience and interpret films.

SEE ALSO *Exhibition; Film Studies; Fans and Fandom; Ideology; Spectatorship and Audiences*

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Kristen Anderson Wagner

RELIGION

Traditionally, "religion" has been synonymous with "spirituality." The increasing divergence between the two terms, however—particularly within highly secularized Western cultures, where the former indicates denominational affiliation, the latter an often unchurched seeking—raises the question whether there is now a contrast between religious films and ones of spirituality. If the religious film usually promotes adherence to a single institutionalized faith, the film of spirituality may well tap various—sometimes incompatible—belief systems, respecting all but refusing to grant primacy to any one. Thus Andrei Tarkovsky's (1932–1986) career-end summa, *Offret* (*The Sacrifice*, 1986), splices Japanese and Christian beliefs into an ecumenical spirituality to match the coupling of yin and yang on the kimono of its protagonist, Alexander, who beseeches God to save the world from nuclear annihilation. Different belief systems—primarily Christian and Buddhist—are also fused in the more mainstream *The Matrix* (1999). The supernatural, meanwhile, an apparently cognate category, is usually less productive of spirituality than of audience *frissons*, as in the ghost film.

The possibility that a cinema of religion once prevailed and then declined presents itself most forcibly in the case of American film, whose deference towards religion sinks palpably as the desired national audience comprises fewer and fewer WASPS (white Anglo-Saxon Protestants). Among American directors, a deeply personal approach to religious themes has been rare, and is strongest in Martin Scorsese (b. 1942), whose Catholic background may be of relevance. In *Mean Streets* (1973), Charlie holds his hand above a candle, imagining hell, and the possibility that his sexual habits may take him there is underlined by the cut from its flame to the orange-lit bar where he prances with a near-naked dancer. The perils of the flesh recur in the controversial *Last Temptation of Christ* (1988)—that temptation being the recurrent one for cinematic priests: love of a woman. The later *Kundun* (1997), however, shows religion free of the earlier lures and passions. Scorsese is a rare exception to the rule whereby American cinema subordinates religiosity to its governing system of genre, as when it uses priests in token fashion as avuncular light relief (in countless films) or an embodiment of the main protagonist's conscience, as in *On the Waterfront* (1954).

THE "RELIGIOUS FILM": A GENRE?

The genre system has often been described as founded upon standardization. Variation may recommend a new product, but the deviation from the norm must not be so great as to make spectators feel cheated. Should this happen in a religious film, they may well not only walk out but accuse the filmmakers of the severest infraction—blasphemy. The religious film could thus be the least elastic of genres.

Whereas other genres can be seen as emerging and declining, hybridizing with others to prolong their lives, the religious film is unusually stable. Its sole durable combinations have been with two genres of which it is highly compatible, and it has surely been affected by their demises: silent melodrama and the historical epic. This fusion means that the Good-Evil distinction of silent melodrama differs from that of later melodrama in being mapped directly onto the maxims of Christianity, not just the vague, instinctual feeling that certain things are right and others wrong, which is prevalent in subsequent

Willem Dafoe as Jesus in* The Last Temptation of Christ *(Martin Scorsese, 1988). © UNIVERSAL PICTURES/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

decades. The demise of this earlier melodrama is rooted in its limitation of the audience to adherents of Christianity—a liability as society becomes more diverse, multicultural, and skeptical—and in the disappearance of silent cinema itself.

The second genre cross-pollinated with the religious film is the historical epic. Silent cinema is often both melodrama and epic, as in the films of D. W. Griffith (1875–1948), particularly *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Intolerance* (1916). As melodrama loses its explicit link to Christianity, however, the epic remains the religious film's lone partner in a pact to lure audiences by combining the visual impressiveness of the legendary "cast of thousands" with the authority of the text to be illustrated. The enormous crowds can become a material form of the sublimity invoked by the text, suggesting religion's world-conquering power. Such is the case in the great Hollywood biblical epics of the 1950s and early 1960s, such as *The Robe* (1953), *The Ten Commandments* (1956), *Ben-Hur* (1959), *King of Kings* (1961), and *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (1965). The epic and the religious film may be potentially strange bedfellows, however, as the epic fascination by excess is often charged with threatening religious morality with prurient hypocrisy. Hollywood and the religious film are also potentially incompatible in a culture of celebrity, it being arguable that religious films should not cast actors with "star quality" but rather figures with sufficient presence, dignity, and credibility to represent (not eclipse) the "real stars," their sacred prototypes. Pier Paolo Pasolini's (1922–1975) *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo* (*The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, 1964) is a particularly widely praised example of effective nonstar casting.

As the new site of epic experience became the science fiction film, its implicit spectator became less the adult member of a single faith community than the child animated by a generalized sense of wonder: Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) was the first film of a spirituality popularized still further by Steven Spielberg's *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977) and George Lucas's *Star Wars* (1977). No wonder that a British census saw some householders give Jedi as their religion. As the 1960s saw the heavily touted dawning of a supposed Age of Aquarius and the Western rise of less traditional forms of religion, Hollywood abandoned the "religious film" for horror films showering frissons upon unchurched youth, the new primary audience, as in *Rosemary's Baby* (1968) and *The Exorcist* (1973). In Kevin Smith's *Dogma* (1999), which clearly identifies with two rebel angels striving to reenter heaven through a loophole, countercultural and youth culture urges validate rebellion. Similarly, other films may deem religion crazed, maligned, and even abusively authoritarian (e.g., *Carrie* [1976], *Lawnmower Man* [1992]). "Religious film" persists in its strong form only in certain Catholic or neo-Catholic directors who are mostly Italian (Franco Zeffirelli [b. 1923], Ermanno Olmi [b. 1931]): after all, no sounding of Italian society can ignore the pervasive influence of Roman Catholicism. The 1960s upheaval in the genre system may virtually bury its once most solid, predictable element: the religious film.

CINEMA, MODERNITY, AND RELIGION

If cinema issues from Western societies driven by modernity, can it ever be anything other than an object of suspicion for believers, particularly those of non-Western societies whose norms and jurisprudence invoke religious texts, aspiring to theocracy rather than democracy? One reply (from one group—the Christian one—in one part of the world—the moneyed West) may be that cinema is a powerful evangelical tool. Accept the idea that God is representable—one reading of the Christian belief that God condescended to represent himself in a man, Jesus the Christ, though fears of blasphemy may cause indirection in representing him—and cinema becomes a potential medium for fulfilling the "Great Commission" of Matthew 28:19–20 by disseminating the Good News. The films that do so will probably not be the ones acclaimed in Western multiplexes; rather, they will be produced by particular faith groups rather than big studios, and be watched as one-off events in tents—as the the very first Western films were. Their effectiveness may not be overwhelming—many Muslims will leave a film of Christ's life before the Resurrection, as they see the Crucifixion as the end of the story, and Jesus as merely a man—but the visual message can draw the world's unlettered masses as the stained glass of medieval cathedrals had done. Strict followers of Islam and Orthodox Judaism, who reject the possibility of figurative religious representation, will reject film too, as did the Taliban in Afghanistan. In practice, though, Islamists' views on cinema have not always been so theologically grounded: clerics may have burned cinemas to protest their supposed corruption of the Iranian populace under the shah, but once in power the Ayatollah Khomeini (1900–1989) incorporated film into a program of promoting "Islamic culture." In this moralistic program, *Star Wars* and *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* were acceptable imports, despite their origins in the corrupt West.

In recent years, the issue of cinema's capacity to convert has been raised most forcibly by Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Christ* (2004). Despite its association with Gibson, it is no typical Hollywood blockbuster production: during shooting, the industry was skeptical of a film in Aramaic, an apparently eccentric star folly. This deeply personal project by a believing Catholic

KRZYSZTOF KIEŚLOWSKI

b. Warsaw, Poland, 27 June 1941, d. 13 March 1996

Although Krzysztof Kieślowski began his career as a documentarist, subsequently becoming a leading figure in the pre-Solidarity ferment of Poland's Cinema of Moral Anxiety, in the 1980s his work took a turn toward the philosophical, then the ethico-metaphysical, that yielded dramatizations of religious and spiritual issues of a seriousness rivalled in recent decades only by the films of Andrei Tarkovsky. This spiritual-metaphysical turn is often linked to Kieślowski's first collaboration with Krzysztof Piesiewicz, a Catholic lawyer, in 1985's *No End*, but a philosophical and metaphysical concern with chance and destiny also pervades Kieślowski's *Przypadek* (*Blind Chance*, 1987).

The collaboration with Piesiewicz on *Dekalog* (*The Decalogue*, 1989) marks an intensification of Kieślowski's investigation of religious, ethical, and metaphysical issues. *The Decalogue* comprises ten fifty-odd minute films, each loosely tied to one of the Ten Commandments, each lodging an enigmatic witness—termed an angel by some critics—in the margins of the various stories about the inhabitants of a single housing block. With the exception of "Dekalog 1," which relentlessly tracks the implications of "thou shalt have no other gods before me," the witness in each story is the series' main link to a transcendence whose purposes are unclear. In "Dekalog 1" the dialogue of faith and unbelief pursued by many religious films shapes the difference between the rationalist character Krzysztof and his Catholic sister Irena. Consulting the meteorological office, Krzysztof calculates that a nearby frozen mini-lake is safe for his son Paweł to skate. He is proved cruelly and inexplicably wrong, and the disaster of Paweł's drowning suggests the intervention of unknown forces (a computer that behaves strangely? the witness encamped by the lake? a punitive God?). The film ends with Krzysztof overturning a row of candles before an image of the Madonna in a partly completed church: like many people crying out to God or gods, he finds suffering incomprehensible. Later parts of *The Decalogue* are more ethical than spiritual, though the presence of the witness supplies a continual undertone of the metaphysical.

Metaphysical enigma pervades *La Double vie de Véronique* (*The Double Life of Véronique*, 1991), about two identical girls who live, separately, in Poland and France, and experience different fates. The film leaves provocatively open the question of whether any wider order frames their stories and might render them comprehensible. Similarly mysterious is the status of the judge in *Trois couleurs: Rouge* (*Three Colours: Red*, 1994), who is godlike, and may be God incognito, being apparently able to steer the chance encounters of a young girl (Valentine) towards a prospective lover, Auguste. Issues of theodicy loom large, however, as Valentine meets Auguste through a ferry-sinking that drowns hundreds: divine election appears to be distinctly capricious. But *Red* is no Buñuelian, simply blasphemous indictment of the divine, for the events remain mysterious. Kieślowski's sensitivity to suffering and his desire to pose questions rather than offer answers—particularly not pat ones—resonate with the Western spirituality of recent times.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Przpadek (Blind Chance, 1987), *Bez Końca* (*No End*, 1985), *Dekalog* (*The Decalogue,* 1989), *La Double vie de Véronique* (*The Double Life of Véronique,* 1991), *Trois couleurs: Bleu* (*Three Colours: Blue*, 1993), *Trois couleurs: Blanc* (*Three Colours: White, 1994*), *Trois couleurs: Rouge* (*Three Colours: Red, 1994)*

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Paul Coates

Krzysztof Kieslowski directing* Trois couleurs: Bleu *(Three colours: Blue, 1993). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

emphasizes both the nails driven through the hand of Jesus and the sword the gospels said would pierce the heart of his mother, and is shaped by Mary's agonized following of her son's Passion. Industry astonishment at its box-office success indicates the distance between contemporary Hollywood and the 1950s era of the biblical epic. While some objected to its violence, it could be deemed an inevitable part of a realistic account of the brutal arrest, trial, and crucifixion of Jesus Christ, though some of the indignities visited upon his body do indeed lack scriptural warrant (as when the cross to which he has been nailed falls forward, crushing his body excruciatingly). Gibson cinematizes and elaborates upon the Stations of the Cross, whose medieval and Renaissance iconography he echoes at points. Many Christians found it a powerful, conscience-shaking reminder of the intensity of Jesus's suffering for the sins of the world, and Pope John Paul II reportedly averred after a viewing "it is all true." If any have been converted by the film, it has been as individuals within the ticket-buying public for a commercially released work, not as members of the communities assembled for a free screening where that kind of film evangelizes the non-Christian world, Gibson's evangelizes one sometimes seen as "post-Christian."

Insofar as cinema enters non-Western societies, it does so initially as a foreign body. Local religious hierarchies' fears of a possible Trojan horse can be soothed by pointing to such phenomena as the Indian mythological films that flesh out divine exploits for communities watching in an awed hush. The Indian mythological films are for local consumption, however, and aesthetic cogency is not their primary aim. Critical films—such as Satyajit Ray's *Devi* (1960), where a man's idolatry of his daughter-in-law extends into viewing her as the incarnation of the Goddess—are viewed more widely, through an international festival and art-cinema network. Their primary allegiance is not to any faith, but to the aesthetic. One result may be a cinema with a complexion like that of the New Iranian cinema, which arguably becomes enigmatic and allegorical by omitting almost completely one of the primary motivations of many Iranians—religion—to address which might endanger both film and filmmaker.

Conflicts between religious (traditional) and secular (modern) orders pervade many of the most significant films on religious topics. Religion becomes the venal ally of the czarist authorities in a Soviet film like Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin* (1925). The secular-religious conflict animates the disagreements between believing knight and skeptical squire in the plague-ridden medieval world of Ingmar Bergman's (b. 1918) *Det Sjunde inseglet* (*The Seventh Seal*, 1957), and continues—internalized—in the heart of a doubting pastor in his *Nattvardsgästerna* (*Winter Light*, 1963), the most explicitly religious film in his trilogy about "the silence of God." A similar contrast runs between father and son in *Devi*: the absence in Calcutta of the skeptical son Umaprasad frees his believing father to cast his daughter-in-law as an incarnation of the goddess Durga. Such strong contrasts make for powerful dramas that are most intense when most unresolved and mysterious. Lars von Trier's dissolution of the mystery at the end of his *Breaking the Waves* (1996), by way of contrast, may enact a Kierkegaardian leap from the aesthetic to the religious: heavenly bells toll for Bess, who had prostituted herself for her husband and feared that the accident that sent him home may have been God's cruel answer to her selfish prayer not to be parted from him; despite appearances, and the condemnation of a sectarian church, she was a saint. A similar leap marks the end of another Danish film, Carl Dreyer's (1889–1968) *Ordet* (*The Word*, 1955), where one character—Inge—is resurrected. Meanwhile, modernity mocks religion relentlessly in *Viridiana* (1961), *Simón del desierto* (*Simon of the Desert*, 1965), and *La Voie lactée* (*The Milky Way*, 1969), all by the Spanish surrealist Luis Buñuel (1900–1983), which view saintliness as a ludicrously inadequate response to inveterate social problems.

Trois couleurs Bleu, (Three Colours: Blue*, 1993), the first part of Krzysztof Kieslowski's* Trois couleurs *trilogy, deals with spiritual withdrawal from the world.* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Despite various attempts to define what Paul Schrader has called a ''transcendental style'' of cinema, believers may be skeptical of conflations of the aesthetic and the religious. Conventions of seeing are arguably more important than any particular stylistic strategy: believers will see the transcendent in any pious retelling of biblical events or the lives of the saints, however kitschy, while evocations of an uncategorized ontological strangeness presuppose unchurched spectators. The formal strategies usually termed ''transcendental'' are deviations from norms. Schrader describes them quasi-religiously, as stylistic ''asceticism,'' and finds them exemplified in the works of Carl Dreyer and Robert Bresson (1901–1999) in particular. Others might see them as ''modernist'' rather than ''religious'': leaving characters on one side of the image to rediscover them mysteriously present on the other—a perceptual dislocation in the Schrader/Scorsese *Taxi Driver* (1976)—becomes ''transcendental'' only when married to explicitly mystical content, as in Tarkovsky's *Nostalghia* (*Nostalgia*, 1983). For the theologian Amédée Ayfre, religious form and content meet in a focus upon the face, the location of the eyes so often termed windows of the soul. Such a spiritually limned cinema of the face is found in, for instance, Kieślowski, Bergman, the Dreyer of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (*The Passion of Joan of Arc*, 1928), and the Larisa Shepitko of *Voskhozhdeniye* (*Ascent*, 1976). It avoids mainstream cinema's dissection of a (usually female) body into fetishized parts. Its aim is *agape*, not eros. Meanwhile, the work of Tarkovsky—especially *Stalker* (1979)—often evokes a spirituality of desolation—what St. John of the Cross called ''the dark night of the soul''—by averting the head to show only its back, while the focus upon hands and feet in the late films of Bresson may reinforce a general absence of signifiers of the divine. Bresson's nonprofessional actors themselves are framed not as revelations, as in Italian neorealism, but as ciphers. The result has been seen

as verging upon nihilism, as in *L'Argent* (*Money*, 1983), whose reworking of a Tolstoy story omits the original's charting of the positive contagion of the Gospel in its second half.

RELIGIOUS FILM AND GENDER

Whereas many post-1960s religious films focus upon priests racked by internal spiritual torment, the female religious path seems often to run through physical victimization and to end in sainthood (see, for example, *Breaking the Waves*). This itinerary is central to Dreyer's *Passion of Joan of Arc*, and Joan has interested many filmmakers, particularly French ones, such as Bresson, Jacques Rivette, and Luc Besson. The leading French director of the *nouvelle vague*, Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930), has addressed religion in *"Je vous salue, Marie"* (*Hail Mary*, 1985) and *Hélas pour moi* (*Woe Is Me*, 1993), which link Christian and classical mythological themes to the interest in relationships between older men and younger women found in some of his nonreligious films of the same period. Godard questions the adequacy both of representation in general and of the representation of the divine in particular.

The majority of films about life within the single-sex religious orders are drawn—as cinema is so often—to the female order, in this case the convent, which, even at its best, becomes a place from which to escape into "real life": *The Sound of Music* (1965) is the most widely disseminated instance. Mainstream cinema's polarization of female images—between adoration and demonization, "the mother and the whore"—is reproduced in convent films, whose nun is either angelic, fun-loving and/or musical, or vaguely sinister and possibly deranged. From Michael Powell's *Black Narcissus* (1947), whose color stresses the earth-moving status of lipstick applied to a nun's lips, to Jerzy Kawalerowicz's austerely formalized *Matka Joanna od aniolów* (*Mother Joanna of the Angels*, 1961) and Ken Russell's flamboyant *The Devils* (1971), various films see female celibacy as catalyzing breakdowns far more spectacular than priestly ones. It is thus intriguing to note that one of the most restrained and credible versions of a priest thus tormented should have been the work of a woman, *The Third Miracle* (1999), by Agnieszka Holland.

POSTSCRIPT: RELIGION, FILM, AND THE VATICAN

It may be valuable in the end to consider the opinions of an institution more powerful than this encyclopedia, more authoritative than this author: the Roman Catholic Church. Popular perceptions of the interrelationship of art and religion often focus upon the bans and boycotts instigated by organizations such as the Catholic League of Decency and highlighted by media that feed on the spectacle of protest and the identification of religion with "Thou shalt nots." The Vatican can commend as well as forbid, however. In 1995, to mark the centenary of cinema, it listed forty-five "Best Films" in three categories: "Religion," "Values," and "Art." The religious films were heterogeneous, ranging from Hollywood epics to films by Tarkovsky, though—as might be expected—Jesus and the saints comprise almost half of the main protagonists. Only Tarkovsky and Dreyer appeared twice in the "Religion" section; Bergman was restricted to the "Values" section, with *The Seventh Seal* (1957) and *Smultronstället* (*Wild Strawberries*, 1957). The full list of religious films is: *Andrey Rublyov* (*Andrei Rublev*, 1969), *Babettes gæstebud* (*Babette's Feast*, 1987), *Ben-Hur* (1959), *Francesco, giullare di Dio* (*The Flowers of St. Francis*, 1950), *Francesco* (1989), *The Gospel According to St. Matthew* (1964), *La Passion de Notre-Seigneur Jésus Christ* (*Life and Passion of Christ*, 1905), *A Man for All Seasons* (1966), *The Mission* (1986), *Monsieur Vincent* (1947), *Nazarin* (1959), *The Word* (1955), *The Passion of Joan of Arc* (1928), *The Sacrifice* (1986), and *Thérèse* (1986). The list can be accessed, with comments, at www.nccbuscc.org/fb/vaticanfilms.htm. It may be significant that only three of these are set in the twentieth century (one only just: *Nazarin*, in 1905), reflecting the often embattled status of religion within the modernity of which cinema is a prime mediator.

SEE ALSO *Epic Films; Historical Films*

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Paul Coates

RKO RADIO PICTURES

The history of RKO (aka Radio-Keith-Orpheum, aka RKO Radio Pictures) is utterly unique among the Hollywood studios, particularly the Big Five integrated majors. It was the last of the major studios to be created and the first (and only) studio to expire, with its corporate lifespan bracketed and defined by two epochal events, the coming of sound and the coming of television—events that circumscribed not only RKO's history but classical Hollywood's as well. Moreover, because it was created in October 1928, one year before the stock market crash that preceded the Depression, RKO was plagued by economic hardships early on, including bankruptcy in the early 1930s, from which it never fully recovered. Thus the studio lacked the resources, the stable production operations, and the consistent management and business practices that characterized the other majors. As RKO historian Richard Jewell writes: "RKO existed in a perpetual state of transition: from one regime to another, from one set of production policies to the next, from one group of filmmakers to an altogether different group. Being a less stable studio that its famous competitors, the company never 'settled down,' never discovered its real identity" (Jewell, p. 10).

This instability proved to be a mixed blessing, as RKO was rocked by a succession of financial and organizational crises yet took truly courageous risks and produced a number of historic films and canonized classics including *King Kong* (1933), *Bringing Up Baby* (1938), *Citizen Kane* (1941), and *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946). RKO's financial distress sorely limited its pool of contract filmmaking talent, but it led to innovative and productive alliances with independent producers like Walt Disney (1901–1966) and Sam Goldwyn (1881–1974), freelance directors like John Ford (1894–1973) and George Stevens (1904–1975), and top stars like Cary Grant (1904–1986), Carole Lombard (1908–1942), and Irene Dunne (1898–1990). And although RKO lacked the corporate stability and creative identity necessary to establish a distinctive house style, it did create a number of "signature" film cycles and series, including a Depression-era run of Fred Astaire-Ginger Rogers musicals, a wartime cycle of low-budget horror films, and a succession of film noir thrillers throughout the 1940s.

RKO also saw an astounding turnover in the executive ranks, which was another key factor in its failure to develop a "real identity." Here the talent proved remarkably uneven, ranging from David Selznick (1902–1965), who briefly ran the studio in the early 1930s, to the monomaniacal Howard Hughes (1905–1976), who purchased the company in 1948 and instigated its decade-long demise. From the moment he took control of RKO, Hughes made one disastrous business decision after another, and in 1955 he sold off the studio's assets—both its films and its production facilities—to the burgeoning television industry. Despite a troubled, turbulent history that led to its eventual collapse, however, and despite being the only major studio in Hollywood's history to cease production-distribution operations altogether, RKO's legacy survives in its films, available to new audiences on cable movie channels and DVD reissues, and also in the sporadic efforts to exploit the enduring value of its "brand" and the remake rights to its classic films.

THE FORMATION AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF RKO

Legend has it that RKO was created in a 1928 meeting between RCA president David Sarnoff (1891–1971) and Boston financier Joseph Kennedy (father of JFK) in the Oyster Bar in New York's Grand Central Station. While the meeting itself may have been apocryphal, Sarnoff and Kennedy did in fact control the elements that would merge to create RKO. Most of those elements had been in place for years, dating back to a 1921 alliance between Robertson-Cole, a British import-export firm, and a minor US distributor, Exhibitors Mutual, which launched a modest Hollywood production operation on a 13.5-acre site at the corner of Gower and Melrose. The company was reorganized in 1922 as the Film Booking Offices of America (FBO), and functioned primarily as a distributor of European and independent American films, along with the company's own output of decidedly second-rate genre pictures. FBO was bought in 1926 by Kennedy, who had little impact on operations beyond the installation, a year later, of William LeBaron (1883–1958) as studio chief.

Meanwhile, Sarnoff was looking for an entry into the movie business to demonstrate RCA's new "optical" (sound-on-film) system, Photophone, as an alternative to Western Electric's dominant sound-on-disk system. In early 1928, as Warner Bros.' *The Jazz Singer* (1927) ignited the "talkie boom," Sarnoff acquired substantial interest in FBO and, with Kennedy, began shopping for a theater chain. They finally settled on the Keith-Albee-Orpheum (K-A-O) circuit of some 700 vaudeville houses. The legendary Oyster Bar meeting in late 1928 purportedly closed the K-A-O deal, with RCA controlling the $300 million company—dubbed Radio-Keith-Orpheum—and Sarnoff taking command as board chairman.

Sarnoff installed a management team including former FBO executive Joseph I. Schnitzer (1887–1944) as president, B. B. Kahane as secretary-treasurer, and William LeBaron as production head. Schnitzer immediately signaled RKO's presence as a major studio power by paying hefty sums for the screen rights to several major Broadway hits, most notably the Florence Ziegfeld musical *Rio Rita*, which quickly went into production at the Gower Street facility and was released in September 1929, giving RKO its first hit. The Wall Street crash a few weeks later scarcely dimmed Sarnoff's hopes or undercut his effort to develop RKO-Radio and RCA's other media subsidiary, NBC (then a radio network, although television was in serious development as well), into America's first entertainment conglomerate. Sarnoff also expanded RKO's physical capabilities with the purchase in 1929 of a "ranch" in the San Fernando Valley for exterior sets and locations, and the 1930 acquisition of the US holdings of the French film giant Pathé, including production facilities, contract talent, a newsreel division, and an international distribution network.

These added resources became a serious burden when the Depression finally hit in 1931, as were RKO's inefficient production operations and its theater chain (roughly 160 of which were wholly owned, making RKO responsible for the entire mortgage and debt service). In an effort to enhance efficiency as well as the quality and consistency of the studio's output, Sarnoff aggressively pursued young David Selznick, the son of an industry pioneer who already, at age twenty-nine, had extensive experience as a production executive at both MGM and Paramount. Sarnoff hired Selznick in October 1931 as RKO's vice president in charge of production, and the results were swift and significant. Selznick consolidated production at RKO-Radio (the main studio at 780 Gower Street) and cut production costs substantially. He hired Merian C. Cooper (1893–1973) and Pandro S. (Pan) Berman (1905–1996) as his executive assistants, planning to give them their own production units, and he also recruited top filmmaking talent like director George Cukor (1899–1983) and ingénue Katharine Hepburn (1907–2003). Selznick's own tastes were evident as well, particularly in several "woman's pictures" and high-class adaptations that were resisted by the New York office but emerged as solid commercial hits. These included two Cukor-directed films in 1932, *What Price Hollywood?* and *A Bill of Divorcement*, the latter costarring John Barrymore (1882–1942) and Hepburn in her screen debut. Hepburn was top-billed in the Cukor-directed *Little Women* (1933), which secured her stardom.

Despite this success, Selznick's executive prowess was severely compromised when an executive shake-up at RCA in 1932 put NBC president Merlin ("Deac") Aylesworth in the chief executive role at RKO-Radio (parent company of RKO Pictures). Aylesworth tried to run the movie studio as well as the radio network, which led to increasing conflicts with Selznick, who left to supervise his own production unit at MGM in early 1933—only weeks before RKO fell into receivership (i.e., bankruptcy). Although it would take the studio nearly a decade to climb out of receivership—versus Fox, Paramount, and Universal, all of which recovered from bankruptcy in far less time—RKO continued to produce and release pictures, enjoying considerable success in the mid-1930s, due largely to decisions made by the outgoing Selznick. One was the approval and ongoing support of Cooper's pet project, *King Kong* (1933), which he coproduced, coscripted, and codirected with Ernest B. Schoedsack (1893–1979). *King Kong* was released some two months after Selznick's departure (he is credited as executive producer) and was a major critical and commercial success. Selznick also

approved a screen test for Fred Astaire (1899–1987), which led to an RKO contract and a supporting role in a late-1933 release, *Flying Down to Rio*, in which he and Ginger Rogers (1911–1995) first teamed in a musical number.

Selznick also left behind two well-trained executives in Cooper and Pan Berman, each of whom served briefly as studio production head from 1933 to 1934. Cooper left to launch Pioneer Pictures and Berman soon returned to the producer ranks, where his main responsibility was the Astaire-Rogers musicals that were so vital to RKO's Depression-era fortunes. These included *The Gay Divorcee* in 1934, *Roberta* and *Top Hat* in 1935, *Follow the Fleet* and *Swing Time* in 1936, *Shall We Dance* in 1937, *Carefree* in 1938, and *The Story of Vernon and Irene Castle* in 1939. Five of the eight films were directed by Mark Sandrich (1900–1945), who along with Berman was the chief architect of a cycle that deftly blended the dance musical and romantic comedy genres, exploiting the two stars' considerable versatility as actors and musical performers. While the Astaire-Rogers films gave RKO a signature star-genre formula and reliable box-office commodity, the rest of its output was wildly eclectic and generally inconsistent. Berman supervised most of the studio's A-class productions, many of them directed by freelance filmmakers in short-term or nonexclusive deals—as with John Ford's *The Informer* (1935), a surprise hit that won its director an Oscar®, and Howard Hawks's (1896–1977) *Bringing Up Baby* (1938), the screwball comedy classic with Grant and Hepburn that was a major critical and box-office disappointment on its initial release.

The unevenness of RKO's output was due in large part to the rapid turnover of top executives and frequent shifts in ownership and control, as a half-dozen chief executives passed through the front office between 1933 and 1938. A crucial change in ownership occurred in 1935, when Floyd Odlum's Atlas Corporation purchased half interest in RKO from RCA. Despite RCA's diminished ownership, its association with broadcasting—and especially television, then in an active experimental mode—did attract major independent producer Walt Disney, who left United Artists (UA) in 1936 for a distribution deal with RKO. The war would postpone television's arrival for another decade, but the Disney deal did give RKO its biggest hit of the era, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, a late 1937 release that was Disney's first feature-length animated film and Hollywood's biggest box-office hit of the decade.

REWORKING THE UA MODEL

The success of Disney's *Snow White* was a harbinger of major changes in RKO's production policies and market strategy, which coalesced after the arrival of George Schaefer (1888–1981) as RKO president in late 1938. Schaefer was a former top executive at United Artists who was hired to adapt the UA model—i.e., the financing and distribution of independently produced A-class pictures—to RKO's resources. Schaefer took complete control of the studio, displacing Pan Berman, who had returned for a second stint as production chief and had provided the only real consistency in terms of management and creative vision at the studio since its founding. Berman clashed with Schaefer and soon accepted a position at MGM, although he did finish off the 1939 campaign, which was typically eclectic and also the strongest in studio history. RKO's 1939 slate included *Gunga Din*, a Kipling-inspired adventure fantasy directed by George Stevens and starring Cary Grant, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. (1909–2000), and Victor McLaglen (1883–1959); *Love Affair*, a romantic drama starring Irene Dunne (1898–1990) and Charles Boyer (1899–1978) that was written, produced, and directed by Leo McCarey; *The Story of Vernon and Irene Castle*, a musical biopic and the last of RKO's Astaire-Rogers teamings, directed by H. C. Potter (1904–1977); *Bachelor Mother*, a surprise comedy hit starring Ginger Rogers and directed by newcomer Garson Kanin (1912–1999); and *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, an adaptation of Victor Hugo's novel starring Charles Laughton (1899–1962) and directed by William Dieterle (1893–1972).

Schaefer, meanwhile, signed or extended a wide range of independent deals with filmmakers like Hawks and McCarey and top stars like Grant and Dunne. In fact, by 1940 Ginger Rogers was the only major star under exclusive contract at RKO; then, after an Oscar®-winning performance in *Kitty Foyle* (1940), Rogers was awarded a limited, nonexclusive pact in 1941. Schaefer signed a distribution deal with Sam Goldwyn that year which was similar to Disney's in that Goldwyn had his own studio and line of credit, allowing him to independently finance and produce, with RKO providing distribution. Disney and Goldwyn supplied many of RKO's "prestige" releases and top star vehicles in the early 1940s, including Disney's *Pinocchio* (1940), *Dumbo* (1941), *Fantasia*, and *Bambi* (both 1942); and Goldwyn's *The Little Foxes* (1941), a quintessential Bette Davis (1908–1989) melodrama directed by William Wyler (1902–1981); *Ball of Fire* (1941), a Hawks-directed screwball comedy starring Gary Cooper (1901–1961) and Barbara Stanwyck; and *The Pride of the Yankees* (1942), a biopic starring Cooper as Babe Ruth, directed by Sam Wood (1883–1949). Schaefer also signed a two-picture deal in 1940 with David Selznick for Alfred Hitchcock's (1899–1980) services, resulting in an ill-advised romantic comedy *Mr. and Mrs. Smith* (1941), as well as a solid hit—and a return to directorial

ORSON WELLES

b. George Orson Welles, Kenosha, Wisconsin, 6 May 6 1915, d. 10 October 1985

Orson Welles remains one of Hollywood's most legendary and paradoxical figures, thanks to his role in creating *Citizen Kane* (1941), widely regarded as Hollywood's signal achievement, and his continual battle with the studio system. Welles's historic entry into Hollywood was the result of both his own precocious talent and the particular industry conditions at the time.

Born to a well-to-do Midwestern family, Welles was a gifted child who developed early interests in theater and the arts, traveled extensively, and made his acting debut on Broadway and on radio by age twenty. He teamed with John Houseman to form the Mercury Theatre stage company in 1937, and landed his own CBS radio drama series a year later. A radio adaptation of H. G. Wells's *The War of the Worlds* on Halloween night in 1938 caused a national sensation and caught the attention of Hollywood—and particularly George Schaefer, who was looking for new talent to bolster RKO's output of A-class features as the United States pulled out of the Depression.

In July 1939, Schaefer signed Welles to an unprecedented two-year, two-picture contract as producer-director-writer-actor. Welles reserved complete control over all aspects of his productions, including "final cut," as long as he remained within the studio-approved schedule and budget. This historic pact generated considerable resentment in Hollywood but fundamentally transformed the individual authority, creative control, and trademark status of top filmmaking talent. Welles maintained artistic control over *Kane*, but the controversy surrounding its release and its modest box-office performance, along with Schaefer's own diminishing authority at RKO, caused Welles to lose control of his next project, an adaptation of Booth Tarkington's 1918 novel *The Magnificent Ambersons*. Welles was cutting *Ambersons* in December 1941 when the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7 dramatically changed the fate of both Welles and his production. At the behest of Nelson Rockefeller and in support of the wartime Good Neighbor Policy with Latin America, Welles set off to South America to work on "It's All True," an experimental amalgam of fiction and documentary that was destined to remain unfinished. Meanwhile, the RKO brass deemed *Ambersons* too long and too downbeat, and instructed editor Robert Wise to drastically cut the picture and to reshoot the somber ending, replacing it with a more upbeat resolution.

Thus ended Welles's relationship with RKO—and began a mutual love-hate relationship between Welles and the Hollywood studio powers that would persist for decades, eventually recasting the role of the victimized auteur in truly mythic proportions. Although he would have a successful career as an actor, most of Welles's subsequent films were compromised by inadequate funding, including those made outside of Hollywood.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

As Actor: *The Third Man* (1949); As Actor and Director: *Citizen Kane* (1941), *The Lady from Shanghai* (1947), *Mr. Arkadin* (1955), *Touch of Evil* (1958), *Campanadas a medianoche* (*Chimes at Midnight*, 1966); As Director: *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942)

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Thomas Schatz

form—with the psychological thriller, *Suspicion* (1941), starring Cary Grant and Joan Fontaine (b. 1917) in an Oscar®-winning role.

Schaefer's most radical and significant independent deal involved Orson Welles (1915–1985), who was signed in July 1939 to a two-year contract that called for the twenty-four-year-old stage and radio prodigy (and Hollywood neophyte) to produce, write, direct, and act in two motion pictures. The deal included sizable salaries for Welles and his Mercury Theatre stage company, and also gave Welles profit participation and "final cut" on each film as long as he stayed within the allotted schedule

Orson Welles as Harry Lime in* The Third Man *(Carol Reed, 1949). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

and budget. After two false starts, including an adaptation of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* that RKO nixed due to costs, Welles eventually teamed with screenwriting veteran Herman J. Mankiewicz (1897–1953) on a thinly veiled biopic of newspaper tycoon (and Hollywood producer) William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951). The result, of course, was *Citizen Kane*, certainly the most important film in RKO's history—and perhaps in Hollywood's as well. Welles followed with an adaptation of Booth Tarkington's novel, *The Magnificent Ambersons*, which was being edited by Welles and Robert Wise (1914–2005) in December 1941, when the US entry into World War II took Welles to South America for a documentary project. Meanwhile, Wise was instructed to cut the over-long (and by then well over-budget) *Ambersons* and to create a new upbeat ending that was distinctly at odds with Welles's vision. *The Magnificent Ambersons* was a critical and commercial failure on its release in July 1942—just weeks after Schaefer tendered his resignation and left the studio.

WARTIME RECOVERY

Schaefer's departure in mid-1942 signaled the deepening financial concerns at RKO, which had not returned to consistent profitability despite the waning Depression, the banner year in 1939 (which resulted in net losses for the studio), and the emergence from receivership in January 1940. By early 1942 it was clear that the "war boom" would be as momentous as the talkie boom that spawned RKO, yet the studio continued to show losses despite the favorable socioeconomic conditions while its major competitors did record business. Floyd Odlum (1892–1976) decided to take charge, sweeping

VAL LEWTON

b. Vladimir Ivan Leventon, Yalta, Ukraine, Russia, 7 May 1904, d. 14 March 1951

Val Lewton was a significant figure in 1940s Hollywood, known primarily for producing a wartime cycle of innovative B-grade horror films for RKO. Lewton's production unit and his role as "hyphenate" writer-producer indicated other important industry trends, as did RKO's effort to upgrade B-picture production to exploit the overheated first-run market during the war boom.

Lewton migrated from Russia to the United States at age ten, and was raised by his mother and her sister, stage and screen star Alla Nazimova. After attending Columbia, he went to work at MGM, where he became producer David Selznick's story editor—a position he continued at Selznick International Pictures from 1935 to 1942, working on such films as *Gone with the Wind* (1939) and *Rebecca* (1940) before signing with RKO, where his task was to produce low-budget projects with A-class production values. He assembled a unit that enjoyed immediate success with its debut effort, *Cat People* (1942), a dark, intense thriller about a Serbian girl, recently arrived in New York, who becomes a deadly tigress when sexually aroused. A modest hit, *Cat People* rejuvenated the horror genre, introducing a psychosexual dimension and bringing it "closer to home" with its New York setting. The heavy use of shadow and night scenes also served both a practical and a stylistic function, disguising the film's limited resources.

After *Cat People*, Lewton produced a "female gothic" variation of the horror film with *I Walked With a Zombie* (1943), a reworking of *Jane Eyre* (à la *Rebecca*). Then in quick succession the unit turned out *The Leopard Man*, *The Seventh Victim*, *The Ghost Ship* (all 1943), and *Curse of the Cat People* (1944). All were low-cost, black-and-white pictures with short running times, and they scored with both critics and audiences. The key figures were director Jacques Tourneur, cinematographer Nicholas Musuraca, art director Albert D'Agostino, set designer Darrell Silvera, composer Roy Webb, and Lewton himself as producer and frequent cowriter, usually under the pseudonym "Carlos Keith." (Besides Tourneur, who directed Lewton's first three pictures, Mark Robson and Robert Wise also directed for Lewton.)

Lewton's success at RKO faded with three successive Boris Karloff vehicles: *The Body Snatcher*, *Isle of the Dead* (both 1945), and *Bedlam* (1946). All were period pieces set in foreign locales, reaffirming Lewton's ability to attain A-class quality on a B-grade budget, but they were throwbacks to classical horror and distinctly at odds both with Lewton's earlier pictures and with the postwar horrors of the atomic age. When *Bedlam* failed to return its production costs, RKO declined to renew Lewton's contract. Working freelance, he produced three routine features before his untimely death from a heart attack.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Cat People (1942), *I Walked With a Zombie* (1943), *The Leopard Man* (1943), *The Seventh Victim* (1943), *Curse of the Cat People* (1944), *The Body Snatcher* (1945)

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Thomas Schatz

out Schaefer and most of his executive corps in June 1942 (including the former Production Code Administration head Joe Breen, after a brief and disastrous run as production head), and hiring Charles Koerner to run the studio and oversee production. Koerner continued the house-cleaning begun by Odlum, including the termination of the Welles-Mercury contract, and the results were readily evident on the balance statement. RKO reversed its slide and eked out modest profits in 1942, and then surged to record income levels.

The key to RKO's wartime reversal was Koerner's diminished reliance on outside independents and heavy concentration on cost-efficient genre production. This

Val Lewton. **MARTHA HOLMES/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.**

included a return to B-westerns and other low-grade series featuring the Falcon (starring George Sanders [1906–1972]), Tarzan (Johnny Weismuller [1904–1984]), and the Mexican Spitfire (Lupe Velez [1908–1944]). While these ensured steady returns, RKO took greater risks and enjoyed greater returns on its output of stylish, imaginative "near-As"—pictures made on (or slightly above) B-movie budgets but of sufficient quality to compete in the lucrative first-run market. Key here were two contract filmmakers: producer Val Lewton (1904–1951) and director Edward Dmytryk (1908–1999). Lewton, who signed with RKO in 1942, developed a "horror unit" that produced such modest wartime hits as *Cat People* (1942), *I Walked with a Zombie* (1943), *The Curse of the Cat People* (1944), and *The Body Snatcher* (1945). Lewton's horror gems were heavy on atmosphere and menace but devoid of stars, spectacle, and special effects, and thusly complemented the dark thrillers directed by Dmytryk. A former film editor who became RKO's most prolific and imaginative filmmaker during the war, Dmytryk honed his directing skills on B-grade series pictures before hitting his stride in 1943 with two topical melodramas, *Hitler's Children* and *Behind the Rising Sun*, followed by two film noir classics, *Murder My Sweet* (1944) and *Cornered* (1945). Dmytryk also showed he could work with top stars with *Tender Comrade* (1944), a homefront melodrama starring Ginger Rogers.

RKO continued to handle occasional independent productions during the war, such as the 1945 noir masterwork *Woman in the Window*, directed by Fritz Lang (1890–1976) and produced by International Pictures. The trend resumed with a vengeance in 1945 and 1946, as the war wound down and the demand for B-movie product radically diminished. The most significant independent ventures were Leo McCarey's (1898–1969) *Bells of St. Mary's* (1945), a sequel to his 1944 Paramount hit, *Going My Way*; *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946) by Frank Capra (1897–1991), which was actually a commercial and critical disappointment upon its initial release; and the Goldwyn-produced, Wyler-directed postwar "rehabilitation" drama, *The Best Years of Our Lives*, which was RKO's biggest hit of the decade. RKO also signed an important and unusual deal with Selznick in 1945 for several prepackaged films including such major hits as *Notorious* (1946), *The Farmer's Daughter* and *The Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer* (both 1947). The deal gave Selznick profit participation and also paid him for the services of contract talent "attached" to the films, which included producer Dore Schary (1905–1980), who became RKO's top in-house independent.

RKO's fortunes took a sudden turn in early 1946 with the death of Charles Koerner, resulting in another executive shakeup and Schary's eventual ascent to head of the studio. RKO flourished briefly under Schary, thanks to the Selznick packages as well as signature noir thrillers such as *Crossfire* and *Out of the Past* (both 1947). But Schary's regime proved short-lived due to Howard Hughes's purchase of RKO from Floyd Odlum in May 1948. Hughes promptly shut down the studio to reorganize production and to weed out Communists—a process that actually had begun in late 1947 when Dmytryk and producer Adrian Scott (1912–1973), two of the so-called Hollywood Ten, were cited for Contempt of Congress and fired by RKO shortly after the release of their successful collaboration, *Crossfire*. Studio departures accelerated under Hughes, including the firing of corporate president Peter Rathvon and the resignation of Dore Schary, who left for MGM in July 1948, just as RKO resumed production.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF RKO

When the studio reopened, Hughes was supervising all aspects of administration and production, and the results were disastrous. RKO released a few notable films early in Hughes's regime—most of them initiated under Schary, including two noir classics, *The Set-Up* (1949), directed by Robert Wise, and *They Live By Night* (1948), directed by newcomer Nicholas Ray (1911–1979). Merian Cooper and his Argosy Pictures partner John Ford also made the

first two of their famed cavalry trilogy at RKO: *Fort Apache* (1948) and *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949). But there was little else of note in the late 1940s, as Hughes's RKO became the studio of last resort for the growing ranks of independent producers, directors, and stars.

RKO's troubles deepened in the early 1950s as Hughes became increasingly erratic, focusing more on litigation and deal-making than on film production. He sold and than repurchased a controlling interest in the company in 1952, as studio losses mounted, and in 1954 he attempted to buy all of the outstanding stock as an apparent tax write-off. This effort was thwarted by Floyd Odlum, who decided to repurchase RKO and battled Hughes for control of the company until mid-1955, when Hughes sold his interests to General Teleradio, a subsidiary of the conglomerate General Tire and Rubber Company. The new owner was more interested in RKO's film library as TV syndication fodder than in its production operation, whose output had fallen to barely a dozen pictures per annum, few of any real note. There were the Disney releases, including *Treasure Island* (1950) and *Alice in Wonderland* (1951), and the occasional quality noir thriller such as Ray's *On Dangerous Ground* (1952). Desperation for product also led to the 1952 US release of Japanese filmmaker Akira Kurosawa's *Rashomon* (1950). The other major studios were producing blockbusters to compete with television, and Hughes tried in vain to keep pace with *Son of Sinbad* (1955) and *The Conqueror* (1956), the latter a $6 million flop starring John Wayne (1907–1979) as a Mongol ruler. The signal disaster of Hughes's regime was *Jet Pilot*, a pet project initiated in 1949, finally completed in 1957, some two years after Hughes's departure, and distributed by another studio, Universal-International.

There was a brief surge in production activity immediately after General Teleradio bought RKO, but the studio's fate was already clear. Within weeks of the July 1955 purchase, the RKO library of roughly 750 titles went into television syndication—the first major studio vault to go,

I Walked with a Zombie ***(Jacques Tourneur, 1943), one of the atmospheric horror films produced by Val Lewton at RKO.***
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Cathy O'Donnell and Harold Russell in* The Best Years of Our Lives *(William Wyler, 1946), one of RKO's biggest hits.
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which opened the proverbial floodgates in terms of top Hollywood films being sold or leased to the upstart TV medium. By 1957 RKO was all but defunct as a production-distribution entity, and its actual demise came that year with the purchase of the studio lot by Desilu, the successful TV series producer owned by Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz, who had once been under contract to RKO.

At this time all of the company's assets were sold with the exception of its unproduced screenplays, the remake rights to its produced films, and of course the trademark itself. There have been efforts over the years to parlay one or more of these assets into a successful motion picture venture—a partnership in the early 1980s with Universal Pictures, for instance, which resulted in such coproductions as *The Best Little Whorehouse in Texas* (1982) and a remake of *Cat People* (1982). In 1989 actors Ted Hartley and his wife Dina Merrill, heir to the E. F. Hutton and Post cereal fortunes, bought RKO and attempted to reactivate the studio, cofinancing remakes of RKO classics like *Mighty Joe Young* (1998) and *The Magnificent Ambersons* (2002, for the A&E cable television network). Thus RKO endures, although its role as a full-fledged studio—i.e., an active producer-distributor—has long since expired.

SEE ALSO *Star System; Stars; Studio System; Walt Disney Company*

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ROAD MOVIES

The term "road movie" is a loose one because almost any film, narrative or otherwise, can be interpreted as a journey. Likewise, many narrative films follow characters from place to place. Elements of the road movie appeared in classical-era films, but the term first circulated to describe a group of New American films of the late 1960s and early 1970s that were very much about being "on the road." Appropriately enough, the genre since then has traveled in many directions.

The road movie is a unique yet essential genre of American cinema, dramatizing a fascination with mobility. Exploring the very theme of exploration, the road movie reinvents the classic literary journey narrative, drawing inspiration from Homer's *Odyssey*, the wanderings of biblical prophets, and the epic travels of Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616), Mark Twain (1835–1910), and Walt Whitman (1819–1892). More direct and recent literary influences are John Steinbeck (1902–1968) and Jack Kerouac (1922–1969). Road movies feature characters on the move, often outsiders who cross geographic borders but also transgress moral boundaries. With their reflexive focus on the interplay between automobile and camera technology, road movies mobilize a dynamic cinematic spectacle of movement and speed. Road movies celebrate journeys rather than destinations.

ICONOGRAPHY, STYLE, AND THEMES

Filmmakers from all over the cinematic map have been drawn to the road movie: low-budget independent, mainstream Hollywood, experimental, documentary, gay, feminist, and most national cinemas. Yet certain consistent features can be identified among them. The genre prefers cars or motorcycles at the center of the action (though travel by train, bus, or simply walking are not uncommon). It also tends to rely upon the iconography of interstate highways and border crossings. Related visual motifs are vast, open landscapes and expansive, seductive horizon lines. Highway signs, motels, diners, and gas stations also recur for various plot twists.

Whether characters in road movies ramble at a leisurely pace or speed frantically with cops close behind, one of the genre's most compelling aesthetic characteristics is the mobile camera. Positioned inside the car looking out or outside the car—on the hood, alongside in another car, close by in a helicopter—the moving camera helps represent plot-driven motion and also affords the viewer a kinetic sense of being on the road. Other important stylistic features include dynamic montage sequences designed to convey the thrill of driving; long takes and long shots, expressing an exaggerated traversal of space and time; and the framing devices of front and rear windshields, side windows, and side- and rearview mirrors. Another of the genre's signature means of enhancing the cinematic sensation of driving is an exuberant music track—usually rock and roll, with its back beat propelling the journey.

The road movie also reflects upon technology, depicting an ambivalent modernist fusion between (human) driver and (machine) vehicle. At the same time, a romantic, pastoral attitude often inspires characters to leave culture behind and rediscover nature. Road movie journeys generally involve some kind of cultural critique, an exploration beyond the social conventions associated with home, work, and family. The narrative structure of

the road movie tends to be open-ended and modernist, as opposed to formulaic and classical. Two general narrative designs prevail: the quest and the outlaw. Quest road movies meander and probe the mysterious experience of discovery, as in *Two-Lane Blacktop* (1971) or *Paris, Texas* (1984). Outlaw road movies are more desperately driven by crime, where characters hit the road fleeing from the police. Outlaw couples, along with more sex and violence, figure prominently here, as in *Deadly Is the Female* (rereleased as *Gun Crazy*, 1949) and *Natural Born Killers* (1994). Many of the best road movies combine elements of both the outlaw and the quest narrative.

Typically, the genre focuses on a driver/passenger couple—usually boy-girl, as in *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), or buddy-buddy, as in *Easy Rider* (1969). Female buddy films such as *Thelma and Louise* (1991) became more popular in the 1990s. Other less common variations include parent-child and cop-prisoner. Even more rare are road movies focusing on large groups, as in *Get on the Bus* (1996), or on a lone driver, as in *Vanishing Point* (1971). Other car-oriented variations include road comedies like *Flirting with Disaster* (1996), road horror films such as *Near Dark* (1987), and racing films like *Death Race 2000* (1975). Rock concert touring films such as *Almost Famous* (2000) offer yet another generic offshoot. *Roam Sweet Home* (1997) and *The Cruise* (1998) display some of the quirky directions experimental road documentaries have pursued. Urban "enclosed" driving films like *Taxi Driver* (1976) and *Speed* (1994), where a circular route or city grid displaces the genre's more classic border crossings and linear distances, are a distinct group as well.

FROM CLASSICAL HOLLYWOOD TO COUNTERCULTURE

The road movie emerged as a distinct genre near the end of the 1960s, as baby boomers began hitting the road. It was during the Depression, however, that certain classical genre films developed elements of the modern road movie. While numerous early gangster films used dramatic driving sequences, the related social-conscience film sometimes incorporated mobility as part of its more pointed political critique. *Wild Boys of the Road* (1933), for example, exposes the social decay caused by the Depression by following the trials of homeless children riding the rails. Other notable films in this vein are *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (1932), *You Only Live Once* (1937), and *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940). Screwball comedies often employ a travel motif to present the divisive but amusing antics of the lead couple. *It Happened One Night* (1934) integrates road travel into its narrative and theme: despite their differences, the lead couple undergoes an identity change and fall in love as a result of of traveling together. *Twentieth Century* (1934) and *Sullivan's Travels* (1942) follow this pattern. With its emphasis on wandering, migration, and the frontier, the western also proves to be a formative, if indirect, influence. While westerns usually portray a time before cars, many road movies allude to cowboy treks through an untamed wilderness, such as *Stagecoach* (1939), *Red River* (1948), and *The Searchers* (1956).

Another classical genre with more direct influence on the modern road movie is film noir, which codes the road as a menacing threat, a perpetual detour from which one may never escape. Much of the road movie's cynicism (as well as its B-movie, low-budget, on-the-run look) derives from the 1945 classic *Detour*, where a man's cross-country sojourn to marry his girl gradually spirals into a nightmare of crime and murder. *Detour* emphasizes the journey as the undoing of the protagonist's very identity, suggested also in *Desperate* (1947). Like *Detour*, *The Devil Thumbs a Ride* (1947) and *The Hitch-Hiker* (1953) establish fear and suspense around hitchhiking; *They Live By Night* (1948) and *Gun Crazy* are exemplary of outlaw couple road film noir. The attraction of road film noir lives on in contemporary neo-noir movies like *The Hitcher* (1986), *Delusion* (1991), *Red Rock West* (1992), and *Joy Ride* (2001).

In the 1950s, a few road comedies appeared, notable for a wholesome conformity antithetical to most road movies: one of the last Bob Hope–Bing Crosby "road to" films, *Road to Bali* (1952); Vincente Minnelli's *The Long, Long Trailer* (1954); and the final Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis comedy vehicle, *Hollywood or Bust* (1956). While 1950s road movies are rather scarce (and flimsy), other literary and cultural developments are crucial to the post-Hollywood birth of the genre as "independent." Accompanying President Eisenhower's burgeoning interstate highway system was the emerging postwar youth culture portrayed in films like *The Wild One* (1953) and *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955). Moreover, Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita* and Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* appeared in 1955 and 1957 respectively, two monumental road novels that rip back and forth across America with a subversive erotic charge. This is the era when American mobility took off as middle-class tourism and commuting and also as beatnik wanderlust. By the mid-1960s, with classical Hollywood sputtering out and the counterculture seeking to redefine America, the road movie came into its own.

The genre's critical distance from conformity is intimated by the many hotrod and biker films of the 1950s and 1960s that champion leather-clad bohemian youth rebellion by fetishizing cars and motorcycles. But it is really Arthur Penn's *Bonnie and Clyde* and Dennis Hopper's *Easy Rider* that launched the modern road movie. Besides being exemplary of the auteur-driven

genre revisionism of the New American cinema, both films portray mobility as essential to narrative structure and political commentary, reinventing the spirit of *On the Road* for young anti-establishment audiences. Using the Depression setting to speak to sixties civil strife, *Bonnie and Clyde* celebrates the infamous outlaw couple as a sexy, exhilarating antidote to the dead end of small-town America, and capitalist greed generally. But *Easy Rider* seems the true prototype of the genre, explicitly spelling out the challenge of the counterculture through the road trip. This landmark American independent film uses the journey to affirm an alternative lifestyle and to expose the stifling repression of conservative America. Despite their visionary conception of movement, both films end rather grimly, with the rambling antiheroes gunned down on the road by Southern bigots.

Given the huge success of both films, the early 1970s saw a proliferation of road movies, becoming a golden age for the genre. With the Vietnam War and Watergate scandal looming, many of these road movies expressed post-counterculture disenchantment. Picking up on the cynical tone concluding *Easy Rider*, films such as *Five Easy Pieces* (1970), *Two-Lane Blacktop* and *Badlands* (1973), and *Thieves Like Us* (1974) were driven by anti-heroes unsure of where or why they are going. Presenting rather incoherent narrative and character motivation, these films yield a more disturbing, "minimalist" journey that nevertheless probes mysterious emotional landscapes. The road movie also inspired the early years of the "film--school generation": Francis Ford Coppola's *The Rain People* (1969), Steven Spielberg's *Duel* (1971) and *The Sugarland Express* (1974), Martin Scorsese's *Boxcar Bertha* (1972) and *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* (1974), and George Lucas's *American Graffiti* (1973).

THE POSTMODERN, MULTICULTURAL ROAD MOVIE

While continuing to appeal to independent filmmakers (and constantly appearing at film festivals), the road movie in the mid-1980s swerved to the center of popular film culture. Expanding its parameters into the 1990s, the road movie embraced a wide spectrum of tones, from quirky irony to brash sentimentality to hi-tech ultraviolence. Not surprisingly, many of these films can be characterized as postmodern, and as more multicultural.

A good signpost of the road movie trends of the 1980s is *The Road Warrior* (1982, *Mad Max 2* in native Australia), with its cartoonish, postapocalyptic violence and elaborate driving pyrotechnics. David Lynch's lurid, surrealistic *Wild at Heart* (1989) is another postmodern hallmark, remaking the outlaw couple for the 1990s with high camp allusions to Elvis and *The Wizard of Oz* (1939). Conversely, Jim Jarmusch's *Stranger Than Paradise* (1984), *Down by Law* (1986), and *Dead Man* (1995) use deadpan, minimalist absurdity to update the quest, prison-break, and Western trek, respectively. Joel and Ethan Coen's *Raising Arizona* (1987) pokes fun at the outlaw couple with heavy-handed irony; their more recent *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* (2000) yokes together Homer and Preston Sturges (*Sullivan's Travels*) for an oddly picaresque Depression-era pilgrimage. Other postmodern road movie parodies are *Lost in America* (1985), *True Stories* (1986), and *Roadside Prophets* (1992); more earnest, sentimental, and yuppified is the only road movie to win the Best Picture Oscar®, Hollywood's *Rain Man* (1988).

In the early 1990s, some road movies put more diverse drivers behind the wheel. *Thelma and Louise* is exemplary here, highly popular and controversial for its feminist carjacking of the male-dominated genre. Their desperate journey is clearly a rebellion against the abuses of patriarchy. On the other hand, some critics felt the film simply plugged two women into the buddy road movie mold, thus neutralizing its feminism. In any case, in its wake women began to appear with more gusto on the celluloid highway, as in *Boys on the Side* (1995). Gus Van Sant's *My Own Private Idaho* (1991) is a compelling exploration of life on the road for gay hustlers in the Northwest; his *Drugstore Cowboy* (1989) and *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues* (1993) similarly trace the routes of marginalized, unconventional travelers. Other road movies notable for their uncommon perspectives are *The Living End* (1992), an HIV-positive road trip that rages against homophobic culture; *To Wong Foo, Thanks for Everything! Julie Newmar* (1995), featuring a multi-ethnic troupe of transvestites on their way to Hollywood; *Get on the Bus*, which follows a diverse group of African American men across the country to the Million Man March; and *Smoke Signals* (1998), which tracks the journey of two Native American buddies into the traumas and magic of their ethnic heritage.

Another significant road movie strain of the 1990s is the ultraviolent outlaw film, which often bleeds into the horror category by focusing on traveling serial killers. With fingerprints going back to Truman Capote's true crime novel *In Cold Blood* (1966) and the obscure independent film gem *The Honeymoon Killers* (1970), films like *Kalifornia* (1993), *The Doom Generation* (1995), *Freeway* (1996), and *Breakdown* (1997) use hypernoir suspense and graphic violence to follow killers who hide and thrive on the road. *Natural Born Killers* took this tendency to new heights, using MTV-style aesthetics to glorify its killer couple, but also to question such cultural glorification.

INTERNATIONAL ROAD MOVIES

Inflected by westerns and the Depression, the road movie, with its roaming hippies and young lovers on

Thelma and Louise ***(Ridley Scott, 1991) is a feminist variation of the road movie.*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the run, seems distinctly American. There are, however, international traditions. Some road movies from the European art cinema of the 1950s and 1960s examine spiritual identity rather than rebellion, crime, or the spectacle of driving cars. Roberto Rossellini's *Voyage in Italy* (1953, Italy), Federico Fellini's *La Strada* (1954, Italy), and Ingmar Bergman's *Smultronstället* (*Wild Strawberries*, 1957, Sweden) all illustrate this existential sensibility. French New Wave director Jean-Luc Godard comes closer to the American genre's tone with *Pierrot le Fou* (1965) and *Weekend* (1967); but these journeys too are punctuated by philosophical digressions of a European bent. Agnés Varda's *Sans Toit Ni Loi* (*Vagabond*, 1985) is another unusual French take on the road movie, mixing documentary and fiction modes to suggest the social causes of the death of a young homeless woman. Having emerged from the New German cinema movement of the mid-1970s, Wim Wenders established his reputation through the road movie. Most of his early films, such as *Alice in den Städten* (*Alice in the Cities*, 1974), *Falsche Bewegung* (*The Wrong Movement*, 1975), and especially *Im Lauf der Zeit* (*Kings of the Road*, 1976), seem to filter nomadic excursions through a pensive Germanic lens. Typically, Wenders's characters are somber drifters coming to terms with their internal scars.

It is perhaps not surprising that filmmakers in both Australia and Canada have employed the road movie for articulating tensions around national identity and modernity. Like the United States, both nations possess a vast wilderness that constitutes an important facet of their cultural heritage. Canadian and Australian road movies often employ this frontier adventure space to engage social conflicts between indigenous and colonial cultures or between urban modern and mystical rural environments. Directed by Australian Bruce Beresford and set in the wilds of 17th century Canada, *Black Robe* (1991) embodies this framework as it follows the doomed journey of a French Jesuit priest on a mission to convert native tribes. The Australian *Mad Max* films (1979–1985) have become canonical for their dystopic reinvention of the outback as a post-human wasteland where survival depends upon manic driving skills. *The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert* (1994) is a

watershed gay road movie that addresses diversity in Australia. *Walkabout* (1971), *Backroads* (1977), and *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (2002) use the Australian outback journey to confront white-aboriginal political relations. Bill Bennett's *Kiss or Kill* (1997) is a hip and clever Australian take on the outlaw couple. Canadian director Bruce McDonald has worked the rock 'n' road movie repeatedly, with *Roadkill* (1989), *Highway 61* (1991), and most notably *Hard Core Logo* (1996), a mock documentary about a punk rock band's reunion tour. David Cronenberg's notorious *Crash* (1996) seems a fitting end-of-millennium road movie: its head-on portrayal of perverse sexual arousal through the car crash experience drove the genre over the edge for some viewers (like media mogul Ted Turner, who successfully lobbied against its US theatrical release).

Road movies from Latin America share traits with the European approach. Generally speaking, Latin American road movies focus on a community of characters rather than star individuals, on mature quests rather than young outlaw narratives, and on national issues related to North-South and urban-rural divides. A good example is *Subida al Cielo* (*Mexican Bus Ride*, 1951), where Luis Buñuel brings his European sensibility to bear on a peasant's strangely enchanting bus journey to the city to attend to his dying mother. As in Fellini's *La Strada*, Bergman's *The Seventh Seal* (1957), and Buñuel's other road movies *Nazarín* (1958, Mexico) and *La Voie Lactée* (*The Milky Way*, 1969, France), the journey here is episodic, a kind of carnivalesque pilgrimage. Such a "travelling circus" quality is visible in later Latin American road movies, such as *Bye Bye Brazil* (1979, Brazil), *Guantanamera* (1995, Cuba), and *Central do Brasil* (*Central Station*, 1998, Brazil). Conquest-era journey narratives are also popular in Latin American cinema, *Cabeza de Vaca* (1991, Mexico) being one of the finest examples. *Profundo Carmesí* (*Deep Crimson*, 1996, Mexico) and *El Camino* (*The Road*, 2000, Argentina) are intriguing riffs on the outlaw couple road movie. With its focus on the sexual experiences of two young male buddies with an older woman during a road trip, *Y Tu Mamá También* (*And Your Mother Too*, 2001, Mexico) represents a turning point for the American-style road movie, and, predictably, was a huge success in the United States.

As twenty-first-century film continues to thrive under the power of digital technologies, it is safe to assume that more inventive road movies will appear on the horizon.

SEE ALSO *Action and Adventure Films; Crime Films; Genre*

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